

**Master's Thesis**

**The Death That Shook Japan's Earth: A Case Study of Matsuri Takahashi (高橋まつり)**

by

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January 2019

Master's Thesis

Presented to

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science in Asia Pacific Studies

## **Certification Page**

I, ENNAHACHI Zakaria, (Student ID 51117008) hereby declare that the contents of this Master's Thesis are original and true, and have not been submitted at any other university or educational institution for the award of degree or diploma.

All the information derived from other published or unpublished sources has been cited and acknowledged appropriately.

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2018/01/23

## **Abstract**

This research investigated a unique karōshi/ karōjisatsu (death/suicide due to overwork) of Matsuri Takahashi who committed suicide on 25<sup>th</sup> December 2015. Matsuri Takahashi used Twitter to express her pain and frustration. After her death, the Japanese media picked up her story and her public Twitter account. As Matsuri Takahashi never deleted her Tweets before her death, these tweets are still available for anyone to read till date.

The author categorised all her 199 tweets in several themes and found which tweets got the most traction. In these themes, the author examined the tweets through the suicide model of Durkheim and concluded that her death is both egoistic and fatalistic. The virtual Matsuri committed an egoistic suicide, and the real-life Matsuri committed a fatalistic suicide.

Matsuri's tweets had similarities with a diary as she would disclose personal information and expressed her opinions and emotions through Twitter. This played a significant role in her case to receive all the attention.

This research gives a peek into the Japanese mentality on overwork (ganbaru society), and gender issues on the work floor.

## **Keywords**

Matsuri Takahashi, 高橋まつり, social media, Twitter, gender issues, overwork, ganbaru, karōshi, karōjisatsu, suicide due to overwork, death due to overwork

## **Acknowledgements**

First and foremost, my thoughts and sympathy go to the family of Matsuri Takahashi. They have lost a great person who could have had a bright future ahead. I am very sorry for their loss, and I wish them all hope in the midst of sorrow, and comfort in the midst of pain.

I want to express my sincerest gratitude to Professor YOSHIDA Kaori. She has been excellent support for the last two years. She is an invaluable source of knowledge and inspiration, and it was my privilege to be supervised by such a fantastic mentor. This research paper would not have been possible without her.

I want to thank all my friends and family for their patience and support. Doing my master's in Japan was my biggest dream, and without their support, it would not have been possible. I am lucky to have friends and family that loved to see my biggest dream come true.

Last but not least, I would like to thank Sakthibalan Balathandautham and his partner for doing a fantastic job on the translations of the tweets. There were a large number of tweets, and they managed to translate them all despite the depressing content that affected them both. Luckily, they are a well of positive energy.

## Public Service Announcement

In essence, I have no right to tell the reader what choice they have to make. Humanity has given the freedom of choice, and every human being should choose accordingly to their rational thinking and should listen to their hearts.

However, the author does believe that humanity has been given the greatest gift from God which is a chance to exist, a chance to live, and a chance to share our love and peace with others, and a chance to enjoy life.

We are all on the same boat, and I believe we should all help each other to make our lives on Earth pleasant. If you feel that you need help or you require someone to listen to you, please do not drown in despair and seek out someone to talk to. There are plenty of hands out there, and they are ready to hold your hand. [All you need to do is reach out to them.](#)

حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ

Hasbunallaahu wa ni'amal-wakeel

*Allah is sufficient for us and He is the Best Guardian.*

Surah Al-Imran 3:173

Said in times of hardships

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## List of Abbreviations

Tōdai	Tokyo University	page 10
IDV	Individualism vs Collectivism	page 42
MAS	Masculinity vs Femininity	page 42
SNS	Social Network Sites	page 29

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Background of the research

*“When I resign, I will use Twitter as evidence to sue (them)”*

– Matsuri Takahashi November 5, 2015, 23:59:05

A young lady of the age of 24 with a bright future ahead, no longer wanted to be part of the company where she had been working. Dentsu Inc., one of the biggest PR/advertising company in Japan, located in Tokyo, drove the young lady to her limits and beyond. She clocked 105 overtime hours in a month (The Japan Times, 2016). This young lady was Matsuri Takahashi (高橋まつり). Matsuri Takahashi did not find anything to cling onto, not even hope, and on December 25, 2015, she committed suicide by leaping from her corporate dormitory. She only found her hope in death.

Death-due-to-overwork (karōshi) is not a new phenomenon in Japan. In 2015 alone, The National Police Agency of Japan reported that there were approximately 2,159 deaths due to ‘problems with work’ (White paper of 2016). There are uncertainties around this number. The actual number of deaths could be higher; it is a high number nonetheless.

The term karōshi emerged in 1969 when a 29-year-old married Japanese male worker died from a stroke after doing long shifts in a shipping department. This was the first time that death-due-to-overwork was reported (Hosokawa, 1981). It was until 1978 that the phenomenon was given the name ‘karōshi’. At this time karōshi was not perceived as a social problem. It became a social problem at the end of the ‘80s during Japan’s economic

bubble when high-ranking corporate executives started to die out of the blue. During the bubble's peak, salarymen would work 60 hours a week (Kanai, 2008).

Fast forward to our time, on October 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016, the government published its first karōshi white paper. In other words, the Japanese government officially acknowledged the issue and addressed it in their official documentation. Almost a year later, the media covered her death, and the Japanese society became outraged about her death. If karōshi has been known about for so long why did it take almost four decades for the government to take immediate actions? In other words, what is the significance of Matsuri Takahashi's death which led to the suddenly acknowledgement of karōshi by the Japanese government?

#### **Who was Matsuri Takahashi (高橋まつり)?**

Matsuri Takahashi was born in 1991. She was born in Hiroshima Prefecture, but she grew up in Shizuoka Prefecture. Matsuri Takahashi entered Tokyo University (from here on referred to as Tōdai) as a scholarship student exempted from tuition fees. As reported by Tōdai Shimbun (May 16, 2017), the Tōdai newspaper, many students that join the Tokyo University come from wealthy families. Matsuri Takahashi, however, was not from a wealthy family. She was economically disadvantaged, but it did not stop her from trying to get into Tōdai. She was encouraged by her teachers from her high school (Midoraka High School in Shizuoka Prefecture).

In April 2015, right after Matsuri Takahashi graduated from Tokyo University, she started her job at Dentsu Inc. As reported by Japan Today (October 24, 2016), when entering Dentsu Inc. as a new employee they undergo training of, approximately, six months. Here, Matsuri

Takahashi quickly became one of the top trainees as she earned her respect within the company. However, after finishing the training, reality hit her hard. She became a regular employee, and the expectations of her superiors were high, the working days were long, and there was much stress on the work floor.

The cause of the stress was due to the understaffing of the Internet Advertising department, where she was a member of Dentsu Inc. was embarrassed with some scandals at that time and, as a result, they had to reorganise at the expense of their employees. For Matsuri Takashi this meant much overwork. As previously mentioned, one of the months she clocked 105 hours of overwork.

In order to deal with stress, she needed a platform to vent her anger and frustrations. This was Twitter. She would use Twitter to express her anger and frustrations about the company and the long overwork hours. Here she was detailed, honest, and vocal about the way the company would treat workers here. She expressed issues such as power harassment, bullying, overwork, and sexual harassment.

But on 25<sup>th</sup> of December, 2015, Yukimi Takahashi, the mother of Matsuri Takahashi received an email from Matsuri Takahashi (Japan Today, 2016). In that email Matsuri Takahashi wrote:

“Work is unbearable. Life is unbearable. Thank you for everything.”

Her mother read the email, and she understood its meaning. She immediately ran to the phone and called Matsuri. Matsuri picked up the phone, and her mother told her that death

was not the answer. The mother pleaded to her daughter to leave the company. Matsuri Takahashi replied: 'Okay, mother'. Unfortunately, this plea was not enough to dissuade her from killing herself.

After her death, the Japanese media picked up her story and her public Twitter account. As Matsuri Takahashi had never deleted her Tweets before her death, these Tweets are still available for anyone to read till date. The public used her Tweets as evidences that Japan has an overwork issue. One can easily find endless media articles which have covered these events. With the pressure of the public, a year after Matsuri Takahashi's death, on October 7<sup>th</sup> 2016, the government gave in and officially recognised karōshi as a social problem (Nippon.com, 2016).

## 1.2 Research question

The author was intrigued by the unfortunate story of Matsuri Takahashi. The author could not help but wonder about why such a case could stir so much in the Japanese society. There are many more karōshi cases in Japan. This led to the following research question:

**What would be the role of SNS in making Matsuri Takahashi's case unique enough to lead to the first White Paper in 2016?**

## 1.3 Research objectives

Matsuri Takahashi would go at extreme lengths for her company. This research aims to find answers to several aspects: 1) the uniqueness of her case, 2) extreme lengths of overwork, 3) the Twitter behaviour, 4) and the relation between her suicide and Japanese society.

In the initial analysis, the author looked into the story of Matsuri Takahashi by reading into several news articles and looked into some of her (translated) tweets by the news articles. Here, the author found that Matsuri’s case had several themes which are gender issues, social media usage, and overworking.

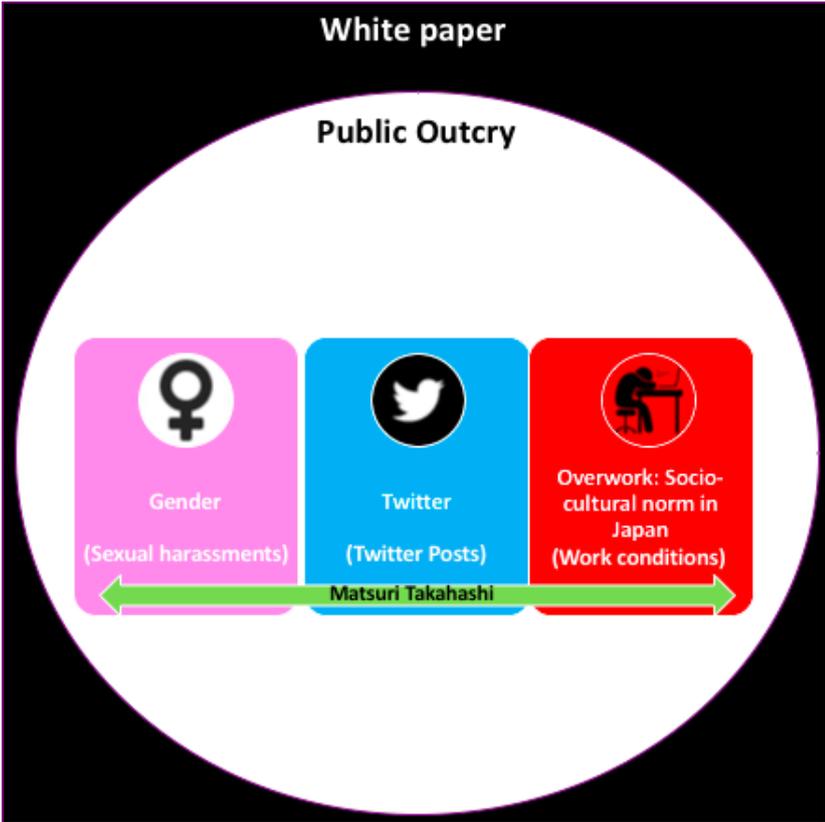


Figure 1: Matsuri Takahashi's case

With these findings, the research will focus on these three themes which the reader will find throughout this paper.

## Chapter 2: Literature review

### 2.1. *Karōjisatsu* (過労自殺): Suicide due to overwork in Japanese society

The Japanese people have known the word *karōshi* for quite some time. The phenomenon of dying at work has been given a medical name, and since then the word spread around not only in Japan but even around the globe. Salarymen would work long hours that eventually led to their death. Herbig and Palumbo would also call this phenomenon the ‘Sudden Death Syndrome’ (1994). They explain that *karōshi* happens when salarymen work long hours that would cause heart failure or a stroke due to the lack of rest. Li (2016) explained that among the Japanese people who died during work the vast majority (more than 60 per cent) suffered a stroke. White-collars in Japan, also known as salarymen, work continuously at the company in order to please their employer. In Japan, results are less of importance than effort. When employees spend time working until around 10 or 11 PM this is a ‘proof’ that the workers are loyal to the company (Nemoto, 2013).

A Japanese worker would approximately overwork around 225 hours a year and these overworked hours will either be partly paid or not at all. This loyalty to the employer, as explained by Herbig and Palumbo (1994), may be related to the old samurai code called Bushidō. Bushidō has virtues that every samurai should follow blindly in order to retain honour<sup>1</sup>. This means that one must work hard. Working continuously eventually turns into the meaning of life: Live to work instead of work to live.

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<sup>1</sup> Nitobe (1933), a Japanese author of the book *Bushidō: The soul of Japan*, described Bushido as the Military-Knight-ways (Nitobe, 1933). Bushidō is an unwritten code. Nitobe (1933) noted eight virtues; these are Justice, Courage, Benevolence, Politeness, Sincerity, Loyalty, Self-control, and honour.

As Kawanishi (2008) explained, *karōshi* is mostly associated with sudden death at work due to physical problems and suicide by overwork. At first, *karōshi* was solely a medical term when medical experts in 1978 gave the name to the phenomenon of dying during work. The word *karōshi*, however, implicitly suggests that the person died due to heart failure or a stroke. However, Kawanishi (2008) described suicide-by-overwork as *karōjisatsu*. He focused more on the sociological behaviour of the people who committed suicide due to overwork and the reasons behind it. People who commit suicide tend to leave a suicide note and briefly explain the reason why they are ending their lives whereas *karōshi* is death that comes unexpectedly (sudden death).

Kawanishi's (2008) definition has given this research a better focus. The author agrees that there is a clear difference between choosing to end one's own life and sudden death (due to physical complications). With a suicide note, one can get closer to the answers and explore the psyche of the victim for choosing to work long hours for the sake of the company and also this makes it possible to examine the social aspects of it. This research will, therefore, focus on the sociological behaviour rather than looking at it as a medical issue. There is a clear difference between *karōshi* and *karōjisatsu* which is *choice* (from here on the author when describing *karōjisatsu* one means *suicide due to overwork* and *karōshi* as *sudden death due to overwork*).

Amagasa et al. (2005) conducted research on *karōjisatsu* which revealed an unusual pattern from the moment of distress by the overworked worker until suicide. Before the suicide, the workers have been exhausted due to overwork and no longer had any desire to continue to work. Amagasa et al. (2005) argued that overwork is not the direct cause of suicide but

somewhat indirect. Stress, depression, and low social support were the direct causes of suicide. 11 out of 22 cases that were studied by Amagasa et al. (2005) had unfortunate events in their life that led them to mental health problems, and the other half also had similar unfortunate life events that led them directly into suicide.

Someone who decides to commit suicide tends to leave a particular message, or somewhat a statement, for the survivors to read. Lebra (1976) categorised the suicide messages into two groups: intropunitive and extrapunitive. An intropunitive message is when the suicider tries to rectify the problems that he/she has caused to the directly affected ones. In other words, the suicider tries to apologise and hopes that the suicide will suffice for the past mistakes. As Lebra (1976) explains that this is called *shinde owabi suru* (I apologise by dying) (死んでお詫びする). Whereas with an extrapunitive message the suicider tries to evoke guilty feelings upon the one who did him/her injustice. This is to change the target's behaviour or feelings. It is a statement that allows the suicider to take upon the victim role and to show a form of revenge, whereas in an intropunitive message the suicider is at fault and would like to apologise. In both cases, the suicider justifies his/her suicide and communicates this to the outside world and both cases meant to persuade the other party.

### **2.1.1 Reasons for overwork in Japan**

This section reviews the psyche of the Japanese regarding overwork and what the consequences are thereof.

#### **Self-validation value**

Aziz et al. (2018) had found that workaholics with low self-esteem are looking for more of the self-validation at work. This makes the workaholic less productive as this person will lose attention to his work. As the workaholic colleagues neglect social interactions, other colleagues tend to avoid this person. This could hurt the company in the long term as quality will drop due to the lack of teamwork (Porter, 1996). The findings of Aziz et al. (2018) are interesting, but the research of Clark et al. (2016) suggested that self-esteem is probably more complicated than first thought as in their findings self-esteem was not deeply correlated with workaholism.

Ishiyama and Kitayama (1994) have created a model in Japan that explains the self-validation of the worker. The worker validates his or her purpose in life. Here they discovered that in Japan the corporate life is more important than their family. This brings much social pressure to perform and to work long hours to please the company. Some Japanese, as they become workaholics, they become depended not specifically on working in itself, but they have become depended on the self-validation of work. This dependency to self-validation goes hand-in-hand with an unhealthy lifestyle; an unhealthy diet, long working hours, stress at work, achievement obsession, no rest, lack of sleep, and superficial social contact (Ishiyama and Kitayama, 1994). Ishiyama and Kitayama (1994) explained that work provides all the necessary needs a worker requires which are: "(a) security, comfort, and support, (b) self-worth and self-acceptance, (c) competence and autonomy, (d) identity and belonging, and (e) love, fulfillment, and meaning in life." When the worker satisfies his needs of validation at work more than outside, the worker becomes depended on the validation on the work floor and it makes it more difficult to let go.

The complicated answer to the question why the Japanese would work themselves to death lies somewhere between the compliance of the employee and the expectations and pressure from society (Kawanishi, 2008). Having an attitude where one is willing to take upon any task is considered a virtue which is appreciated by the Japanese. Going beyond one's task is seen as a 'good' attitude. This is a slippery slope towards something that is called *service overtime*, which means, in plain English, overwork without pay. Kawanishi (2008) also stated that the jobs in Japan are not precise, one will be required to do service overtime to work on all the tasks at hand without any compensation. Working long hours without sufficient rest pushes the employees into *karōshi*. However, this does not only happen to people who are forced into it. It also happens to managers, even though they have more freedom and power. They feel obliged to work more extended hours as they have more responsibilities than their subordinates.

### **Deeply rooted work ethic in Japan**

Ono (2018) also gave a few reasons why the Japanese work long hours: I) due to seniority based-pay society working at the same company for many years will increase your salary, II) Japanese people do not know their value of their general-skills as the Japanese build-up firm-specific skills. This causes a lack of mobility. Simply put, the Japanese do not know how to change their job with the skills they have. III) a phenomenon which Ono (2018) called *collective overtime* (Tsukiai zangyō 付き合い 残業). This is described as a group awareness where the workers feel uncomfortable to leave early than their co-workers. Therefore, the Japanese remain seated until they collectively leave the office or when the boss leaves. IV)

*Internal labour market* describes that workers can be kneaded into certain jobs that are then required by the company. This makes the company less depended on the external labour market. V) Ambiguous job descriptions cover many responsibilities but are not clearly defined where the borders are. Just as Kawanishi (2008) explained, one could receive tasks that do not seem to relate to one's description, but these vague job descriptions are standard in Japan. Lastly VI), gender division of labour shows that there is male-female imbalance where men work, and women stay at home and play the caretaker role. In the past, the salary of the men would be enough to take care of the family at home so the women could stay at home. This is the image in Japan which is believed to be favourable for the sexes.

Ono (2018) described overwork in Japan in quite details, and he goes through all the aspects that explain the reasons behind. However, in his work, one could see that it is not specifically looking from a female perspective, as the workplace is still male dominant as explained in Chapter 2. As the reader can see later in 2.2 the majority who work in a company are men (Nemoto, 2013), this is therefore understandable. He did describe that women would not want to work long work hours as men, but what about those Japanese women who do? What would the reasons for long working hours be then and what would their expectations be? This will be further discussed in 2.2.

### **Ganbaru work ethic**

There is a cultural phenomenon where staying at the company where one started his first job for the rest of their working life. Meek (1999) has described this as 'on' (恩 =

indebtedness or grateful) and 'giri' (義理 = obligation) or a moral obligation. Even when the work environment does not meet the employees' satisfaction, the Japanese workers are trying their best to endure the given circumstances as the job needs to be done for the greater good (altruistic). Their interest is not of any importance as long as the group survives. As there is a goal that needs to be achieved collectively, the Japanese worker is highly devoted to committing himself to the job (Meek, 1999). Meek (1999) explained that the word 'ganbaru (がんばる) means more than just *doing one's best*, but it has much more implications. *Ganbaru (がんばる)* in here can mean:

*"...to endure, to not give up, to be patient and long suffering, to continue a difficult or stressful task as long it may be necessary to succeed, to try one's very best to accomplish something. It means simply to put up quietly and patiently with an uncomfortable or unpleasant situation (including an obnoxious co-worker, a mean boss, or a difficult customer) without complaining or becoming openly angry (so as not to cause embarrassment, create social disharmony, or disturb others' feelings)." (Meek 1999).*

The ganbaru culture (頑張る文化) is taught from a young age. Children are taught to do one's best for their primary group which is their family. Simultaneously the children are made dependent on their primary group for security, support, and identification. Later in their lives, the organisation for which they will work for, the secondary group, will become their new dependence. This behaviour has been described as *amaeru (甘える)* or *fawn on*, or as Meek (1999) describes: *"to seek the indulgence of another."* When the person submits himself to the group, the person receives unconditional support from the group. If the person misbehaves, the person can run the risk of getting avoided and lose his/her place in

the group (Kawanishi, 2008). The *ganbaru* culture could give an insight on why the Japanese would give up so much of their life to overwork.

The author is well aware of the dangers of the Nihonjinron trap. As Dale (1986) warned that according to historical evidence the Japanese are not homogenous racially, culturally, or socially. As he called it the '*Myth of Japanese uniqueness.*' He believed that the Nihonjinron discourse is a political tool to push its hidden agenda. The *ganbaru* society, as mentioned earlier, may be called Nihonjinron stereotypes, but this research is not to reinforce Nihonjinron stereotypes to generalise the Japanese, but to discuss part of its element as an actual practice that potentially lead to Matsuri's death. This research's purpose is to shed light on the fact how one would commit himself/herself to such long work hours and for what purpose. This research tries to understand it from a sociological perspective and leaves the Nihonjinron debate to others.

## 2.2 Gender imbalance and sexual harassment in Japan

In this section, the author goes through how an unbalanced male-female ratio on the workspace could lead to sexual harassment and power abuse.

According to Nemoto (2013), in Japan, the division of labour is very 'clear': men work, and women take care of the family. Men are expected to devote their time solely to the company whereas women are expected to take care of the family and to commit to the company (Nemoto, 2013). It is perceived in Japanese society that Japanese women cannot commit to the company and take care of the family simultaneously. Japanese women make up 43% of the Japanese workforce in 2016, up from 36% in 1985 (The Japan Times, 2016).

Out of all the working women in Japan, 53% are part-time workers. Japan has shown progress, but women still leave their company in mid-career when they marry or before giving birth to their first child. A balance between work and private life becomes complicated, and naturally, the latter is given the highest priority.

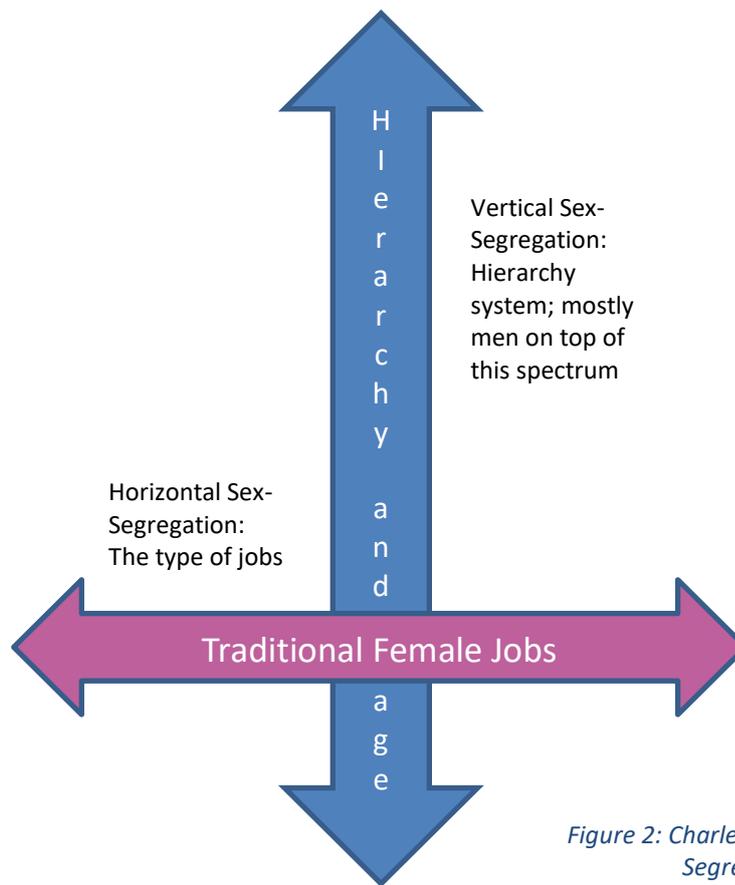
Kingston (2014) argued that women in Japan, when it comes to work, are marginalised. This has to do with the fact that in 2010 only 12% of the women landed on career jobs and many women would leave the workforce because there is not enough support to help with raising a child. A Japanese woman returning to work, after giving birth, will most likely to be a part-time job. This results in lower purchasing power and less tax money for the government. As Japanese society does not reach out to the marginalised women, women in Japan believe that they have almost no chance in a career and there is also no incentive to go for a career.

Nemoto (2016) also pointed out that Prime minister Abe promised in 2014 that by 2020 Japan would see an increase of women in higher managerial jobs by 30 per cent. Nemoto was sceptical on his promise as Japan has a fundamental issue which is vertical and horizontal sex-segregated work floors. Charles and Grusky (1995) explained that horizontal segregation as the jobs that most women do and the vertical segregation explains the hierarchy where women tend to be on the lowest end. Nemoto (2016) focused mostly on the vertical segregation issue that she believed to be the core issue of Japan's issue. In Japan, one gets promoted by working many years at a company. Loyalty is paid off when sticking to the company for long years. This system conflicts with Japanese women who want to pursue a career and a family. Nemoto (2016) argued that from the moment one starts working at a company it takes about 15 years before one becomes a middle manager.

One would see his/her first promotions after 3 or 4 years. To reach such a job title, one needs to remain patient and loyal to the company. However, if one wants to raise a family, this is not possible if he/she is not at the company physically.

As a result, many Japanese women are at the bottom end of the spectrum as they cannot climb up when raising a family. It is indeed not promoted by the government as the government saves money by not spending it on welfare costs. The Japanese women are taking upon the role of caretaker. Furthermore, as women are on the bottom end of the spectrum, they are fulfilling the cheap labour jobs. Companies give these jobs especially to women so they can save costs. Admittedly, there are women in high managerial jobs as we speak and they have good salaries. However, the sacrifice is not having a family.

It is, however, possible when the grandparents are willing and able to take care of the grandchildren. Due to the marginalisation of women in the labour force, the vast majority that enjoys high managerial titles are older men. Nemoto (2016) also explained that these men dictate what happens on the work floor as they have been working for more than 15 years. They expect that young women will eventually either leave the company or keep low-end jobs, even though most young women are highly educated.



*Figure 2: Charles and Grusky (1995) Sex-Segregation Model*

She explained well the problems in Japanese society where women tend to remain at the bottom of the hierarchy, but surely there are cases where women who are not doing traditional female jobs but jobs on the same level as men. Where Ono (2018) failed to go more in-depth regarding overwork by women, Nemoto (2013) tackled the issues that cause women to work longer hours. However, Nemoto tackled the case regarding the majority of women that would do traditional jobs. She referred to some women who have managerial status within a company and thus this is not a traditionally female job. But what about non-traditional female jobs and not on a managerial level?

The reason why the author addresses the unbalance in the sexual division of labour in Japan has to do with power and sexual harassment on the work floor that comes with it. In a

workplace where the majority are men, women report more cases of sexual harassments. In a workplace where it is more balanced, women report fewer cases of sexual harassment (Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990, as cited in Sbraga and O'Donohue, 2000). Pershing (2003) noted that 96.8 per cent of women in the male-dominant atmosphere, such as the military, experienced sexual harassment within half a year. According to Pershing (2003), there were only twenty-six cases that were reported. The reason for the low reports, as Pershing (2003) stated, had to do with the feeling that the military would not tackle the case or because of the fear of negative consequences that comes with it. As stated above only 43 per cent of the Japanese women are in the workforce which more than half of them are part-timers, which indicates that the vast majority on the work floor are men.

What can one understand under sexual harassment? Rubenstein (as cited in McCann, 2005) defined sexual harassment in three categories: (1) physical harassment (*"violence, touching, pinching, solicit sexual favours"*), (2) verbal harassment (*"comments on appearance, sexual comments, sexual advances, repeated social invitations, insults based on [gender], paternalistic remarks"*), (3) non-verbal harassment (*"display of sexual explicit material, sexually-suggestive gestures, whistling"*). Wilson and Thompson (2001) argued that sexual harassment is a way of controlling. They explain that men sexual harass women when they have power over them or in a setting when women have less power (as cited in Wilson and Thompson (2001)). Hunt et al. (2007), however, found that the perception on sexual harassment differs from person to person, but sexual harassment is most likely identified when there is a power gap between the harasser and the victim. However, paradoxically, McLaughlin et al. (2012), have found in their research that when women are in positions of

power were likely to report more sexual harassment. This is not the scope of this research, but their findings are interesting nonetheless.

The researchers (Hunt et al., 2007) suggested that the most effective way to address such behaviour is to ask the harasser to stop, but the researchers understand that this is difficult especially when the harasser is the superior. Thacker and Gohmann (1996) explained that prolonged exposure of sexual harassment could cause the employee to become ill (depression), especially when one's superior is the harasser or when a work floor has a more significant number of men.

In the case of Japan, Nemoto (2010) described how Japanese women perceive sexual harassment. Here she explains that sexual harassment is tolerated and not tolerated depending on the context. Female employees were taking their customers to hostess clubs and covering the hostess role by attending the night drinks with their male co-workers after work, and sexual harassment was more tolerated as these were in more informal situations. On the work floor during work time Japanese female workers were taking more action against sexual harassment.

In 2016, the Health, Labour and Welfare Ministry conducted a survey with thirty per cent of the nine-thousand female respondents, between 25 and 44, reported that they were sexually harassed at work. Almost a quarter said that their boss was the harasser. Ten per cent of the women who did complain felt the repercussion of being demoted or received an '*unsympathetic hearing* (as cited in The Guardian, March 2,

2016). In the above literature, it appears that the superior plays a significant role when it comes to sexual harassment.

### 2.3 Social media for social movement

If a message was, purposefully or unintentionally, able to touch the hearts of the people, this could lead to social movements, as it happened with Anne Frank's diary where people like Wiesenthal would hunt Nazi's. Castells (2015) described social movements as the core for change against political institutions that have caused societal crises. Due to misconduct by the political institutions, the people then gather to create a movement against these powers that have reduced their qualities of life. This means that in our time, in order to parry such a big institutional power, social movements have now found a way to communicate against the out of control powers. The conventional media, TV, radio, and newspapers, are controlled by these powers. To communicate a message through the channels as mentioned above is not possible. Social media (or rather the internet as a whole) has given individuals the freedom to communicate limitlessly and to organise an event (Castells, 2015 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.).

In understanding why social media is being used to protest against bigger powers, Valenzuela (2013) came up with three reasons for using social media: 1) *news*, 2) *political opinion expression*, and 3) *joining causes and mobilizing information*. These reasons all seem to stand behind the same cause namely against 'bad actors' with powers and this bonds the ordinary people. Harlow (2012) investigated the social media and social movements in Guatemala and found that social media played a significant role online and offline when it

comes to mobilisation. The Facebook groups, just as Valenzuela mentioned, would bypass conventional media.

Vegh (as cited in Harlow, 2012) would describe how groups mobilise information through online actions and offline actions. A group could call for action online to do something offline (protest, send letters) or a group could call action to do something online (sending emails). As Harlow (2012) explained the function of this online group is to create much traction in the offline world. It is to organise and direct protests. Whereas other studies would look into how the internet would be used by existing movements this researcher looked into the inception of a new movement after an event. High-frequency posts (posts that called for actions) played a significant role in the protests, and this would translate it back on the street by high participation rate.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

The author could not help but ask the same question over and over again: “Why did Matsuri Takahashi commit suicide?” The very answer will never be found as Matsuri Takahashi never left a regular suicide note. However, she did leave the world with a plethora of information on Twitter. The author approaches her death with the assumption that she is an unfortunate victim of a bigger problem. Even if Matsuri Takahashi had left a suicide note stating why she ended her life, the author would not have been convinced that would suffice. It would merely explain her reasons. The author, however, believes that her death could be explained by approaching the case from a sociological perspective. For this, the author will look into Durkheim’s suicide model. The author believes that Durkheim’s suicide model could give a sociological explanation on why Matsuri Takahashi committed suicide.

However, the author does understand that Durkheim’s model will not suffice to contribute to the discussion on the case of Matsuri Takahashi’s. Durkheim wrote his book *Le Suicide* in 1897 and, of course, much has changed. Technology has evolved and has become an inseparable part of contemporary life. To address Matsuri Takahashi’s case, one is required to look into the technological side, in this case, Social Network Service (SNS). Twitter played a significant role in Matsuri Takahashi’s case. The author noticed that Matsuri Takahashi’s Twitter behaviour resembled much like a diary.

### 3.1 Theoretical Framework

#### 3.1.1 Durkheim’s Regulation and Integration Suicide Model

Durkheim investigated suicide from a sociological perspective. He would look into the social factors that played a role in the lives of those who committed suicide. Durkheim (1897/1951) believed that society pushed the individual into committing suicide. He did understand that suicide in its very essence is an individualistic choice, but the circumstances that led the person to commit suicide can be derived from society. According to Durkheim (as cited in Ritzer, 2010, 8th edition), two main social facts that can be looked into: integration and regulation. Durkheim (1897/1951) discovered four types of suicides which are *egoistic*, *altruistic*, *anomic*, and *fatalistic* suicide.

Though Durkheim focused more on the completed suicide, Dorpat and Ripley (1967) argued that there is also a link between attempting and committing suicide that needed further study. Though Durkheim was aware of this and he knew that it had to do with the state of mind that lead to the suicide and he was aware of the 'insane' or the 'mental afflicted', but he did not believe that this would disrupt his research on the society as a whole (Joiner, 2005). Bearman (1991) enhanced Durkheim's definition by stating that integration means a person or a group who are under the umbrella of moral demands of society and bonds them and regulation are moral demands that are demanded of the person or group to partake in the society.

Durkheim (1897/1951) described **(1)** *egoistic*<sup>2</sup> suicide as a suicide committed by people who are individualistic and detached from the community and are unhappy in life. This occurs

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<sup>2</sup> *Egoistic* in this context has nothing to do with a selfish act. It is merely the definition used by Durkheim.

with societies where social ties are low. In a society where there are weaker ties between members this could lead to one feeling left out of society and the person might feel without a role in the society, then committing suicide out of loneliness is *egoistic* suicide. One of the examples Durkheim (as cited in Ritzer, 2010, eighth edition) has given an unmarried person who does no longer feel being a part of society have a higher chance to commit suicide. Durkheim's approach is to look at suicide on a macro level (society), whereas Thorlindsson and Thoroddur (1998) had a look on Durkheim's model on a micro level. They found that Durkheim's model, in Iceland, also had results where they could see that young Icelandic people with strong integration in the family in an anomic society would be less likely to commit suicide.

The extreme opposite of low social cohesion is not favourable either. Too much social cohesion will decrease the individual's identity and could lead to altruistic suicide. **(2)** Altruistic suicide can be explained as a suicide that would benefit the society. In other words, suicide for the greater good. However, this does not mean that is indeed for the greater good; this is what the person who commits suicide believes. A good example is the young *kamikaze* soldiers (神風 divine wind) during the Second World War who sacrificed their lives for the emperor by flying planes into enemy warships. As Durkheim defined altruistic suicide as a normlessness suicide, he failed to define the social structure of said normlessness (Bearman, 1991).

Durkheim (1897/1951) explained **(3)** anomic suicide as a suicide where there are no regulations or limitations set to the person by society, or when an unforeseeable event happens, such as an economic crisis. With the fear of uncertainty of a stable life the person

feels no way out but death. Durkheim (1897/1951) also gave an example that in prosperous economic times suicide is also high.

And lastly, **(4)** fatalistic suicide describes that a person who is trapped in a society where there are high expectations and tight regulations. These people feel that they are no longer themselves as they live a life to live up the expectations of society. They have lost touch to their selves. As an example, Durkheim (1897/1951) gives a small example about slaves who cannot appeal against the power against them. Since one does not have the freedom, the last freedom available is choosing suicide. Stack (1979) believed that many sociologists overlooked Durkheim's fatalistic suicide concept. This is understandable as Durkheim merely referred to fatalistic suicide in a small footnote with short examples at the bottom of the anomic suicide chapter (1897/1951, Digital version p.239). The reason could be that Durkheim thought that this only occurred in rare cases (Bearman, 1991).

Stack (1979) found that in political totalitarianism where a government declares martial law, arrests oppositions, shutdowns and censored media, and reduce the freedom of its civilians; fatalistic suicide is more prevalent as the people who commit suicide see no meaning in their lives due to overcontrol. In his multiple regression analysis, he found that an increase in sanctions would lead to more suicide. However, it must be said that the increase was marginal, but an increase nonetheless. The reader can see that control over one's life could lead to a fatalistic suicide. As mentioned above, there is also a normative role that could be imposed by society to an individual to assume a role. Durkheim (1897/1951) gave an example of a wife who had no children. In our time this is no longer the mainstream view, but back then a wife who had no children could not play her role in the society as society

sets the norm for a wife to raise children. With such a norm imposed, the wife is without an identity (again this was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century), and only has an identity with her husband (Bearman, 1991).

Another way to look into Durkheim's suicide model is a study by Godor (2016) who looked into Durkheim's suicide theory and applied it to student drop-out. The students did not commit suicide but the author was wondering if too much regulation would cause students to drop-out and dropping out is the analogy of suicide in this respect. In his research, Godor (2016) ruled out that student drop-outs have not had anything to do with *egoistic* suicide. The institution controls students, and there is little space for free inquiry. *Fatalistic* suicide made more sense, according to the author, as there is high-level academic control over the students and thus was perceived as too regulated.

The author understands the critiques and keeps them in mind. However, the author will proceed with using Durkheim's suicide model as it is undeniable that the theory has its merits. The fact that more than a century the theory is still being discussed indicates that there is much to learn from Durkheim's suicide model. However, the author will approach the theory from a different angle which will be explained in chapter 4.2.

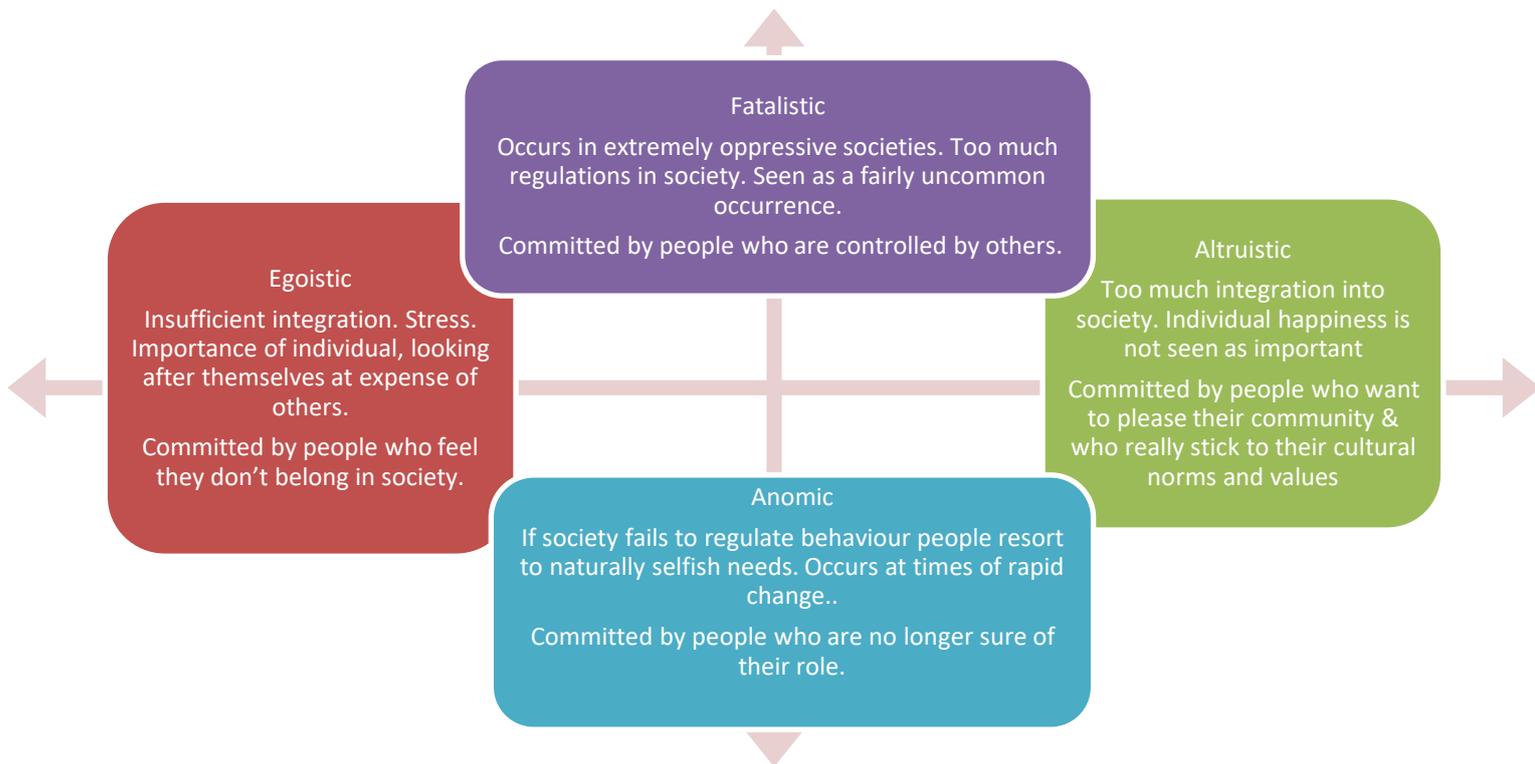


Figure 3: Durkheim's Suicide Model

Source: Robbins, P. Slideplayer

### 3.1.2 Social media as self-revelation and socialisation

#### Social media as a diary

In this section, the author will look into social media can function as a diary. Matsuri Takahashi's tweets were written to the public perhaps as a form of a diary. She disclosed information on Twitter about her work, life, and the issues that led to her death. In this section, the author will look into the impact of using SNS as a diary and what the difference is between having a conventional diary and a diary on SNS. Furthermore, the author will look into how the revelations/disclosures affected and why it leads to moral outrage in Japanese society.

In order to understand better why people would use social media in their daily life, Whiting and Williams (2013) investigated the reasons why people would use social media. Here they discovered ten reasons which are: “.... 1) *social interaction*, 2) *information seeking*, 3) *pass time*, 4) *entertainment*, 5) *relaxation*, 6) *communicatory utility*, 7) *convenience utility*, 8) *expression of opinion*, 9) *information sharing*, and 10) *surveillance/knowledge about others*.” Their findings bring to light the social behaviour of social media and the reasoning behind. Indeed, using social media is used in order to be seen and to be heard by one’s peers and perhaps outside the person’s network. Social media breaks down the silence as one can be heard everywhere. In another research on reasons for disclosing information on Facebook by Christofides et al. (2009), found that one of the biggest drives to disclose information on SNS was the need for popularity. They hinted that Facebook’s role in disclosing information is a creating a norm where disclosing specific information is on the same level as the others. It is a platform where one discloses information to keep up with others doing the same. The researchers also think that social media such as Facebook plays a role in identity construction. Facebook not only allows the user to disclose information about the offline self but also allows others to disclose information about them.

Additionally, Bevan et al. (2015) looked into the behaviour of Facebook users who disclosed information on their important life events (ILE). Here they discovered that users would disclose information depending on whether it was negative or positive news on their ILE. The positive ILE would be disclosed in an indirect (posting with little to no explanation) manner in order to not sound cocky about the positive news. They suggest that Facebook users are aware of the norm of not being too overly happy on Facebook as this would affect their

relationship with others. The opposite occurs with negative news where the users would disclose information on Facebook directly (explicitly stating the purpose of the post). Bevan et al. (2015) believe that disclosing users seek social support by sharing negative information.

Collins and Miller (1994) suggested that there is a triangle relationship when it comes to disclosure. 1) People disclose information about themselves to people they like, 2) People disclose information about themselves to people who disclosed to them first, and lastly, 3) people disclose information about them to be liked by others. This theory has been developed through SNS by Utz (2015). Here Utz tried to understand why people use SNS. Utz looked at the exciting and positive sides of using SNS to be liked by others. Her findings are a positive feedback loop. One's positive and entertaining posts will make one more liked, and the peers will do the same for the same reasoning as the social media users felt a stronger bonding with their peers. Sharing negative news would break this implicit norm where one does not want to bother the other with something that is not likeable.

Bazarova and Choi (2014) used a functional approach to find out why people would disclose information on SNS. The functional approach would give them a look into the decision-making process and how this forms the actual disclosure. In other words, the person who discloses information tries to achieve a particular social reward which could be "(1) social validation, (2) self-expression, (3) relational development, (4) identity clarification, and (5) social control" (Bazarova and Choi, 2014, p.638). In their findings, the people would strategically disclose information on Facebook. The users would disclose information

between public and private communication. Their wall posts were used for general public disclosure, but private messages with more intimate peers would receive more disclosure. When the user can select to whom to disclose the user will more likely make use of this ability given by the platform (Bazarova and Choi, 2014).

With another study on disclosure on Facebook, Al-Saggaf and Nielsen (2014) investigated 616 female Facebook users. The women had their information set to public, and thus anyone could read them. Their reason for only female users was because they could. Gender did not affect in disclosing information when lonely in another study (Nosko et al. 2010).

Furthermore, Al-Saggaf and Nielsen (2014) found that people would disclose more information when they were lonely and sad. The 'lonely' group disclosed more personal and relationship information than the not-lonely group. They believe the reason for disclosing sensitive information online when lonely has to do with lowering the threshold for others to approach them. This would help the lonely person to feel less lonely. They also believe that this category of lonely people (in their study, they were only women) are susceptible to cybercrime, stalking, bullying and other forms of harassment.

Bazarova and Choi (2014) explained that the difference between conventional disclosure and disclosing on SNS lies on the dyadic interaction between personal communication and public communication. Conventionally, one would disclose information in a one-on-one situation and try to keep the information a secret with that person, but on SNS there is a large audience vary from friends, followers, family, and strangers.

According to Paperno (2004), the function of a diary is to put one's life into the text as an expression tool. It is to make one immortal by writing in them in a diary. He defines it as follows:

*"...the diary is a text written in the first-person, in separate installments, ideally on a daily basis, and ostensibly for the purposes of giving an account of the writer's personal experience in a given day, which is not necessarily addressed to someone other than the diarist."*

With the above definition, writing a diary creates a sense of privacy, intimacy, secrecy (Paperno, 2004). According to Harris (1995), communication theorists find it challenging to deal with diaries as diaries are written by and for the same person. The writer is the sender and the receiver which makes their theories problematic. Conventionally, to speak to oneself could be considered a sign of mental problems, but in writing a diary, this is accepted (Harris, 1995). But in the case of an online diary, there is an audience that can receive and read the diary of the diarist.

One of the most famous diaries in the world was written by a Jewish girl named Annelies Marie Frank, also known as, Anne Frank. A young girl who hid from the Nazis in a house in Amsterdam for more two years. According to Levin's (1952/1996) on Anne Frank, she wrote a diary to express herself and to record her day-to-day life. Her father, Otto Frank was the only survivor of the family who in 1947 published her diary (British Library, unknown). Anne Frank wrote the harsh realities and her pain into her diary. As Levin (1952/1996) puts it:

*“There is no lugubrious ghetto tale, no compilation of horrors. Reality can prove surprisingly different from invented reality, and Anne Frank's diary simply bubbles with amusement, love, discovery. It has its share of disgust, its moments of hatred, but it is so wondrously alive, so near, that one feels overwhelmingly the universalities of human nature.”*

Her diary impacted the world as people were able to sympathise with her. According to Wiesenthal (as quoted in BBC News, 2005), a survivor of the Holocaust and a Nazi hunter who caught the man who arrested Anne Frank, the reason we could relate to her is because of “...the impact of the Holocaust, this was a family like my family, like your family and so you could understand this.” This means that the message of one should be relatable and this could have an impact on the world just like Anne Frank’s diary did.

Another diary case which had a significant impact on society is the diary that was written through Twitter, back then, 16-year-old Farah Baker who wrote about the events that occurred in the Gaza during the conflict with Israel (Wolf, 2015). She would be called the ‘Anne Frank of Gaza’. As Wolf (2015) explained, Farah Baker would describe the horrors of the war just as Anne Frank did, however, the most significant difference is that Farah Baker had the proximity and the immediacy to write about the war. As described by Wold (2015), as the events happened life everyone in the world, this brought the readers closer to the war.

According to McNeil (2003), the immediacy of writing a blog as a diary increases the readers’ feeling to identify, and almost experience what the writer experiences. Farah Baker’s tweets were less formal than Anne Frank’s as she did not have the chance to think about things she

wanted to write for too long. As the bombings occurred around her, she would write many spelling mistakes, and her words were more emotional. This made Farah Baker's Twitter diary more relatable to her audience and more realistic.

According to Nardi et al. (2004), the traditional use of a diary would be writing about personal experiences and this would be hidden away from the public, and stored in a secret place. However, with the rise of social media, it appears that a diary is now shared with the public. They looked into blogging and compared it with the conventional diary. With a diary on social media, one of the respondents of their study said that with a diary there is no interaction between the writer and reader. Furthermore, another of the respondents also mentioned that with a diary online one could see the statistics (demographics, visits, etc.) of the visitors who visit the blog. Nardi et al. (2004) also mentioned that the writers of the blog wanted to jump into the known and unknown. In other words, writing a blog as a diary would allow the writers to reach audiences they could and couldn't imagine. Though as they wanted to reach to the unknown, it did not mean they wanted to reach everyone. It is merely to partake in an internet society where one could have an audience whereas with a conventional diary one could not.

### **Public outcry**

The way the public received the tweets and why there was a moral outrage will be analysed through the media outrage model.

One of the things that could explain the sudden surge of public attention to Matsuri's case is moral outrage. Moral outrage is a particular behaviour shown by the masses when bad

actors have done an unjust act, and it requires to be punished (Crockett, 2017). Public outrage can be seen throughout humanity’s history, but it has now morphed into the virtual realm which we know as the internet. The internet has overcome the barrier of time and space. Through social media one can immediately be up to date on events that have occurred on the other side of the globe. As explained by Crockett (2017), people tend to join in the outrage-events even if they are not on the same continent. Public shaming the ‘perpetrators’ through social media will leave a trail for other perpetrators to take heed from. The public believes that a social norm has been violated and this is not appreciated, and this is communicated through social media. This self-correcting mechanism allows the morally outraged rally under the same principle against the wrongdoers. As the threshold is low, anyone can join the cause at any time.

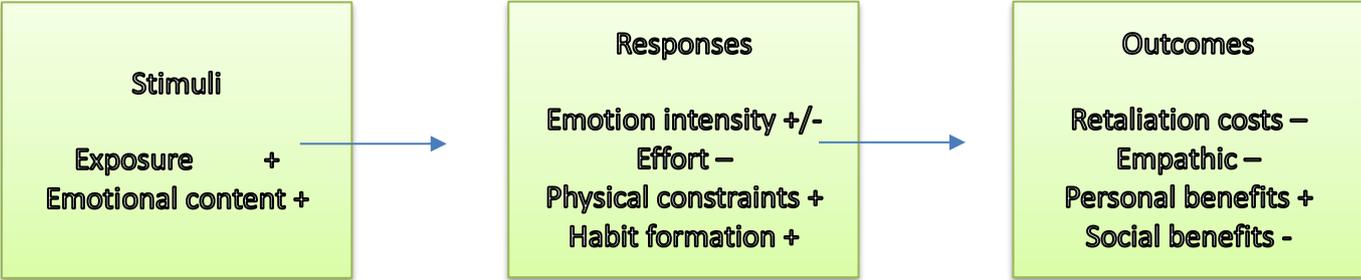


Figure 4: Crockett's public outrage model

3.2 Analysis Method

**Cultural Dimensions**

To put the cultural behaviour of a country into numbers, Hofstede et al. (2010) investigated six cultural dimensions that define how a society function. Each dimension describes a state of mind of a society. They believed that cultural values, rituals, its heroes, and symbols are

all collectively *programmed* in the minds of the people. They use cultural dimensions as a framework for cross-cultural communication. Understanding the scores is to understand the tendencies of that society. The dimensions are 1) Power Distance Index (PDI), 2) Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), 3) Long Term Orientation (LTO), 4) Indulgence vs Restraint (IND). For this research, only two will be discussed, and these dimensions are 5) Individualism vs Collectivism (IDV) and 6) Masculinity vs Femininity (MAS). IDV explains whether society has an emphasis on individualistic behaviour or collectivistic behaviour. MAS explains whether society has a very competitive culture (masculinity) or pursuing more quality of life and caring for the weak (femininity).

Hofstede (2010) conducted surveys around the globe to identify the six cultural dimensions of each country. Hofstede collected the data in his time when he worked for IBM. Here he conducted over 100,000 surveys (as quoted in Powell, 2003). Unfortunately, the author was not able to find the male/female distribution. More will be explained in chapter 4.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The author has not approached the family for questions about Matsuri Takahashi. The family of Matsuri Takashi have not been approached and have been left in peace. The author felt that interviewing and asking personal questions about Matsuri Takahashi is a bridge too far. The reason for this is that losing someone who one loves is already a big pain. Having a student bothering on the topic feels intrusive and uncalled for. Furthermore, to remain objective in the research coming to close to the family might jeopardize its objective and unbiased standpoint. Instead, secondary interview with the mother will be used as a mean of better understanding Matsuri Takahashi.

Matsuri Takahashi left valuable information on Twitter. For this paper, the author will analyse her tweets. Matsuri Takahashi tweeted everything in Japanese. The author does not have a high proficiency in the Japanese language. For this, the author hired an APU undergraduate who has a high-level skill in the Japanese language.

This young man, Sakthibalan Balathandautham (at this point of writing he is a 4<sup>th</sup> year APU undergraduate student), along with his Japanese girlfriend have spent time three weeks translating every single tweet dating from May 30<sup>th</sup> 2015 until her

## Chapter 4: Analysis and Discussion

The purpose of this section is to investigate Matsuri Takahashi's tweets through the aspects and methodologies as mentioned in the previous chapter. This led to a better understanding of public outrage uniquely provoked by Takahashi's death.

### 4.1 The analysis of the Tweets

On Twitter, one can see that Matsuri Takahashi joined Twitter on June 2010 (@Matsuririri). As mentioned above Matsuri's tweets start from May the 30<sup>th</sup>, 2015. There is a retweet that dates on 8<sup>th</sup> of August 2012. But between 2010, when she created her account, and 2015 there are no tweets available. One can infer it might have been that Matsuri Takahashi had made those tweets, between 2010 and 2015, not visible for the public. This means that her followers can only read these tweets. To be able to read these tweets one needs to be a follower, however as explained by Twitter on their website:

*"If you protect your Tweets, you'll receive a request when new people want to follow you, which you can approve or deny."* (Twitter, About public and protected Tweets).

If there are indeed other tweets to be read before the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 2015, this can only be done by being accepted by the account holder. Though on 30<sup>th</sup> of May 2015 Matsuri Takahashi decided to tweet and made it able to be read by the public. With a tool made by

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last tweet on December 20<sup>th</sup> 2015. The translators also added cultural context to help the author to understand the context better.

Vicinitas, the author was able to extract all her public tweets into an Excel file. There are 113 tweets, 13 retweets, and 73 replies that cover many topics. These (re)tweets and replies can all be found in Appendix A.

#### **4.1.1 Categorisation of Matsuri's tweets**

Breaking down the tweets into different categories was necessary to prevent an oversight in the large sum of messages. They have been categorised based on themes: 1) work-related, 2) wanting more free time, 3) gender and age issues, 4) private matters, 5) talking about death/dying, and 6) miscellaneous. The intent of this methodology is not to report a single correct analysis of her tweets, but to give the reader insight and alternative perspectives on her tweets.

##### **4.1.1.1 Work-related tweets**

Matsuri Takahashi committed suicide due to overwork. Therefore, her work-related tweets are of greatest importance for this research. There are 68 work-related tweets. Matsuri Takahashi would have never known that her tweets would have had a significant impact after her death. The author can safely assume that she always spoke the truth about the conditions she had to work with. Furthermore, on Twitter, one can see the *time-stamps*. These time-stamps cannot be tampered with by a user as Twitter's backend safeguards it. Therefore, the time she tweeted and the content is strong enough to be used as evidence to examine her overwork hours.

In her tweets, she was not afraid of speaking her mind about Dentsu Inc. The complaints would cover mostly long working hours, lack of sleep and rest, wanting to stop working,

wanting to change career, hating going to work again, unfortunate encounters with superiors, and losing touch of herself.

#### **4.1.1.2 Wanting more free time**

This section is more of a sub-section to *work-related tweet* as these tweets derive from the continuous overtime work. Four tweets that cover this topic of wanting more time, and overwork. These tweets are significant as they have been a build-up to her fatal night. Matsuri Takahashi wanted more free time, and she would tweet about it during the overwork time. The thought of going to work was also experienced as a stone in her shoe. Even in her free time, she felt depressed as she had to go to the office the next day.

#### **4.1.1.3 Gender and age issues**

In Matsuri Takahashi's tweets, the author noticed a link between the age of a person and gender issues. In her tweets, she talks about old men and young women. Of these, eight tweets cover this matter. Unfortunately, there were not many tweets to thoroughly analyse the gender and age issues within Dentsu Inc. There are, however, indications that could lead the author to a proper conclusion.

#### **4.1.1.4 Private matters**

The author decided not to dig into her life by, for instance, interviewing the family and friends. As Matsuri Takahashi made some tweets public, some are related to her private life; the author cannot ignore these tweets for the sake of this research. The author has approached these tweets with care. The author has found 40 tweets related to Matsuri

Takahashi's private life. These private life matters cover talks about her ex-boyfriend, wanting to marry, talks about her periods, and others.

#### **4.1.1.5 Thinking about dying**

Before the fatal night, Matsuri Takahashi had posted 11 tweets talking about death or dying. Here she would express the need to die, or in the early stages, she was afraid of dying. These tweets can give an idea on which side of Durkheim's spectrum she was.

#### **4.1.1.6 Miscellaneous**

These tweets are not irrelevant per se, but these tweets do tell more about what type of person Matsuri Takahashi was, however, these tweets are out of scope for this particular research. There are many posts about handsome men, cat pictures, and general talks with Matsuri Takahashi's friends. The time when the tweets were posted is used in this paper. The timestamps of these tweets further strengthen the idea of when Matsuri Takahashi was posting her tweets the most. There are 68 miscellaneous posts.

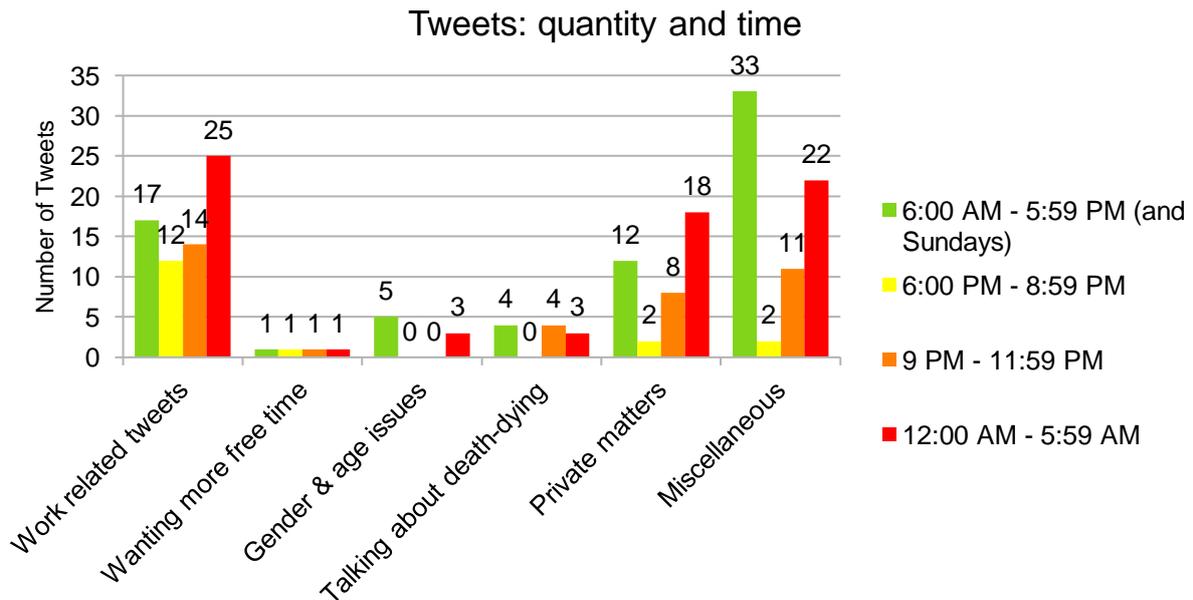
## **4.2 Multidimensional suicide:**

### **Matsuri Takahashi's suicide explained**

The number of tweets Matsuri Takahashi posted from May 30<sup>th</sup> until December 20<sup>th</sup> 2015 have been analysed to understand her working conditions as well as her self-disclosure/self-expression better. This section will go over her tweets to examine the characteristics and operation of Takahashi's tweets, by applying Durkheim's suicide model.

On [16<sup>th</sup> of October 2015 at 6:25 PM](#), Matsuri Takahashi sarcastically said that an endless rain does not exist but staying at work does. The author was able to deduce that her working hours after 6 PM were overtime hours. With this in mind, all the work-related tweets after 6 PM will be counted as *overtime hours*. During the analysis, the author found that there are many tweets after 6 PM. If the author clustered all the tweets of after 6 PM, the reader would not feel the severity of the working conditions. Putting the tweets of 4 AM together with tweets of 7 PM would not be fair as the former is 10 hours of overtime whereas the latter is 1 hour of overtime. Therefore, the author categorised the times as following (see Appendix B): From 6:00 AM to 5:59 PM are regular working hours which are marked green or are Sundays when she was free of work (not Saturdays), from 6 PM to 8:59 PM are marked yellow, from 9 PM to 23:59 are marked orange, and from 00:00 AM to 5:59 AM are marked red.

These time categories illustrate the working times. There are many tweets, and one would quickly lose track of time. The colour schemes are merely an indicator for the reader to keep an oversight of the tweets.



*Figure 5 Tweets: quantity and time*

As time progressed, one can see that Matsuri Takahashi would be more active and vocal about her work conditions especially after midnight. Tweets that are work-related fifty-one are posted after 6 PM on a weekday (+ Saturday). *Wanting more free time*, three are after 6 PM. *Gender and age issues* tweets three are after 6 PM. Tweets where she would talk about wanting to die, or she might die due to overwork; seven are posted after 6 PM. Tweets which are *Private matters*, twenty-eight were posted after 6 PM. And lastly, *miscellaneous* which thirty-five were posted after 6 PM. In total there are 127 tweets out of 199 that were posted by Matsuri Takahashi after 6 PM.

#### **Ganbaru society in Matsuri's work ethic: the trigger of work overtime.**

To understand why Matsuri Takahashi would go such great lengths for her company one needs to understand the cultural aspects that forced her into working such long hours.

According to Hofstede et al. (2010), Japan scores 46 out of 100 on IDV; this means that Japan is not a society where there is an emphasis on the individual but instead on the collective. Furthermore, Japan scores very high on MAS namely 95 out of 100. This means that Japan is an extremely competitive country and achievement craving society. Japan is a country that is pursuing success and achievement which can only go to one winner. The opposite means that Japan is not focusing on the quality of life.

Hofstede's theory can be confirmed through Matsuri's tweets. Matsuri Takahashi was living in a society that demanded of her to work long working hours. A society where they crave for achievements and success the most cannot be combined with enjoying the quality of life. In Matsuri's tweets, one can find the ganbaru mentality as explained by Meek (1999).

Matsuri mentioned the word ganbaru (In Japanese **がんばる**) several times (in bold);

October 22, 2015: *"...I too want to be able to do things on my own, but I have **to work hard** for it."*

October 29, 2015: *"@I "the quotes of the wise employee" is a great book to have a read and I strongly recommend it. let's **try our best** to make the best out of each day!"*

November 12, 2015: *"I thought I have been **working hard** and ahead of time, but I've come to realise that I'm going to be broken just by my expectations and I hate myself for that."*

December 12, 2015: *"My favourite senpai said "**well done**" to me. That is priceless."*

As Meek (1999) explained, ganbaru can be translated in many ways. But here her wording shows that Matsuri did try her best to *ganbaru*. Matsuri even read a book for her to work hard and become a good employee, and also attempted to stimulate others to *ganbaru* too. This collective behaviour, as Meek (1999) described, is an indication that there is a goal that

requires to be achieved collectively. Furthermore, when complimented by her senpai on her *ganbaru* on that day, she was overjoyed. Through these tweets, one can see that the *ganbaru* factor played a role in Matsuri's work ethic and it could explain why she kept working long hours.

### **Matsuri's suicide in Durkheim's suicide typology**

We can see that the society Matsuri Takahashi was living in is a society which upholds many rules. For instance, on 29th of October, 2015 Matsuri said: *"The age gap between the elders and us is deeper than the ocean" is a phrase that some countries may have, similarly - I forgot what the rules of the company were just once - and used the casual tones on my seniors and got scolded by them; and so, yet again, my motivation has been affected.*" On that day, Matsuri Takahashi forgot to use the formal form to her superior(s). In other words, she used the casual form, and it was not appreciated by her superior(s), and she got scolded for it. This depressed her a lot. On 3rd of November, 2015 Matsuri said: *"Seniority (age-based) pay scheme - are usually in major positions. It does not matter of their position/ranking if they do something wrong. Rules remain. It is not right to poke at people without reason nor a good motive. It's not right either that they don't realise it due to their (old) age. There are too many of such ojii-chans (old men that don't notice their surroundings)",* Matsuri disagreed on the societal rule where older people can freely 'poke' into someone's life. She complained that there were too many old people, presumably she meant within the company.

These tweets of Matsuri Takahashi indicate that the Japanese society has too many societal rules that are in the disadvantage to young people. These tweets give a good idea that

freedom within a huge Japanese company is slim for young people. It also indicates that the older the person is, the more they can get away with, such as sticking their nose in someone else's life. These observations indicate that Matsuri Takahashi's death was a *fatalistic* death according to Durkheim's suicide categorisation. Her death could not have been an *anomic* case because, as found above, the society Matsuri was surrounded is strongly regulated.

It is evident that her death was not *altruistic*. She complained about workload almost daily. Indeed, she said that she was sacrificing her life for Dentsu Inc. but, for the sake of that argument, assume she did commit suicide for the greater good; there is no indication what that greater good could have been as she was not satisfied with her work conditions.

Furthermore, [on 15<sup>th</sup> of October, 2015](#), Matsuri said that working behind her PC until 4 AM is the norm at Dentsu Inc. and she is probably going to die behind the PC. This tweet is evidence that she was not willing to die for the company.

Could it have been an *egoistic* suicide? One can indicate that her bond with her [senpai](#) (senior, but still in her age category) and [batchmates](#) was strong. Besides her colleagues, Matsuri had strong ties with a few of her Twitter friends. The author was not able to identify whether they were good friends in real life or not but she intimately tweeted with a few friends throughout the nine months. The author has removed their Twitter names for the sake of privacy<sup>4</sup>. These numbers can be found in Appendix C. Matsuri Takahashi talked the most with person @A and @B who were mentioned thirteen times by Matsuri, and person @C eleven times. Person @D and @E were mentioned six times. Person @F and @G were

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<sup>4</sup> The author is aware that the names are public and anyone could look them up through Matsuri's Takahashi's public twitter account. But nonetheless, their names are not visible in here.

mentioned three times. In total Matsuri Takahashi (@Matsuririri) interacted with thirty-four people. In total, they were mentioned 88 times by Matsuri Takahashi. It is difficult to determine whether this is sufficient or not, but Matsuri Takahashi had virtual social contact with people which three were contacted the most.

Is virtual communication representative enough to call it strong bonds compared to offline relationships? Okdie et al. (2011) had found that people who communicate face-to-face had a better impression of their communication partner. Those who communicated through computer-mediated-communication perceived their communication partner more as self-centred. This had to do with the fact that there was an immediacy to respond to one another when face-to-face.

Besides the perception of the *other*, Grieve et al. (2013) suggested that connectedness through Facebook can still be experienced as still having a social relationship in an offline setting. They did, however, find clear evidence that Facebook differs from face-to-face, but Facebook did meet the respondent's social needs. Qiu and McDougall (2013) looked into face-to-face and online communication and found that online communications in a small subgroup discussion had greater value in the discourse. The respondents were able to read what happened in other groups without missing out which allowed a more in-depth conversation which is not possible in an offline setting. The disadvantage, however, was the time it took for other respondents to reply which lead to loss of the train of thought of the respondents and this could lead to misunderstandings.

The ties with a few Twitter friends were strong, but the author also found strong indications that her love life might have played a significant role in her suicide. On 23<sup>rd</sup> of September, 2015, Matsuri said: [“Recently, I have broken up \(relationship wise\), and my heart was broken. But I'm trying my best to recover from it.”](#) On the same day, she also said: [“\(boyfriend broke-up patching-up\) \(ex-boyfriend guilt apologise\) \(long distance relationship ditched\).”](#) This break-up bothered her a lot as she would mention her break-up often. She would mention her ex-boyfriend another nine times in her tweets (eleven times in total). The tweet that stood out the most was on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 2015 at 11:02 PM. She wrote: [“On my super party-type ex-BFs dropped me a text via LINE just an hour before my birthday - it said "hooray I'm getting married" . . . .”](#) Her ex-boyfriend would, most likely intentionally, hurt her by telling her that he would marry just right before her birthday. This claim that she got hurt can be derived from her reaction 27 minutes into her birthday (2<sup>nd</sup> of November 12:27 AM) Matsuri said in her tweet: [“People who do bad things are kind of interesting \(just small bad things / small deal issues\). But I'm rather focused on getting ready/prepared to get married.”](#)

Amagasa et al.'s (2005) theory would indicate that her suicide was an indirect suicide. In their research, they found that 11 out of 22 suicide cases had experienced an unfortunate life event that would lead them to mental problems. In Matsuri Takahashi's case, her adverse life event was probably losing her boyfriend. As Amagasa et al. (2005) argued that working ten to sixteen hours a day for an extended period (five to eighteen months) and after an unfortunate life event it would take approximately two to eight months until suicide. The period between the adverse life event until suicide (two to eight months) is what Amagasa et al. (2005) called it '*manifestation.*' Matsuri Takahashi worked a total of

nine months. She broke up with her boyfriend in September 2015. From her start of work until her break-up it would have been approximately six months of long working hours. From her break-up until her suicide has been around three months. The manifestation period where her depression developed has been three months. Matsuri's case coincides with the researchers' findings.

In Matsuri Takahashi's message, one can derive that marriage was on her mind. She said a few more things on marriage: (1) ["If I can't get back with my ex-boyfriend, I really need to use "Pairs" app. I can't wait to get married!"](#), (2) ["...So, for the sake of the 2nd half of life - getting married is an important step, I feel."](#), (3) ["Period/menstruation is basically useful preparation for things after getting married. So that's the same as paying for pension monthly - eternally. For nothing... am I wrong?"](#), (4) ["...I may even marry a rich old man just like Katoucha-san's wife or just keep half of all the money I earned for myself and spend it as I please."](#) In the context of this case, Matsuri Takahashi probably wanted to escape her work-life by getting married as soon as possible. This can be found back in Nemoto's (2013) research where women would be happy if they got married because they could no longer work in inhumane working conditions. Matsuri Takahashi's earliest mention of marriage is on October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2015. This was six months in when she joined Dentsu Inc. and three months before her suicide. In her tweets, one can find that she was trying to rationalise her decision of getting married as soon as possible. Nemoto (2013) also mentioned that Japanese society expects young girls to get married and leave the company. Although, the author has found no evidence in her tweets that her superiors were trying to push her out. The working conditions, as one can read in her other tweets, were inhumane and therefore Matsuri was seeking a way to escape it.

It is possible to determine her suicide partly as *egoistic* for certain. The way Matsuri tweeted could be interpreted as her way of rejecting the society. Through Twitter, she expressed her individuality and the importance of her individuality. Following a few examples which show the importance of Matsuri's individuality: "[Someday I want to have free time for myself.](#)", "[Don't feel like going to work anymore. It would be great to have just two days off from work every week](#)", "[It is completely absurd and ridiculous since I have to work so many hours without sleep. I used to be happy with my work - but not anymore.](#)" Here the reader can see that Matsuri reveals the importance of her individuality and expresses her views. Durkheim (1897/1951) views egoistic suicide as a suicide where there is lack of integration; based on the observations Matsuri's tweets, through her self-disclosure through Twitter shared by her readers; she was rather integrated in the virtual community.

It can be therefore suggested the use of SNS as one of the significant and crucial communication tool in the contemporary society, especially among young generations, indicates the need of complicating Durkheim's (1897/1951) understanding of suicide. For this, the author would argue that it is both egoistic and fatalistic suicide. Egoistic because Matsuri Takahashi did put her individuality before the company. She expressed her pain and frustrations through Twitter. She wanted to take some time for herself and not just for the company. And while Matsuri was living in a rather individualistic environment, the fact that she chose to express herself through Twitter, which would satisfy the user's thirst for social validation, self-expression, relational development, and identity clarification (Bazarova & Choi, 2014), implied that there may not have been a community tight or supportive enough for her to be bonded in real-life.

Parallely, her life was also too much regulated by society, and therefore her suicide is also fatalistic as society is oppressive to her due to enforcing certain expectations on her (work hard, work every day, do low-end jobs, get married, and have children). She thought that marriage was a way out, but unbeknownst to her, this was not a way out either as society was expecting her to get married.

Due to the complexity of the SNS factor, explaining her death with a single answer will not suffice. Here the author would like to introduce two different parts of one's self in order to offer a potentially complicated explanation of Matsuri's suicide committed in the contemporary, technologically advanced society: The virtual Matsuri and the real-life Matsuri. The virtual Matsuri committed an egoistic suicide, and the real-life Matsuri committed a fatalistic suicide.

To address the virtual identity as a separate entity, the author looks into one of the early works on virtual identities. Turkle (1995) described virtual identities as a 'culture of simulation' where the internet plays an important factor in constructing one's identity. She explained that while sitting behind your screen one can be in multiple contexts simultaneously. One can be present in different places at the same time. This allows a new way of thinking about the self. "The life practice of [the internet] is that of a decentered self that exists in many worlds and plays many roles at the same time" (Turkle, 1995, p. 14). Crowe and Bradford (2006) concluded that the virtual world and the real world are intertwined. The virtual world is an 'imagined community' where the virtual self brings in the culture and experiences from the real world into the virtual world. They found that through

virtual world (young) people have found ways to express themselves and can meet new people.

Koles and Nagy (2012) compared the virtual identity and real-life identity with an analogy namely Dr Jekyll (virtual) and Mr Hyde (real-life). They found that there were many similarities on the dimensions (1) personal, (2) relational, (3) social, and (4) collective orientation, but they differed based on the context of importance and relevance. They found that the virtual image of the user was essential as this represented more the inner self. Using those views about identity construction in the internet era, it can be argued that the virtual Matsuri committed an egoistic suicide, and the real-life Matsuri committed a fatalistic suicide.

### **Disclosing social media diary**

By now the reader should understand that Matsuri Takahashi's tweets were a cry for help. Tweets such as: *"...I feel bad. So sympathetic that I might even cry"* and *"I wanna die is all I can think off and even if I overcome that what is there for me, end of the day?"* were, in theory, posted because she was lonely. As Al-Saggaf and Nielsen (2014) and Bevan et al. (2015) have found that social media users would disclose negative information about themselves so they would be easier to be approached by others to receive social support. There are posts about her breaking up with her boyfriend, wanting to die, confrontations at work, hating work, working too long, and how bad her life was.

It was all a plea for help, and it also served as a diary. Contrary to a conventional diary, a diary on Twitter was addressed to everyone and no one. One of her posts on December 13,

2015, she said: *“(My) Life is so crappy, I'm trying so hard to recall my high school ex-BF by using lucid dreaming trainings.”* She did not ‘tag’ a friend on this post meaning everyone, and no one was the addressee. In theory, she could have addressed this to herself in a distant future where she could look back and reread it. This fits Paperno’s definition of a diary where it is written in a first-person, on a daily basis, and it covers a certain experience on that day. Twitter, however, differs as the sense of privacy, intimacy, and secrecy are not applicable. Matsuri’s tweets are public, not per se intimate, and open.

The reason why Anne Frank’s diary became famous is because it was disclosed. It was no longer a secret, and the public could read it. Furthermore, when the public was able to read her diary, the public was able to sympathise with her. The people understood the words of young a lady and were able to sense what Anne Frank went through. In the case of Matsuri Takahashi, her tweets could be seen as an open diary, and the public could sympathise with her. The difference, however, as explained by McNeill (2003), is the immediacy that one could feel with Matsuri Takahashi’s tweets. Her tweets were live and were accessible anytime and anywhere, and therefore, her “diary” has consequently become a potent source that awakened society concerning work ethic and working policies.

### **Likes and retweets by the public**

With her tweets categorised in themes and time slots, the author was able to extract how frequently particular tweets were liked (favourited or liked) and retweeted (shared). As her case came to light, the public was moved by her tweets and used her tweets as evidence that there is a fundamental problem in Japan when it comes to work.

The public liked and shared many of Matsuri Takahashi’s tweets. As her story is tragic, liking a tweet made should not be interpreted as liking her situation in a punitive way but rather liking in this context means: “We agree with what you said”. For the sake of keeping an oversight, there are a lot more tweets with high likes and shares; the author discusses the top 5 most retweets and likes:

Tweets	Retweeted
My boss told me I lack femininity and I thought it was a joke - But he seems to be pushing it too far. Unfortunately, I wish I could tell him that despite his skin bald head, he too lack masculinity. This sucks and is very depressing	2239
When you spend 20 hours a day at the office, you no longer understand what you're living for and can't help but laugh (Translation by Reuters, 2016, November 4)	2233
What I would like to tell those students who are job hunting is "a job is not a fun part-time job, it's more of a career path that you decide upon on the long run and if you don't suit the job - you'd fail mentally and physically more than often."	1323
One of my top ranking bosses said "you are out of your overtime shifts, 20 hours have been a total waste of time" "during meeting, when you become sleepy, it means you're not observing enough" "your hair is messy, eyes are red and swollen - don't show up to work that way" "if you can't do what you're supposed to do - it means your capacity is inadequate"	1281
Me: having red eyes is wrong?	1125

Figure 6: Top 5 Most Retweeted Posts by the Public

As one can see, the most retweeted posts are about her boss scolding her for the lack of womanliness/femininity and about the time she spent 20 hours at her office and not seeing the end of her work. The other posts are also about the unfortunate encounters with her boss and the unfairness and toughness of working life in Japan.

Tweets	Likes
My boss told me I lack femininity and I thought it was a joke - But he seems to be pushing it too far. Unfortunately, I wish I could tell him that despite his skin bald head, he too lack masculinity. This sucks and is very depressing	1779
What I would like to tell those students who are job hunting is "a job is not a fun part-time job, it's more of a career path that you decide upon on the long run and if you don't suit the job - you'd fail mentally and physically more than often."	1523
During my university 1st year, my ex-BF dried my hair for me - and that moment was excellent. I shall recall that very moment and use it to try my best tomorrow at work on a positive note	1337

When you spend 20 hours a day at the office, you no longer understand what you're living for and can't help but laugh (Reuters, 2016, November 4)	1330
One of my top ranking bosses said "you are out of your overtime shifts, 20 hours have been a total waste of time" "during meeting, when you become sleepy, it means you're not observing enough" "your hair is messy, eyes are red and swollen - don't show up to work that way" "if you can't do what you're supposed to do - it means your capacity is inadequate"	
Me: having red eyes is wrong?	958

*Figure 7: Top 5 Most Liked Tweets by the Public*

Again, just like the top 5 most shared tweets, the most liked tweets are confrontations with her superiors and the long hours she had to work. The only difference between these two comparisons is that her post about her memory with her ex-boyfriend was inspirational to people. In this post, there was still a slight of light in Matsuri's life as it would give her strength to go to work.

The top 5 of retweets and top 5 likes could be explained by Crockett's theory (2017) when it comes to moral outrage, and it could explain why a society unifies when injustice has been done. In the case of Matsuri Takahashi, the public was able to read that Dentsu Inc. had treated Matsuri Takahashi poorly and this was the reason for the public outcry against the big actor. In the stimuli block, as depicted by Crockett (2017) (see [figure 4](#)) Matsuri Takahashi's tweets (**exposure**) were emotional tweets that detailed the situations she worked in. The tweets caught traction (**emotional content**) and led to an emotional reaction in Japanese society. The number of retweets and likes are evidence of that. Crockett (2017) argues that as the threshold to join an internet mob is lower than joining one offline to express the moral outrage (**effort, physical constraints**) the costs and rewards for such behaviour differ a lot. There is a higher chance of experiencing a moral violation case online than in real-life. As a person who expresses moral outrage online hides between the masses,

and there is little to no retaliation online. To join such a moral outrage group comes more naturally.

The moral outrage by the public was not in vain. On 28<sup>th</sup> of December, 2016, Tadashi Ishii the CEO of Dentsu resigned. He said that his resignation is to accept the responsibility for her death (The Japan Times, 2016).

### **Sexual harassment and seniority pay scheme**

As mentioned above, eight tweets that were related to gender and age (five related to gender, and three related to age). [On October 31, 2015](#), and [on November 3, 2015](#), Matsuri Takahashi mentioned twice about the seniority pay scheme as this worried her. As Nemoto (2016) said, older men are sitting in essential positions. She also mentioned that one who starts at a Japanese company does not have a title until after promotion. One can safely assume that Matsuri Takahashi was at the very bottom as she just joined the company in April 2015.

Because of the unbalance on the work floor, her superior abused this power and interfered in people's lives even though, according to Matsuri, it is not his business. But due to the seniority pay scheme, her older superior has power accumulated throughout the years that 'allowed' him to treat his personnel like that. Matsuri Takahashi mentioned that probably because of his age he is not able to realise that. She also said that there were too many old men with the same issue.

Because of the prominent status gap between Matsuri Takahashi and her superior, sexual harassment was not of the ordinary. [On her final tweet](#), she wrote that her boss told her that she lacked femininity. [On another post](#), Matsuri mentioned that some men within the company disturb women or make them cry. It seemed that Dentsu Inc. was a classic textbook case of power and sexual harassment. This comes without surprise; Japan is one of the worst countries where the gender gap is exceptionally high. On the Global Gender Gap ranking, made by World Economic Forum, in 2015 Japan ranked 101<sup>st</sup> out of 145 (2015), on 2016 it ranked 111<sup>th</sup> out of 144 (2016). One would have hoped that Japan would work on this issue at its utmost best; however, it has been found that Japan has been dropping even more. In 2017 Japan ranked 114<sup>th</sup> out 142 (2017).

On November 3, 2015, Matsuri said: ““To be very honest about it, I would even call them "kuso-jiji.”” This tweet was posted during work; therefore, it is safe to assume Matsuri had a confrontation with a male co-worker who is older than her. In all her other tweets one does not find “kuso-baba” (f@#\*!% old woman). From this one can infer that within Dentsu Inc. there was a big gap in the vertical sex-segregation model. This confirms Nemoto’s theory (2016) that in Japan there is this gap. Unfortunately, her tweets did not mention anything on how the promotion system worked within the company. The way men treated women within the company one can safely assume that on the horizontal sex-segregation model, women probably had low paid jobs.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

### 5.1 Conclusion

Japan has a long history of karōshi/karōjisatsu. This research explored the karōshi case of Matsuri Takahashi and why it was unique. The reason why Matsuri Takahashi's case is unique is that of the fact she was a young lady, the age of 24, and the most significant factor that made her case so unique is due to her genuine expressions through Twitter which had stirred the hearts of the Japanese. In her tweets, she would tell about what she had to deal with, such as, excessive overtime hours and enduring power and sexual harassment from her superior(s). Unconsciously, she used Twitter as a diary as she would post her grievance on a day-to-day basis. This allowed the society to sympathise and experience her pain through her words.

The author concludes that Matsuri Takahashi suicide was a fatalistic and egoistic suicide. The virtual Matsuri committed an egoistic suicide, and the real-life Matsuri committed a fatalistic suicide. Matsuri Takahashi has become a symbol against karōshi and also against the marginalised women on the work floor.

### 5.2 The aftermath

#### Dentsu Inc.

As Matsuri Takahashi's case is quite a recent case, initial findings concluded that academics have yet to dig into this case. After her death, her case was covered by many news agencies, and it got much traction. The news agencies have more resources and are better to translate from Japanese to English. News agencies such as The Japan Times are full valuable information and were sitting on top of this big news. The news agencies have already moved

on, and there is a trail of a plethora of information that can be read about the story. Matsuri Takahashi's case has been mentioned now and then by academics, but merely mentioning her as a karōshi case superficially.

On October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016, ten days after the announcement of the preventive karōshi white paper, the government raided five subsidiaries of Dentsu Inc. A raid is quite uncommon in Japan. The Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare conducted this raid to cease information regarding overwork hours in the Dentsu Inc. headquarters, three branches in Nagoya, Kyoto, and Osaka, and five subsidiaries in Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka, Sapporo, and in Naha (The Japan Times, 2016, October 18). Almost a month later, November 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016, Dentsu Inc. and the three branches got raided again (The Mainichi, 2016, November 7). Dentsu Inc. claimed that the overwork hours were set at 70 hours a month, but the ministry believed that Dentsu Inc. forced the workers to do more overtime and probably these over hours were not reported. These raids were conducted to find evidence that Dentsu Inc. does force their workers to work more than 70 hours a month. In the raid, the Ministry found more than 30 cases where overtime hours exceeded more than 100 hours. Dentsu Inc. forces its workers to report fewer hours than worked so they can remain within the official 70 hours. These malpractices have been found to be taken place in all the offices. The authorities promised to tackle down overwork hours (The Japan Times, 2016, November 8).

Six months after the first raid, the authorities sent their findings to the prosecutor. However, even though they had found some cases of exceeding overtime hours, the ministry has had weak evidence. This had to do that managers were aware of their illegal practices and were able to hide them.

In June 2017, the prosecutors indicted Dentsu Inc. for breaking the Labour Standards Law. However, the senior managers of Dentsu Inc. were not indicted as there was not enough evidence to make them responsible for the overwork hours. The ruling on July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017, was deemed 'inadequate'. As reported by The Japan Times (2017, July 14), usually an indictment would have been held behind closed doors, but on July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the court chose to hold it publicly. This decision was probably to make Dentsu Inc. an example for other companies.

On September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2017, the new president of Dentsu Inc., Toshihiro Yamamoto (Tadashi Ishii left officially on 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2016), pleaded guilty for ignoring Labour Standards Law overworks hours rule. He gave a public apology to the family of Matsuri. He said: "We failed to fulfil the social responsibility of a company" (Kikuchi, 2017, September 22). He also said that he would cut his salary by twenty per cent for six months. On October 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017, the court fined Dentsu Inc. for merely ¥500,000 (4400 USD). The reason for this small fine is because the Japanese law only allows small penalties for breaching overwork hours (Uranaka, 2017, October 6). For a company with a revenue of ¥928,841 billion (8.2 billion USD) in 2017 (Dentsu Inc., 2018, February 13), a mere \$4400 is an insult to injury. However, for Japan, this is a historical event. Never before has a company been punished for exploiting its employees. Yukimi Takahashi, the mother of Matsuri Takahashi, hoped that, regarding the fine, the labour laws would be revised so companies can be punished more severely. However, she remains sceptic about Dentsu Inc. (Iwamoto, 2017, October 12). Dentsu Inc. already promised that they would work on their overtime hours after Ichiro's case, but they failed to uphold their promise.

On October 28, 2017, Dentsu Inc. announced that they would pay ¥2.4 billion (21 million USD), two years of unpaid overtime to their employees. When checking their data, Dentsu Inc. said that some employees 'refrained' from writing down their overwork hours (The Japan Times, November 28, 2017).

## **Politics**

In 2002, the government came with a plan to prevent karōshi. The plan was divided into three parts, reducing over hours to a maximum of 45 hours a month, examining the health of the workers, and guide those who have or feel overworked (Eguchi et al. 2016). This plan did not affect as karōshi cases that got compensated for the damages kept rising. In 2014 the Japanese government enacted a law that would make it their duty to prevent karōshi. This law, however, did not come with rules on how to put it to practice or what the consequences are if an organisation does not prevent karōshi (The Japan Times, July 14). With this law (or Act if you will) the Japanese government did clearly define what falls under karōshi namely: suicide due to overwork, heart disease due to overwork, or a stroke due to overwork (Eguchi et al. 2016).

In June 2018, the Japanese government had set the overwork hours to a maximum of 100 hours a month only when the company requires the extra manpower in busy days. In other times of the year, 45 hours is the maximum of over hours a month. There is also a cap on overtime in a year which is 720 hours. (The Asahi Shimbun, 2018, June 30).

This leaves interpretation to the companies. This could lead to a situation where a company will say that they had been busy for an entire year. Which directly contradicts the statement

which the government also explained that one's life would be at risk if one works more than 80 hours a month (The Feed, 2018, September 25). The bill that was pushed by Prime Minister Abe now includes penalties for violators.

Most issues are top-down where people with power force others to work more hours. In Japan, however, there is also a culture where one feels wrong with the idea of leaving work to other colleagues. They feel they are a burden on others and as a result, they will not take their paid leave. In a new bill, it also forces employees to take their days off. Employers only gave days off if the employees asked for it. But since there is a shaming culture of taking days off, Japanese workers would barely take any days off.

Not willing to leave work to their co-workers can be explained by the theory of Meek (1999). The Japanese feel it is their *giri* or moral obligation to work a lot and not to leave the company for their vacation. For this, the Japanese people work a lot, and they are *ganbaru* or doing their best to endure and not giving up so do not leave their co-workers and company because they are their new primary dependence for security, social support, and identity.

### **5.3 Limitations**

The author does not have high-level proficiency in the Japanese language. This limited the author mostly to English sources. For this, the author used news articles to explore recent issues surrounding Matsuri's case. As the media fed the society with new news around *karōshi* in Japan, it was THE source of information as academics have yet to write more about it. Those academics who did mention Matsuri Takahashi merely named her superficially to refer to a *karōshi* issue that occurred in 2015.

The author tried to look more into hashtag behaviour on Twitter ( #高橋まつり ) around Matsuri Takahashi's case, but this is only possible with a specific budget. Some companies will extract all the information on an excel file for a fee. However, due to the vast amount of #高橋まつり messages, the author did not have the means to obtain them. However, the majority of the message would have been in Japanese. Though, the author would not have been able to analyse them.

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## Appendix

### Appendix A

Timestamps	Japanese	English	Meaning/nuance	Favourites	Retweets	Type
<a href="#">2012-07-08 10:17:53</a>	近所のマッサージ屋に行ったら、背中を指圧されながら「お客さん、もしかしたらミュージシャンかなにかですか」と聞かれたので、「え、体を触るだけでそんなことまでわかるんですか？」と聞いてみた。「いや、なんかすごいパーマなんで」と言われた。	Recently I went to massage parlour and when the masseuse was massaging my back, he asked if I was a musician. And I asked how would you know just by a massage? And he said my hair was very permed so he had assumed I was a musician.		0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-05-30 12:41:11</a>	土日だいすき	I love weekends		70	32	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-05-30 13:54:29</a>	昨日初めてOG訪問を受けて、ひどい二日酔いと寝不足で気持ち悪い中フォーの汁だけをすすりながら話したんだけど、志望理由が「なんか華やかな業界なので憧れてます」とか言う学生に対して現実を見せつけた感あった。	Yesterday, I had attended an alumni function/event. I got so drunk and lacked sleep. I felt very sick, was drinking "Pho", and was talking to one of them - motivation/reason to join was "I wanted to join a gorgeous career/department/industry" and I felt I showed a student the reality of the world.	The Japanese phrasing is odd - but she has mentioned that the reality of "working", "career", is rather different from what a mundane student would have had expected.	126	89	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-05-30 14:19:43</a>	観終わった後のもよもよとすっきりのバランスが素敵	I feel good after experiencing the balance of fuzziness and neat/tidy	It's safe to assume she has seen/experienced something (not mentioned) - that has moved her emotionally. And the fact that it entices her mind to think	14	2	Tweet

			deeply - is a valuable experience/moment for her.			
<a href="#">2015-05-30 14:56:04</a>	思考の深度が同じ人と話すのが一番楽。相手が浅いとこちらはつまらないし、相手が深すぎると劣等感に苛まれる。	It is easy to communicate with someone with the same/similar thought process as myself. And I feel if the person I'm talking to is too empty-headed the conversation is rather boring - similarly if he/she too smart, I feel inferior.	Shows signs of inferiority complex and self-realization	200	63	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-05-30 15:15:34</a>	<a href="#">@A わたしも ted の面白さわかんなかったです。英語で観ても日本語で観ても三流の下ネタしゃべるクマの話を金かけて映画にしたんだなーとしか思いませんでした。</a>	I too saw "Ted" (the movie) but I found it rather uninteresting. I saw it both in English and Japanese but I feel it was a 3rd rate (amateur level) sexual/dirty jokes told by a teddy bear rather not a good way to spend money	This is a reply to @A. Not possible to say much about the content but her character/ability can be inferred.	12	4	Reply
<a href="#">2015-05-30 15:17:30</a>	<a href="#">@A 世間はこんなに騒いでるのに全く面白くないなんて、日本語で見るからジョークとか言葉遊び的なものとか分からないのかも？と思って律儀に英語字幕まで出して見直したのにつまらなかつたです。</a>	Everyone seemed to enjoy the movie, but I felt I was the only one not understanding the joke. But I tried to watch it again with English subs but I still did not enjoy it.	This is a reply to @A. Not possible to say much about the content but her character/ability can be inferred.	5	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-05-30 15:24:28</a>	<a href="#">@A 自分のお笑いに対する高尚すぎるセンスのせいで面白くなかつたのか...と思うのが正解ですね笑</a>	I feel my humour level is possibly too high to laugh at lame joke at the movie, so maybe it's not suited for me	This is a reply to @A. Not possible to say much about the content but her character/ability can be inferred.	4	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-05-31 17:36:34</a>	毎日映画見てたら生きていたい。	I want to watch movies every day and just be doing nothing (being lazy) all day long		0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-05-31</a>	TSUTAYA に行くのも PC 立ち上げるのも面倒だから、思い立った時	I would rather download a movie onto my iPhone and	She would rather spend money to be	43	15	Tweet

<a href="#">17:41:13</a>	に iPhone に映画落として 1 人で観るのが好きすぎる。レンタル 1 本 400 円は割高だけど。	watch it, instead of going all the way to Tsutaya or turning my PC on just to watch a movie. Over the phone - it's just 400 yen.	a little lazy to attain the same objective			
<a href="#">2015-06-25 22:03:34</a>	<a href="#">たまに猫の肉球にクマさん落書きするイタズラをしてるんだが、未だに親とかに気づかれたことはない pic.twitter.com/goJa75UJx7</a>	I enjoy pranking my cats by drawing "bears" on their paws. And my parents have yet to realise it.	Humour	0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-06-26 1:11:48</a>	Facebook に流れてくる post は 4 種類。中年おっさんの日常、結婚関連、Facebook ページ、リクか電通かアナウンサーの人による「オレこれにかかわってまあ〜す」以上。	There a basically 4 types of post of Facebook. 1: middle-aged old men's daily life. 2: wedding related, 3: FB pages, 4: recruitments/agencies/ announcers sharing the "hey, I'm in here". the end	Not sure how she feels, but it may seem like jealousy, or sick and tired of looking at such posts	0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-09-06 23:59:28</a>	Google フォト、人の顔を認識してフォルダ分けする機能が本当に優れているんですが、私の顔のフォルダに佐々木希の画像を振り分けていたのでかなりユーザーに気を使えるサービスだと一押しです。	"Google Photo" is great - it uses facial profiles to create separate folders for each person - and it identified my as "Sasaki Nozomi" (a famous celebrity in Japan". It is so kind. And I recommend this application to everyone.	She's probably joking on this post	68	16	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-09-09 0:39:13</a>	<a href="#">@D 退勤ですもうだめ</a>	@D I give up / I'm done	Not sure - it lacks content due to a conversation. But it either means she has clocked out of work - or she is done for the day. Time: 00:39 AM	10	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-09-09 0:41:42</a>	<a href="#">@D 清く正しく終電まで粘ってこそ新卒です。。</a>	@D A fresh graduate is one who would be sincere and loyal to his job till the very last train...	Emphasis on the behaviour of new staff/salarymen with respect to Japanese culture - to work till very late	11	4	Reply

<p><a href="#">2015-09-10 23:04:07</a></p>	<p>「努力が報われて超一流企業〇〇に就職できました！」って投稿する人は殆どいないのに、外銀、官僚(特に経産省)、司法試験合格者に至ってはどいつもこいつも己の輝かしい門出や激務ぶりを見せびらかすよなあとつくづく。就活の時感じた自己顕示欲の高い集団だという認識は間違ってた...と思う。</p>	<p>A very few people say "Yeah, I worked so hard and achieved my goal/objective of joining XXX company." However, those that work for foreign banks, foreign affairs, and those that pass the law/legislature examinations tend to show off their achievements. And I was effectively right about how I felt about my abilities during my job hunting phase.</p>	<p>Not sure what she is trying to say, but her inferior complex can be further discussed here</p>	<p>250</p>	<p>134</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-09-10 23:07:04</a></p>	<p>それに「おめでとう！さすがだな！」とかコメントつくし、更に「商社マンに褒められるとか光栄だわ笑」とか返事してるうちの大学出身者集団、サブイボ立つ。。</p>	<p>And, I get goose bumps whenever those posts receive "wow, congrats", "very much like you" comments from businessmen (managers/directors) especially those who were from the same university as myself.</p>	<p>Not sure what she is trying to say, but her inferior complex can be further discussed here</p>	<p>100</p>	<p>37</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-09-10 23:28:33</a></p>	<p>@R 素直に称賛している人たちの心がめっちゃ綺麗か、たかろうとしてるのかと思ってしまいます。</p>	<p>@R I feel that those that give praise are either very honest people who speak from the heart. If not, they simply have sarcasm/jealousy in their mind.</p>	<p>Concerns about sincerity</p>	<p>7</p>	<p>0</p>	<p>Reply</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-09-10 23:35:04</a></p>	<p>@G あー、そうでした。。個人的には、厚生省、文科省は好感度高いです。</p>	<p>@G ah, I guess that's how it was. I feel the ministry of health, education, culture, sports, science and technology are great places to work at. (MEXT)</p>		<p>4</p>	<p>2</p>	<p>Reply</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-09-10 23:44:25</a></p>	<p>@G 滅私奉公的なイメージが強いんですかね。。なんか、こういうこと書いたら嫌味じゃないかな？疎まれないかな？と案ずることがない性格や自信や環境が羨ましいのかなーと思います。</p>	<p>@G Selfless devotion and personal service have a very strong image I guess. I hope others that see this do not feel offended and stray away from me. - I feel those that those that can ignore such comments, have the confidence and the right atmosphere are</p>	<p>Possibly showing a little more about her personal likings and insecurities. Jealousy</p>	<p>7</p>	<p>2</p>	<p>Reply</p>

		very lucky, and I feel jealous of them.				
<a href="#">2015-09-10 23:48:22</a>	@Q あと数年しても 20 代後半とかで同じことやってたら、こいつらやべーな... と思いそうです笑	@Q In a few years, I'll be in my post 20s (25-29), and if I behave the same way - I'll feel like "that kid is odd/weird"		8	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-09-13 21:20:58</a>	国立大学といえども免除、奨学金制度が中途半端なせいでだいたいの学生はきちんと月 5 万払ってるんだから、社会人になって国に恩返ししたいなんて思わないよ。なので官僚になった友人を尊敬しているのですが、世間はどうもそうじゃないようなので田舎の文句垂れおじさんとは話さないことにしてる。	In public/government universities they claim everything is paid for - however you still need to work hard for scholarships/exemptions and yet they still pay 50,000 yen per month. And they tend to become workers who have no patriotism/commitment to their own country. I personally respect those that work for the government (civil servants and similar) some of those are my own friends. But reality is that, there are many old men who live in the countryside and only have the mouth to complain - and I take no interest in listening to what they have to say.		93	34	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-09-16 8:36:25</a>	そんなに弁が立つなら、代わりに仕事に行ってくれ(T ^ T) pic.twitter.com/GkE8jKlpQN	Since you have such a big mouth, then do my work as well, instead of me.	Anger? Confrontation at work?	64	34	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-09-23 17:35:09</a>	最近失恋しかけてメンタルずたずただったんだけど何とか持ちこたえて生きていますという報告と、この前年俸制の彼の休日出勤手当を時給換算してもらったら私の残業代の 25 倍だったので、この人は労働市場で私の 25 倍以上の価値がある... と全身全霊のリスペクトを以って関係修復に励んでいる。	Recently, I have broken up (relationship wise), and my heart was broken. But I'm trying my best to recover from it; and also, I saw his annual payslip and its details (overtime pay, hourly pay etc) and he is actually earning 25 times more than that of my own overtime pay. I, my own spirit and soul, respect him very highly and am very impressed by that.	This is a major encounter that can be assumed - she broke up with him, but after seeing his pay slip (not the amount of money, but the amount of effort he has put in) she respects him highly -	111	53	Tweet

			and more than likely is trying to fix the relationship to patch-back with this particular guy.			
<a href="#">2015-09-23 17:55:20</a>	「彼氏 振られた 復縁」「元彼 未練 謝罪」「遠距離恋愛 振られた」等で検索しまくってたら見事に楽天○ーネット等の婚活サイトや恋愛占い師の広告ばかり出てきて、泣き腫らしながらも恋のテーブルワード拾われてんなあと冷静に分析できていたし、失恋しても毎日情熱と冷静の間で残業してた。強い。	(boyfriend broke-up patching-up) (ex-boyfriend guilt apologise) (long distance relationship ditched) are the things that I've been searching on search engines recently and I've been seeing Rakuten adverts about matchmaking websites/links and it makes me cry my eyes out and I feel for such sweet words about love and I was able to analyse love both in calm and hot manner - and I worked overtime with that. I am tough!	Relationship issues	65	13	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-07 23:41:28</a>	@P 本郷や谷根千のゆったりとした雰囲気が懐かしいです。。	@P hongo (place) and yanesen (place), I miss those peaceful and calming places...		7	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-07 23:44:58</a>	@D オフィスから最も近いオアシスの1つ...	@D One of the oasis which is the nearest from office ...		3	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-08 23:48:41</a>	残業姫と年俸制王子の運命的出会い	Partners of fate, princesses of overworking, and the prince of the annual salary system	What she means here is two people with the same background working at the same place but different salary system	194	261	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-09 0:41:35</a>	@S わぁ...天国の食べ物...	@S wow, food from heaven		2	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-09</a>	@M 年俸制是指年薪制。日本公司一般采用月工资制、支付加班费。	<b>This is not Japanese, but Chinese. The translation from Mandarin to Japanese: Annual salary system.</b>		7	3	Reply

<a href="#">20:45:18</a>	日本人为什么必须加班到这种程度？就要死了啊啊啊啊啊啊	<b>Japanese companies usually adopt the monthly salary system and pay for overtime work. Why do Japanese people work overtime so much? It's killing me. AAAAHHH! (screaming)</b>			
<a href="#">2015-10-11 17:59:58</a>	殿堂入りの4人。竹野内豊、玉木宏、平山浩行、中村トオル。 pic.twitter.com/5RJwlsq9x	The hall of fame's 4 celebs. Takenouchi Yutaka, Tamaki Hiroshi, Hirayama Hiroyuki, Nakamura Tooru.		37	5 Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-11 18:01:12</a>	黒革の手帖で中村トオルの乳首見えたのラッキーだと思ったね。	I was able to see Nakamura Tooru's nipples on a black leather scheduler/planner and I must be lucky		12	0 Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-12 20:15:45</a>	@O 開催は大江戸線沿線をお願いします(´_`)	@O Please host the event along the Oedo line		5	0 Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-12 23:20:14</a>	休日出勤えらいなあとか思って出社したけど、うちの部に限っては6割出社してた。そりゃ過労で死にもするわ。	I thought I was a good person because I go to work even on weekends but in my department; more than sixty percent of workers in my department are there as well. I guess that is the how we going to die - due to overworking	A cold joke about overworking. Karoshi	153	187 Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-12 23:21:16</a>	噂に聞いた 47 時帰宅、47:40 出社もあり得る。	I heard of rumours that we get home at 47 o'clock and come back to work at 47:40 again	A cold joke about overworking. Karoshi	69	80 Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-13 1:28:39</a>	@A いまからお風呂は行って出社します(´・`´...)死	@A I am going to go to work after taking a bath		12	9 Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-13 1:31:37</a>	オフィスに出社するたびに「ここがまつりのアナザースカイ」ってナレーションかけてる。	I always narrate "here is another sky of festival" when I start work daily		590	310 Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-13 3:02:00</a>	つらい時は、ジャンジョルジュのエッグキャビアを思い浮かべる。 pic.twitter.com/fH99zJ1aH3	When I feel sad/upset - I think about Jean-Georges' egg caviar		23	3 Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-13 3:09:03</a>	入社2年目になれた暁には、1年間で蓄積した先輩に言われて辛かった言葉やお叱りの言葉といった知見をフルに活用して、フリースタイルラップの世界でdisりの女王になるよ。	Upon the first 2 years of starting work, the first year I got lots of complaints and comments from my seniors. I used the advice to my advantage and I felt		81	32 Tweet

	<a href="https://matome.naver.jp/odai/2135728989983353901...">https://matome.naver.jp/odai/2135728989983353901...</a>	like a freestyle vulgar girl rapper				
<a href="#">2015-10-14 0:47:19</a>	社会人になって恋人と同棲してたり実家で毎日ママに良い子良い子してもらったりといった、精神的に赤ちゃん男子・女子には税金を課せ。	Even after becoming a salaryman/worker - those that live together with their lovers, or head back to their own homes and be pampered by their mothers like babies - should learn to pay their own taxes on their own	This one - seems like a strong opinion by the way it is phrased	85	40	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-14 0:52:28</a>	@N いつもきえちゃんおもしろい笑 仕事の話も共感型で話しちゃうから、「えー！うちのクライアントにはそんな課題があるんですか！それは困りますねー！」と発言してバカを披露してるわ。えらいね。	@N Kie-san, you are interesting/funny as always hahaha. Where work and client-relationships are concerned - you know exactly what to say to make yourself look like a fool and bond with your clients more easily (gain trust) you're good.		5	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-14 0:55:34</a>	@T 君はきやわいいね	@T You are cute		5	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-14 2:27:42</a>	帝京大医学部の女の子がテラスハウス出てたけど、その肩書きがテロップに出てる限り「私はめっちゃめっちゃ馬鹿だけど、親に大金を払ってもらって医者になるよ！」って吹き出しに書いてあるようなものじゃん。	One of Teikyo university medical department's student appeared on a TV drama series recently, but when I see her name appear on the screen (with her name and her university name etc) I feel as if it says "I'm actually really stupid but my parents can afford to pay for my education at a good university to become a doctor"	Potential jealousy or bad image of such students?	202	99	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-14 2:29:52</a>	こちとら毎日馬鹿であることを恥じて生きている一方で、馬鹿であることを惜しげもなく暴露できる人間は強い。	I always try my best to minimize any chance that shows that I may be stupid. But I think people that can openly accept that they are in fact stupid - are actually strong	Inferior look on herself	114	51	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-14 7:20:44</a>	眠りたい以外の感情を失った	I just need sleep - and I have no other feeling	Sleep deprived	109	123	Tweet

<a href="#">2015-10-15</a> <a href="#">0:03:04</a>	<p>誰もが朝の4時退勤とか徹夜とかしてる中で新入社員が眠いとか疲れたとか言えない雰囲気なので、火事とか地震の時でも逃げることに罪悪感覚えて最期までPCの前にかじりついて死ぬやつだわ。</p>	<p>Since it is a norm to leave work even at 4 AM, new staff members can't even voice out that they are exhausted or sleepy - even if a fire breaks out or an earthquake occurs - escaping may not even be an option I guess. Dying while staring at the PC is probably how it's going to be.</p>	<p>The amount of pain in this cold joke, it is not easy to take it even the slightest bit of humorous. Basically, describing karoshi.</p>	194	261	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-15</a> <a href="#">9:23:50</a>	@M 生日快乐！	@M Happy birthday		2	0	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-15</a> <a href="#">17:37:23</a>	@A ええ、華麗に変身しました。	@A yes, I changed brilliantly		5	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-16</a> <a href="#">18:25:45</a>	止まない雨はないが、帰れない会社はある	There is no such thing as a rain that will not stop - but, there is surely a company that you surely can't go home from	Over-working lifestyle	0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-10-16</a> <a href="#">18:38:58</a>	@A @D いつの日か、お手すきたいです。	@A @D Someday I want to have free time for myself.	Wanting more free time	7	2	Reply
2015-10-16 20:22:29	@L それ、晴れて就職すると毎日感じる気持ち！	@L Yes, I feel accomplished everyday - just like when I was job hunting successfully		5	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-16</a> <a href="#">20:39:58</a>	@L 結論から言うと、残業してるので飲めません。課題や悩みはExcelにまとめてメールで送ってください	@L I'm still on my overtime shift so I can't drink. Please send me your worries/questions on a excel sheet over email.		15	4	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-18</a> <a href="#">21:25:11</a>	こういうのさ、もっと早く教えてくれよって感じだよ。	The thing is that it makes me feel like - you should have informed me earlier		28	10	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-19</a> <a href="#">23:17:33</a>	座右の銘「ブラックかブラックでないかの違いは、残業時間の長さではない。残業代が出るか出ないかだ。」	My favourite motto "It does not matter if the company I'm working for is "black" or not - it is more of "do I get paid for my overtime"	being paid vs not paid (for overtime work). Openly calling her company 'black'	220	146	Tweet

<a href="#">2015-10-19 23:20:11</a>	@K 間違いなく超暇なんだと思います。	@K Without a doubt, I think (he/she) is just very free.		4	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-19 23:29:47</a>	デートの時に奢るべき・べきでない論に時間を費やしてる暇人は、その時間を使って金を稼げという話。お金の余裕が出ると人間は絶対奢る派になるから。	I don't think it matter if, during a date, the guy/girl should pay for the meal. Because the time spent discussing this - you might as well work and earn some money. The fact is that people who earn that extra money have the ability/potential to pay that amount and they should be the one to give it as a treat for the other party.	Money matters	179	60	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-19 23:53:35</a>	@U 自分よりかわいそうな人の話なら喜んで聞きます	@U I would love to listen to anyone - whose life is more pitiful than mine	Comparing herself to others - and placing herself as the standard for how pitiful she is	10	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-19 23:55:54</a>	伊藤忠、パイナップル試食するだけのめちゃくちゃ楽な仕事なんだからもっと早く知っていれば！	"Itochu" (company) uses people to taste test pineapples and they earn money too - wish I had had known that earlier	Making fun of Itochu company	45	17	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-20 0:27:41</a>	@F 全部同意。	@F I fully agree to it		4	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-20 1:29:53</a>	@F このまま一生続くから絶対に専業主婦になる	@F It is going to be this manner forever on into being a housewife		8	4	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-20 3:28:09</a>	死因:愛のある指導	Cause of death: the way towards love	Major milestone	87	71	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-20 3:30:21</a>	@D 生々しい話ですが、ちょうど食品部門を希望していてツナ缶でも鯖缶でもいいから作りたいとか何とか言ってたんで、そのまま面接受ければよかったです。	@D Honestly, I went to the food section of the departmental store - and really wanted to just cook a simple meal out of canned tuna/fish - and I feel I should have joined such company's interviews instead from the first place	company comparisons	7	0	Reply

<a href="#">2015-10-20 4:08:12</a>	この子飼いたい pic.twitter.com/CcAXBDB0Q4	I want to have this pet	loneliness?	21	5	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-21 3:41:43</a>	帰宅。。	Just got home	3:41 AM	11	5	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-21 17:11:17</a>	@B ももちゃんはしろきじ pic.twitter.com/s41LoYrLvM	@B Momochan(pet) is white furred		8	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-21 17:11:30</a>	@A (´ω`)	@A (facial expression)		8	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-21 17:24:01</a>	非常事態宣言①が発動され、転職サイトに登録。	Emergency declaration no 1: I have applied for change in career over an online website	major milestone	46	19	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-22 0:35:52</a>	@F ありがとー！あの人はわたしのにも面白くはないけど、安定してる会社辞めてフリーになる行動力ほんとにすごいと思うし、理想だよな。。何かやりたくなるまでは今のところでがんばらないとね	@F thank You! I also think he/she is not funny but I am impressed by his action. He was able to leave a very stable career of a company and I wish I could have that too. I too want to be able to do things on my own, but I have to work hard for it.	career thoughts	7	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-22 21:06:01</a>	@A リアリティ帯びてます	@A Reality still exists		3	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-22 22:59:57</a>	@V_h 食堂配属だと何するの？	@V_h If the cafeteria is the place you end up working at - what would you do?		3	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-22 23:21:28</a>	@J 行きたい... 最近ぶつつづけで19時間とか仕事してて、お昼はデスクでコンビニかお昼抜き(´ω`)	@J I really want to go... recently, I work 19 hours non-stop. I eat lunch at my desk or I skip lunch	Severe work life style	17	13	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-22 23:26:46</a>	@J ありがと(;>)もう会社の人としか話さない毎日いやだ...	@@J Thank you. I do not like that I just talk to anyone other than my fellow colleagues every day.	Severe work life style	10	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-23 12:36:54</a>	@A スポーツ広告×データドリブンですね、引き抜き待ってます	@A It is sports advertisement x data driven. I am waiting for people's approach.		5	0	Reply

<a href="#">2015-10-25</a> <a href="#">16:36:45</a>	彼氏と別れて最悪な気持ちでも、これから会社に行けば終わることのない仕事が残っていると気が楽...。きついな仕事してよかった。	Even when I broke up with boyfriend and I am not in the mood, I feel comfortable because I can go to work and there are so many tasks that never seem to ends. I'm grateful for such a tough(stressful) job	work life opinions	109	70	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-25</a> <a href="#">17:01:49</a>	暇だった時代なら練りに練った泣き言ポエムを烈火の如く送りつけていただろうけど、今の私はちがう。アジェンダを練る。	when I was free, I gave good thought and made many sad, poem. but who I am today - is different. I have an agenda in mind.	Her work keeps her mind full to not think of her recent stranded relationship.	46	13	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-25</a> <a href="#">17:02:45</a>	くそー(´ω`)	Shit		13	2	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-25</a> <a href="#">17:37:28</a>	@K 残業は神がくれた救い	@K Overworking is the god's gift	Sarcasm?	6	3	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-26</a> <a href="#">3:49:29</a>	わたしがこんなにえがっているのに、おうちご飯の写真をFBにアップしている同期がいるの、まじで信じられない。。なんでだよ！	I'm already so upset and sad; but I don't understand why people on FB have to upload photos of their home-cooked food online. Seriously, unbelievable. But then again... why (add salt to an open wound)	home-sickness and jealousy	72	34	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-26</a> <a href="#">6:17:01</a>	Dylan @MrVasNormandy <a href="http://pic.twitter.com/OI4dz1tMhD">pic.twitter.com/OI4dz1tMhD</a>		Cat with lightsabres beating 2 dogs on its own	0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-10-26</a> <a href="#">21:37:32</a>	二徹する覚悟でお風呂入りに一旦帰宅したんだけど、ついでに復縁も図ってから入社して資料作成に取り組む。全てが一世代の大仕事。。	I had decided to stay awake for 2 days straight to get work done - but went home just to take a shower/bath. I also used that time to consider patching up (with my ex-boyfriend) and what I needed to get done at work. Feels like I have one of most important (stressful) jobs in the universe	The pressures of previous relationship and work life and long hours	58	26	Tweet

<p><a href="#">2015-10-26 21:39:42</a></p>	<p>復縁できなかつたら pairs 登録待ったなしだな。秒で結婚したいから。</p>	<p>If I can't get back with my ex-boyfriend, I really need to use "Pairs" app. I can't wait to get married!</p>	<p>Rather sudden, but she just wants to get married ASAP. Probably wants to get married to leave the company</p>	<p>52</p>	<p>24</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-10-26 21:48:10</a></p>	<p>プライベートが辛すぎる今、仕事には感謝してる。すごいな、相対的な価値観っていうのは。</p>	<p>My personal life is so horrible, I'm grateful for being able to go to work. wow, what an irony</p>	<p>Her personal life is worse than her job, according to Matsuri Takahashi</p>	<p>57</p>	<p>22</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-10-26 22:14:34</a></p>	<p>昔から復縁したいと強く思うほどに恋占いのネイティブアドに騙されて「運命の彼と復縁できた子には共通点があった!？」的な記事を1分おきに読みまくってる私から言わせると、馬鹿じゃなくても弱ってる時には壺も買うし宗教にも入るしほんと何してもおかしくない。</p>	<p>Before, I used to really want to get back with my ex-bf and during that time I found things that fortune tellers, fortune cookie slips e.g. "your fateful partner and you have very much in common" and buying meaningless object etc. When you've tried all that - doing such things doesn't seem silly at all - like joining religious groups or buying lucky charms</p>	<p>She realises her weakness of having feelings in her one-sided present relationship - since the guy already broke up with her. But looks at the bigger picture and realises that it's a norm among most people - to do silly things for things that may not be true at all. Trying to find comfort in superstitious things.</p>	<p>120</p>	<p>49</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-10-26 22:26:41</a></p>	<p>復縁のために考えている「(元彼の)心を動かしそうな言葉」を書き溜めておいてデータドリブンクリエイターになるんだ!!('ω•̀)</p>	<p>Recently I've been writing "things to say to emotionally move your ex-boyfriend's heart" - and at this rate I'll become a data-driven creator...</p>	<p>"Data-driven creator" - probably a term used to describe the amount of original work she has made on her own - like an amateur romance poem writer</p>	<p>46</p>	<p>7</p>	<p>Tweet</p>

<p><a href="#">2015-10-26 22:30:01</a></p>	<p>@W またメンヘラになってる...。仕事してなかったら引きこもるか死んでた(&gt;&lt;)</p>	<p>@W Yes, it seems like I'm back to the constant feeling of jealousy (light/low mental illness level). Given if I have had not being at this job - I would have killed myself, or simply dead already</p>	<p>Over-attached / attention-seeking / insecure Also showing that her job is the only thing keeping her alive and active at this point of time.</p>	<p>13</p>	<p>4</p>	<p>Reply</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-10-26 22:34:06</a></p>	<p>@X 超仕事あるし元々会ってなかったから全然生活変わらない。やばそうだから隙間時間はすべて婚活したいと思います。</p>	<p>@X Before I had so much work that it was the reason why I couldn't meet up with my BF. But nothing has changed in that sense since I don't have any time even for myself now. I wish I could have some balance in my own life primarily.</p>		<p>12</p>	<p>2</p>	<p>Reply</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-10-27 12:36:59</a></p>	<p>やっぱり何日も寝られないくらいの労働量はおかしすぎる。感謝取消。</p>	<p>It is completely absurd and ridiculous since I have to work so many hours without sleep. I used to be happy with my work - but not anymore</p>	<p>Major milestone in her career path - change in attitude and mentality.</p>	<p>94</p>	<p>75</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-10-28 20:56:03</a></p>	<p>二徹して作った自作の資料が全くダメだと言われたのだけれど、直してみたら良かったらクライアントへ持っていきこうということになり、休日出勤も厭わないやる気が出てきた私は社畜の才能が有り余ってる</p>	<p>For 2 days straight, I've been working on a report - but it wasn't good enough apparently. I was told that if I fix it then then we could send it to the client. But it seemed like I simply had to work even on my off days. I am basically sacrificing my own life (lifestyle) just for my company.</p>	<p>Use of terms like "sacrifice" and "for the company". Disassociate herself from the company</p>	<p>146</p>	<p>113</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<p><a href="#">2015-10-29 0:00:51</a></p>	<p>残業代のおかげで、入社7ヶ月目のお給料は初任給の1.5倍になりました圧倒的成長</p>	<p>Ever since joining this company, my 7th month's payslip is now 1.5 times of my first month's salary - all thanks to over-working! an achievement indeed!</p>	<p>not sure if she's being sarcastic or sincerely happy about it - but the pay-off / returns of overworking took a long</p>	<p>154</p>	<p>119</p>	<p>Tweet</p>

			time to be realised			
<a href="#">2015-10-29 0:10:41</a>	@I 名言の多い働きマン読むのおすすめです！仕事に救われる日もそれなりにありますし、がんばりましょう	@I "the quotes of the wise employee" is a great book to have a read and I strongly recommend it. let's try our best to make the best out of each day!	she's still has a positive outlook on her job. Boasting	14	1	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-29 0:28:19</a>	@I 毎日ガンガン働いて、たまの休みには海外旅行して、自分で稼いだお金で友達と美味しいものを食べて、親孝行して、好きな人にプレゼントあげて、っていう生活は疲れるけど、若いうちだけのゲームだと思ってます。なので、人生後半戦のために婚活も必要ですな笑	@I While you're still young - work hard and travel as much you can and spend the money you earned on your own on great good, family outings, buying presents for the ones you love... though it's tiring, this can only be done while you're still young - and take it as a game (challenge). So, for the sake of the 2nd half of life - getting married is an important step, I feel.	Very long ended - but she does have a life plan for herself. Work hard and then get married.	52	14	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-29 21:48:46</a>	「年次の壁は海よりも深い」という村の掬みたいな社風を忘れて年の近い先輩に馴れ馴れしい口を聞いて怒りを買ってしまい、わたしの精神がまた傷ついてしまった。	"The age gap between the elders and us is deeper than the ocean" is a phrase that some countries may have, similarly - I forgot what the rules of the company were just once - and used the casual tones on my seniors and got scolded by them; and so, yet again, my motivation has been affected.	An error she made, but affected her greatly	148	89	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-10-29 21:53:14</a>	@A それは一旦ペンディングです	@A That is put on "pending" for now		2	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-29 22:51:26</a>	@A 今日早く帰ったので少し見ました。めちゃめちゃいいですね。あと、村上龍の後記もさすがです	@A I got home little bit earlier and was able to watch it. It was great and the journal of Murakami was good as expected	Haruki Murakami is an author of several books. Quite famous worldwide	4	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-10-30</a>	ADになって1週間の後輩さんを連れて街録。初めてみたいなので	Ever since I became the assistant director and I brought one of	Responsibilities vs reality	0	0	Retweet

<a href="#">19:31:30</a>	<p>諸々教えながら 20 代女子をターゲットで声かけをお願いしてたけど、誰でも構わず声かけるから「一応綺麗な人でいこうか。テレビだから」って言うと「テレビってそうなんですね...」と落ち込ませてしまった。ごめん...</p>	<p>my juniors around the town to take photos. Seemed like his first time so I had to help him out and reach out to women in their 20s (as our target) but he seemed to interview everyone that was not our target as well - so I told him to pick "good-looking faces" since it's for TV anyways. and he replied "oh yeah, that's exactly how TV is right..." back at me. I'm sorry (but you're right)</p>				
<a href="#">2015-10-31</a> <a href="#">1:26:01</a>	<p>「これは高橋は悪くないよ。うん、それだけ。」って言われたとき、先輩、それは胸きゅんオブザイヤードです...と思った。</p>	<p>When I was told "it's not Takahashi's fault and yes that's it" and Takahashi replied "that's just like a noble / high pride type of bird"</p>	<p>Not clear what this is about</p>	<p>91</p>	<p>24</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<a href="#">2015-10-31</a> <a href="#">1:29:33</a>	<p>@Y 確かに年功序列すごそう...怖いのか？</p>	<p>@Y Seniority (by age) salary system is amazing right? or scary?</p>		<p>3</p>	<p>0</p>	<p>Reply</p>
<a href="#">2015-10-31</a> <a href="#">7:58:10</a>	<p>部長「君の残業時間の 20 時間は会社にとって無駄」「会議中に眠そうな顔をするのは管理ができていない」「髪ボサボサ、目が充血したまま出勤するな」「今の業務量で辛いのはキャパがなさすぎる」わたし「充血もだめなの？」</p>	<p>One of my top-ranking bosses said "you are out of your overtime shifts, 20 hours have been a total waste of time" "during meeting, when you become sleepy, it means you're not observing enough" "your hair is messy, eyes are red and swollen - don't show up to work that way" "if you can't do what you're supposed to do - it means your capacity is inadequate"</p> <p>Me: having red eyes is wrong?</p>	<p>A recount with her boss</p>	<p>958</p>	<p>128 1</p>	<p>Tweet</p>
<a href="#">2015-10-31</a> <a href="#">22:53:21</a>	<p>@B 一流社会人でさえ血管の収縮までコントロールできねえよ、って話。</p>	<p>@B Even professionals can't control if there's eyes get red or not, right? It's not like they have special abilities to control their veins / blood flow</p>	<p>Upset about her confrontation with her superior(s)</p>	<p>32</p>	<p>18</p>	<p>Reply</p>

<a href="#">2015-11-01 15:23:53</a>	会社行きたくない。週休 2 日がいい(><)	Don't feel like going to work anymore. It would be great to have just two days off from work every week	possible mental exhaustion?	61	33	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-01 15:27:58</a>	日曜の昼過ぎにお風呂は行って会社行って会社で寝るライフスタイルにはまりつつある...	"Getting a shower/bath on Sunday around lunch time, then heading to work, just to sleep at work" is the kind of lifestyle I'm kind of getting very used to...	possible mental exhaustion?	47	42	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-01 17:39:27</a>	日曜日でも弊社は輝いている	My company is bright even on a Sunday	Sarcasm. She means that the company is open even on a Sunday.	44	34	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-01 22:44:54</a>	優しかったり面白かったり超仕事できたり後輩や同僚思いだったりする先輩や同期も、たまにプライベートが垣間見えることがあって、仕事が終われば女の子を弄んだり泣かしたりしているいわゆる「広告マン」なんだなあと思うと切ない気持ちになる。	Kind, funny / interesting, work-smart people (juniors, same-batch personnel, seniors included) - more than often behave differently in their own personal lives; like disturbing women / girls, making them cry etc etc. I don't understand how these "advertisement men" exist. Makes me feel just pitiful and sad		265	113	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-01 23:02:30</a>	凄まじい遊び人のパリピの元カレから「いえーい。結婚するー」って LINE が来た誕生日 1 時間前...	On my super party-type ex-BFs dropped me a text via LINE just an hour before my birthday - it said "hooray I'm getting married" . . . .	This is a big dagger in the back. Looks like a vengeful message by her ex-boyfriend.	31	6	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-02 0:27:33</a>	人のやんちゃはおもしろい。私は着実に婚活するけど。	People who do bad things are kind of interesting (just small bad things / small deal issues). But I'm rather focused on getting ready/prepared to get married.	An hour and half later after knowing her ex-boyfriend is going to marry, she wants to marry now too. Signs of jealousy.	31	6	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-02 0:28:44</a>	@C フラミンゴか	@C Is it a flamingo?		4	0	Reply

<a href="#">2015-11-02 0:29:22</a>	おもしろすぎる	This is too funny		12	1	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-02 0:32:40</a>	@C 元気じゃないですけど、この土日はとてもよく寝ました。1週間のうち6日はソファに座ったまま寝ているのでフラミンゴよかはましです。	@C I'm not feeling great, but this particular weekend - I got enough sleep. Almost 6 days a week, I fall asleep on my sofa when I get home. Better than a flamingo (that sleeps while standing)	Comparing her life with a flamingo. She is glad she can lie on the sofa, at least.	23	25	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-02 0:41:39</a>	@C 仕事は楽しいよ。寝られないけど！上司も怖くないよ。寝られないけど！最近どう？	@C Work is fun! Except that I don't sleep much. XX is also not scary at all. Again, I don't get to sleep much. How've you been?	She enjoys her work, but not the long over hours.	16	8	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-02 0:42:57</a>	@C 言ってね一笑	@C Just tell me (haha)		5	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-02 0:44:21</a>	@C やだよ！食い扶持を失わせないでよ！	@C Don't do that. Don't become used to losing your appetite (don't skip meals)		5	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-03 2:36:00</a>	いくら年功序列だ、役職についてるんだって言ってもさ、常識を外れたこと言ったらだめだよ。人を意味もなく傷つけるのはだめだよ。おじさんになっても気がつかないのは本当にだめだよ。だめなおじさんだらけ。	Seniority (age-based) pay scheme - are usually in major positions. It does not matter of their position/ranking if they do something wrong. Rules remain. It is not right to poke at people without reason nor a good motive. It's not right either that they don't realise it due to their (old) age. There are too many of such ojii-chans (old men that don't notice their surroundings)	seniority based pay scheme	699	549	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-03 8:06:53</a>	@B @C 全く否定しない	@B @C I never say no / decline		6	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-03 17:31:32</a>	感情のこもった「くそじじい」を言える。	To be very honest about it I would even call them "kuso-jiji"	kuso jiji = F@#!% old man	104	52	Tweet

<a href="#">2015-11-03 20:22:00</a>	生きるために働いているのか、働くために生きているのか分からなくなってからが人生。	Work to live or live to work; this is the dilemma of life	A difficult choice	322	278	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-04 1:26:42</a>	私が一倍仕事が遅いにしてもこれは意味不明すぎるので絶対にやめたい。	Even if I'm slower than others at work, I don't think it's fair to make such a statement at me - I'd rather quit	Someone must have had made a remark at her and she's not happy about it because it doesn't justify her as an employee who works hard.	81	56	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-04 1:59:45</a>	@X うちの部長の方針で社内飲食とかにしています。。	@X Thanks to one of my boss's thoughts its now ok to eat and drink at the office	Minor changes	12	19	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-05 23:58:09</a>	土日も出勤しなければならないことがまた決定し、本気で死んでしまいたい。	I really want to die because I need to work on the weekend again	Already depressed thinking about the weekend, on a Thursday	176	224	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-05 23:59:05</a>	ツイッター、退職時に訴訟するための証拠として使ってるまでである。	When I resign, I will use Twitter as evidence to sue (them)	Threatening the company	744	816	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-06 0:05:40</a>	@B だいたいの証拠は口頭だから困るね。そういえばあったね...うざすぎる長文 LINE	@B If my proof / evidence is just words - I'd be in trouble right. not to forget the long ass texts messages I've received over LINE	LINE and Twitter are her means of leaving traces of evidences intending to resign from work or perhaps committing suicide	9	8	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-06 0:07:32</a>	@B 離婚裁判とかもそうだよな。面倒だけどやるかな...	@B This is the same for divorces, right? It's troublesome - but I guess I have to just do it		7	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-12 23:58:21</a>	がんばれると思ってたのに予想外に早くつぶれてしまって自己嫌悪だな。	I thought I have been working hard and ahead of time, but I've come to realise that I'm going to be broken just by my	Complex - but she feels she has inadequacies that she hates herself for	105	65	Tweet

		expectations and I hate myself for that				
<a href="#">2015-11-13 0:23:19</a>	学生時代、バイト先のスナックで中島みゆき「わかれうた」を歌って、「道に倒れて誰かの名を呼び続けたことがありますか」って... 普通ないですよねぇ～とお客さんと笑ってたら、ママが静かに「あるけどね、アタシは。」って呟いて。ウオオ、大人の女ってスゲー...って感動したけど2年後に自分もやった。	During my student life, at the snack bar I used to work at, I sang Nakajima Miyuki's "break-up song" and one of the lines said "ever had the experience of falling down on the road and repeatedly calling out someone's name?"... "normal people would never do this" was what I said but the snack bar's "mama" said: "True, but even I've done that before". And that's when I realised that mature women are indeed amazing. And 2 years after that very experience, even I ended up that way	Personal recollection. But it seems that her break-up still stings her at this point of time.	0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-11-13 0:25:09</a>	わたしもやった	I did that too!		22	9	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-13 0:34:27</a>	@B 奇跡の社会復帰。ふう	@B It must be a miracle that I can go back to work. Fuu	12:34 AM	3	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-13 9:07:02</a>	シャツにオフタートルのベストを重ねた秋っぽいファッションで出勤も、シャツが就活で着たシワにならないカッターシャツなあたり詰めが甘い。	I wore a fancy turtle neck type white shirt today - thinking it is fashionable. But I also realised that it seemed like I'm going back to work either way since its common to use it at work these days		21	1	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-15 0:59:22</a>	@Z おそらくコンサルだけじゃないよ！もはやサイコパスかな？と思うよね。確信ある。	@Z I don't think it's just a normal consultation. More of a psychopath maybe? I think I'm right on this one		5	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-15 1:12:31</a>	就活してる学生に伝えたいこととは、仕事は楽しい遊びやバイトと違って一生続く「労働」であり、合わなかった場合は精神や体力が毎日磨耗していく可能性があるということ。。	What I would like to tell those students who are job hunting is "a job is not a fun part-time job, it's more of a career path that you decide upon on the long run and if you	An advice for job-seekers. It feels like in this post if she could go back in time she would warn herself	1523	132	3 Tweet

		don't suit the job - you'd fail mentally and physically more than often."	about choosing a career path			
<a href="#">2015-11-15 1:31:48</a>	@E 交渉して今は大丈夫になりました！ありがとうございます。これがすごく好きというか心に沁みまくってたまに読見返してます。note.mu/rinatie/n/nfe9... あと年賀状のも。	@E I've somehow managed to negotiate something. Thanks for asking. I'm grateful and touched so I'm looking at it again. Something like a new year card type of object	Most likely a book/movie	81	26	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-15 1:37:39</a>	キラキラアカウント女子が、弊社のもてなそうな先輩(大変失礼いたします)を、「〇〇(会社名)くんからまた LINE きたよ～しつこいな～」とスクショを晒していたと聞いたので、プライバシー云々の問題とともに彼をレペゼン弊社として世の中に晒すのはやめてくれ... と DM したい。	Girls / women with attractive / fancy profiles - tend to say "sorry mr.xxxx, etc" and get a reply from that particular person and screenshot such LINE chats online". Isn't that violation of privacy and make the company work for look bad. And I wish they would stop doing this - to the extent that I would even send them a direct message to tell them to do so	Probably something she say on her Line timeline and does not agree with	88	35	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-15 1:43:08</a>	@E その仕事に憧れていた分だけ、成長への義務感と無力感と疲労感、周囲からの期待、いろんなものでごちゃごちゃになって辛いですよね。わたしは労働者の権利オタと化して動いたのでこれから変わりそうです。笑 いつか一緒にお仕事できることがあったら面白そう！と思ってます！	@E I used to adore a job like that and I wanted to improve myself in those areas, but it's very exhausting and pressurizing as the people around me have high expectations - It's really tiring just with the mix of all those feelings. I feel I follow the rights of an employee and it would be great if we could work together.		45	29	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-15 1:49:56</a>	本当の意味の記念だ。	Really a meaningless anniversary day	Not sure which anniversary.	13	2	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-15 2:01:49</a>	@E あゆちゃんともお友達なんですね！ぜひ！なんならみつまるとも笑	@E You're friends with Ayumi-chan, right? Let's be friends with Mitsumaru too!		5	0	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-15 2:04:33</a>	@AA え一笑 かわいそうです。個人情報晒すことがやばいことだって自覚がないの、おっかないです	@AA Oh! Haha that's pitiful. People that don't realise that invasion of privacy is		5	1	Reply

	よね。わたしの友達がそんなことしてたら怖い。。	wrong are really scary - especially if it's one of my own friends.				
<a href="#">2015-11-15 16:37:00</a>	@E なるほど！！今日はだめだったので、また今度の機会にお願いします(^^)	@E Ah, I see! Today was a bad day, let's give it a try another day!		3	0	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-15 16:40:19</a>	@BB @E ここもつながってるの？	@BB @E You two are friends as well?		4	0	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-15 16:49:16</a>	分かるけど、分かりますけど、そこ、変えていかないといけないんじゃないですかね。。	I know, I understand - but do I really have to change that?		19	6	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-18 8:32:23</a>	毎朝起きたくなくない？失踪したくない？	Not wanting to wake up every morning? I Have the feeling of wanting to run away.	follow ups that build up to her suicide	145	78	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-18 8:32:50</a>	朝起きるということがとにかく嫌いすぎる。	Waking up daily in the morning - I'm beginning to hate it	follow ups that build up to her suicide	73	42	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-20 0:37:55</a>	@A 1秒足りとも嫌です	@A Even if it's one second - I just can't		6	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-20 7:20:16</a>	@CC また今日も順調に起きてしまいました。。これからの季節はさらに難易度上がります。	@CC As always, I somehow got up in the morning. The season (maybe winter) is only going to get tougher to get up in the morning		10	0	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-20 7:53:12</a>	これは、、、この後 50,000 枚の資料作成を依頼されるのでは？ pic.twitter.com/raJMEwcPIA	This . . . after this I would have to make 50, 000 copies of it right?	In the said picture a guy stands over a girl in a suggestive manner. Something about dating and she feels jealous or it has to do with the dislike of male dominance	92	68	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-20 16:49:30</a>	えっそこ倒れんの。 pic.twitter.com/X4y6qRHIOY	What, you'd fall down here?		0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-11-21 0:07:46</a>	どんなに夜遅く帰ってきてても毎晩新しい猫の動画を探して1時間くらい見ないと眠りにつけない輪廻	No matter how late I get home - I spend about an hour looking	Concerns about money. At	260	180	Tweet

	に堕ちてしまった新人 OL23 歳、心配事は来年 6 月からの住民税、毎月の楽しみは給料日に 1 人で行く築地の寿司です。以上となります。	for new cat videos otherwise I won't be able to sleep at all - and that the vicious cycle that's affecting the life of a 23-year-old office lady (me). My biggest worry is next year's residential annual tax for my apartment due in June. My happiest time is when pay comes in and I go for sushi alone and have a good time. The end.	this time Matsuri Takahashi was 24 years old. A mistake, presumably.			
<a href="#">2015-11-21 18:48:19</a>	結婚するまで使わない機能なのに若いうちはずっとひどい生理痛に苦しめられるの、延々と払い続ける年金みたい。ちがうか。	Period/menstruation is basically useful preparation for things after getting married. So that's the same as paying for pension monthly - eternally. For nothing... am I wrong?	Question her womanhood and the reason of her monthly periods. She wants to get married or else her periods are meaningless to her.	300	110	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-22 0:09:33</a>	@D 本当に準備期間長すぎるので、人体にはその辺最適化してほしいです。	@D Really, the preparation time is too long - I wish my period would be more suited to me so I don't have to suffer this much	Pain due to her period.	9	4	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-23 10:59:11</a>	@B @C わたしの秘蔵フォルダ...	@B @C My secret folder		3	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-23 16:31:56</a>	「この日は確実に帰りが遅くなりそうだからフルコースディナーはだめかもです」と言ってキャンセルしてもらったレストランがロオジェで泣いた。日々のご飯はだいたいセブンイレブンなので特に。	"Today, most likely I'll be going home late after work - so I don't think it's possible for a full course dinner" I said to cancel my plans and it just so happened to be Rojje (a famous French restaurant in Ginza). Especially wanted to go since I've been eating at 7-11 (convenience store food) all the time.	Her sacrifices and opportunity cost with regards to her work life	127	72	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-23</a>	これだから総合職女子は...	This is called an all-rounded women... I guess	the pressure she faces being a	55	17	Tweet

<a href="#">16:34:10</a>			woman at her work place and in society			
<a href="#">2015-11-23 16:37:15</a>	異性とともに愛を育む時間がなく子孫を残せる可能性がないのでは？と危機感を覚えているのに、しっかり生理痛にだけは悩まされているのかわいそうじゃないですか？	I want to spend time with the opposite gender, to go out and have children someday - but this sounds impractical, isn't it? I know it's not a good thing - but then what the use of having periods anyway right. isn't that just sad?	Again, questioning why having periods and not getting married to have children.	319	153	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-23 16:43:33</a>	@B @C 極度の庶民出身国立大学フェチなので、その辺は見逃してください	@B @C I just really have a thing for government supported universities - and it doesn't mean we are poor since we don't have to pay too much for education as compared to a private university - so please reconsider your thoughts		9	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-23 22:31:49</a>	ジムにいと、いかにもなタンクトップ髭イケメンマッチョお兄さんの上腕二頭筋よりも、地味系メガネ黒髪短髪細マッチョな男性がピッタリとしたウェアを着ているせいで引き締まったウエストが分かってしまう感じの方がセクシーだと思っっておばあちゃんが言っていました。	At the gym, more that often I've seen tank top clad, goatee men and with large biceps; but my grandma once told me that she prefers looking at leaner, yet muscular, small hip and flat abs guys instead		80	9	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-11-29 15:12:20</a>	@DD ありがとう〜(๑•̀•๑)わたしがヘビーユーズしてる twitter に連絡くれるのは正解！笑	@DD Thanks. I'm a heavy twitter user and I check it very often	This is quite evident	12	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-11-30 2:10:19</a>	Fbにお誕生日メッセージくれた人に返事をして他人のタイムラインに上がってしまうことが怖くて返事ができない。fbでは鳴りを潜めていたんだよ。。	I wanted to wish happy birthday on Facebook to someone, but it went to someone else's page so that's rather scary for me. That's why I'm rather quite on my Facebook profile		65	12	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-02 0:37:33</a>	会社の飲み会コンテンツ作るのが今までのどんな業務よりつらいんだけど、紅白よりも少ない登場人物で 20~60 代の男女が楽しめる	I'm expected to prepare the contents of the company's party and I personally find it so tough since unlike		367	295	Tweet

	コンテンツを作ることができたら、私はNHKよりすごいということになるな。	TV shows - There are less members by number, and across a large age group from 20-60 years old. But if I do somehow make it - even NHK would be impressed				
<a href="#">2015-12-03 7:07:52</a>	人生、完パケしたすぎる。限りがあるとはいえエンドレスに毎朝起き続けなければならないなんて。。	Life: I want to somehow seek perfection - but waking up every day just to work on it / continue where I left off is indeed a challenge	Her daily challenge	74	39	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-03 7:11:02</a>	この子を引き取って、不動産投資用の物件を買うことが夢だから、エンドレスに稼ぎ続けなければならない。毎朝起き続けなければならない。 pic.twitter.com/cZDgDJT18	I want to adopt this child and buy a nice house - is my dream. But I have to essentially work endlessly just to make it come true and it starts by waking up	Her motivation and dreams and how to achieve it. Thinking of settling	100	77	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-03 7:17:09</a>	ごん、お前だったのか。クリスマスに欲しいものを聞かれて、毎年「不動産」と答え続けているのは。	Gon (person) it is you! I just want a house for Christmas as a gift - for the past few years.	Thinking of a house to settle	71	22	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-03 7:21:14</a>	働きたくないとかじゃなくて、朝起きたくない。	It's not that I don't want to work, I just don't want to wake up in the morning	the depth of her word use	135	89	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-04 0:55:35</a>	@A @HH 至る所に登場してなんなんですかあそうさん！	@A @HH You have been texting many place/people! What's up Sso-san?		7	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-04 19:09:56</a>	理系の料理、すごい本！料理の手順書ってほしい料理できる人のために作ってあるんだけど、これマジで料理できない人向きの本だ！ pic.twitter.com/MbLQSRcVvM	"Scientific cooking" is a great book. The food/recipes are meant for those that can't cook, unlike those book that only those that can cook can understand		0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-12-06 14:18:15</a>	死ぬ人ぞ死ぬ自殺名所	The place where suicide is infamous	Matsuri Takahashi retweeted this post. The post has no context.	5	1	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-08 20:40:48</a>	好きな時に泊めてくれるし、多くはないけどタクシー代もくれる。毎日なかなか帰らしてくれない	Whenever I want I can stay there, and even though it's not that expensive - I still receive taxi	The amount of pressure the company places on her	317	305	Tweet

	し、頭でついつい考えちゃう今の私のすべてそれが会社(^-^)	allowances. I don't get to go home every day and these are things that are always on my mind - my company				
<a href="#">2015-12-08 20:42:08</a>	くそー。鮭の産卵のように会社に向かっているぞ？	Shit, just like a salmon I'm heading back to work	Salmons swim against the flow of the river just to lay eggs and die of that exhaustion - and she's comparing herself to that.	77	66	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-09 4:06:45</a>	今から帰宅だが、どう見積もっても時間が足りないぞ？ 苦手なことがあると効率が悪くなりすぎるな...	I'm heading home now - but no matter how I look at it - I have no time to do anything - even to head to home. My weakness is that my performance will be affected		74	81	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-09 9:00:44</a>	@B ありがとう。昨日に関しては効率が悪すぎるだけなんだけどね(T ^ T)	@B Thanks. Yesterday especially my performance was really really bad		8	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-11 5:39:20</a>	今から帰宅だよ(T ^ T)	I am going to go back home now	5:39 AM	92	123	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-11 5:42:08</a>	@E 「一流企業」を目指すような学歴を生かして9時5時で帰れる仕事につくように勧める訳知り顔の先輩になりたいです。	@E I want to someday become a know-it-all person working in a "professional company"		62	44	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-12 0:41:24</a>	日々ごりごりと数字を見てるだけにクリエイティブの人の仕事を見るたびにこの仕事楽しい！って思うな。	Daily, I look at just numbers so when I look at "creative" type of jobs (i.e. creative marketing / designer) it looks very fun and appealing to me	Comparing her dull job with creative jobs.	44	18	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-12 15:10:43</a>	同期みんなで土曜出社だから楽しく出社できる！	Working on Saturdays is only fun because I'm with all my batchmates!	She can endure working on Saturdays due to her batchmates. Batchmates = recruitees that entered the company	76	61	Tweet

			at the same time with her.			
<a href="#">2015-12-12 17:35:22</a>	ぶれない私はエブリデイ汐留	My thoughts are very stable and reinforced (does not wobble or collapse); everyday Shiodome (name of a place)		52	41	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-13 10:57:54</a>	女性ファッション誌の着回し特集、毎回プロジェクトで一緒になった先輩や同期と1カ月そこそこで良い仲になるけど、こんなことほぼない。仕事で関わらない人の方がしがらがないのでプライベートで仲良くなれる。女子大生はそここのところ、覚えておくように。	Ladies fashion sense, at every project we somehow work it out together but - I've rarely had this problem. People that do not concern with my work line - get along very well with me. Ladies please remember this point!		160	60	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-13 21:28:41</a>	@B 金の鉱脈を世の中に発信してくれ(T ^ T)	@B Show me where such a gold mine exists		7	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-13 23:56:02</a>	人生が辛すぎるので、高校の時の彼氏を夢に出すために明晰夢の練習をしています。	(My) Life is so crappy, I'm trying so hard to recall my high school ex-BF by using lucid dreaming trainings	Trying to find ways to endure her life by thinking of nostalgic moments in her life.	231	166	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-14 0:38:11</a>	@H すごく分かる。泣いて共感する。	@H I know right - I feel bad. So sympathetic that I might even cry		8	0	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-14 0:40:38</a>	一刻も早く寿退社できますように。	As soon as possible I want to stop work in a happy manner		302	245	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-14 0:46:45</a>	@H いえいえ、お互いに(T ^ T)もはやめちゃお金持ちのおじさんと結婚して加藤茶の嫁みたいになるか、稼いだお金の半分を注ぎ込んで婚活すべきか迷うな。	@H No no, same to you. I may even marry a rich old man just like Katoucha-san's wife or just keep half of all the money I earned for myself and spend it as I please	Money matters and thinking of getting married	26	14	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-14 0:48:27</a>	@C 首のところにじんましんできな	@C I have rashes on my neck		16	4	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-14 1:01:36</a>	大学一年生の時の元彼が髪の毛を乾かしてくれたあのきらめくような瞬間を、何時までも胸に刻んで明日も残業をしよう。	During my university 1st year, my ex-BF dried my hair for me - and that moment was excellent. I shall recall	Trying to stay positive by thinking of nostalgic	1337	739	Tweet

		that very moment and use it to try my best tomorrow at work on a positive note	moments in her life.			
<a href="#">2015-12-14 1:02:09</a>	@C じんましんは甘えだから 5 時間で治す！	@C The rashes are all on my mind, but it should go away after 5 hours		30	30	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-14 1:28:41</a>	@C わたしも元彼胸に刻み始めたからもうその道は確実。	@C Even I still remember my ex's feeling and time I spent with him - just like you		15	2	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-14 18:35:18</a>	Amazon はそろそろお急がなくていいよ便作って、「今週はあなたと n 人がお急がなくていいよ便を使ってくれたおかげで、*人の従業員と運送会社の社員が休日を取れました」みたいなメールがきた方がよっぽどこちらの精神に良い	Amazon already has the "fast delivery option" but personally they should consider creating the "I'm not in any rush option" coz I would rather that those people too have a day off since I chose a more realistic option. Instead, I would rather that they inform me that "thanks to your option choice person XX could have a day off, thank you type of email.		0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-12-15 1:02:54</a>	私の仕事や名前には価値がないのに、若い女の子だから手伝ってもらえた仕事。聞いてもらえた悩み。許してもらえたミス。程度の差はあれど、見返りを要求されるのは避けて通れないんだと知る。	In my job and with regards to my name - I don't have any gains or value. But as a young woman, I just want to share my feelings and help out the rest. Listen to my worries and pains; I just want to be appreciated by words rather than objects / more work	Her value and outlook on her work ethics. She longs for appreciation and recognition	582	617	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-15 23:18:32</a>	大好きな先輩からの がんばったね。 プライスレス	My favourite senpai said "well done" to me. That is priceless	Her value and outlook on her work ethics. She longs for appreciation and recognition	157	50	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-16 21:41:27</a>	22 時前に帰れるなんて...奇跡だ	I can go back home before 10 pm... This must be a miracle		249	357	Tweet

<a href="#">2015-12-16</a> <a href="#">21:48:14</a>	死にたいと思いながらこんなにストレスフルな毎日を乗り越えた先に何が残るんだろうか。	I want to die is all I can think off and even if I overcome that what is there for me, end of the day?	If she does not commit suicide what is there else to live for, is he thought process in this tweet	841	1125	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-17</a> <a href="#">0:00:28</a>	決め手となったのは、フランチャイズ契約をタテに加盟店を長年搾取し続けた構造の根深さに加えて、その「負の連鎖」が全国のアパート従業員にまでおよぶ影響の大きさ／「ブラック企業大賞2015」にセブンイレブンー全国の加盟店を長年搾取 buff.ly/1NwBYTA	Where decision makings are concerned and my thoughts - The way franchises operate (from a top-down management style) and their vicious cycle of spreading bad ethics and values to its staff and part-timers inclusively is what we call "black companies" and in 2015's list of black companies; 7-11 has now newly joined them	Black companies japan	0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-12-17</a> <a href="#">0:04:40</a>	@EE 目も死ぬし心も死ぬし、なんなら死んだほうがよっぽど幸福なんじゃないかとさえ思って、今日は死ぬ前に送る遺書メールのCCに誰を入れるのがベストな布陣を考えてた。	@EE My eyes are dead; my heart is dead too - I might as well just die - I'd be happier. But today before I die, I want to leave a will. I'm still thinking who I should CC that mail this entire day	Thoughts of dying. At this stage she is already prepared to die.	157	232	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-17</a> <a href="#">19:37:34</a>	先輩～！できた時はきちんと褒め、ダメな時は優しく怒るのやめてくれ～(><)つらすぎる毎日の中で唯一の希望の光みたいな存在になるのはやめてくれ～(><)このままでは好きになりかねない～(><)	Senpai! When I did well you praise me and when I did bad, you warned me kindly. Please stop being the shining light in my dark gloomy life. I can't fail you. (Because I can't stay at work just for you)	Her senpai was a small glimpse of light during her working days	358	172	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-18</a> <a href="#">3:55:31</a>	今から帰るんですけど、うけません？	I am going back home from now on, isn't it funny?	3:55 AM. Sarcasm.	283	394	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-18</a> <a href="#">3:59:00</a>	@B 優しさに MK5。労働時間の長さに MY5。	@B Kindness level MK5. Employment period/span MY5	Unclear	26	13	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-18</a> <a href="#">3:59:47</a>	@FF 身体壊すとかで明らかに辛そうな状態になって休みたい笑	@FF I really want to fall seriously sick and get official leave from work since I can't find any other excuses		58	47	Reply

<a href="#">2015-12-18</a> <a href="#">4:01:31</a>	1日20時間とか会社にいるともはや何のために生きてるのか分からなくなって笑ってくるな。	When you spend 20 hours a day at the office, you no longer understand what you're living for and can't help but laugh (Reuters, 2016, November 4)	Wanting to die	1330	223 3	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-18</a> <a href="#">10:22:32</a>	@B 芽ネギで可愛くなれたり、芽ネギ寿司のビジュアルに大ウケしてたのめっちゃめっちゃ懐かしい。	@B Just like the bud of a plant / seed coming out of its shell - isn't it very memorable.		14	3	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-18</a> <a href="#">10:28:18</a>	@B それやってたの毎回六本木の板前寿司だった。懐かしいし楽しかったな。あらゆる物事が当たり前で陳腐になって、感動が失われた。	@B I did that all the time at Roppongi's Itamae Zushi (sushi restaurant) such nostalgic times indeed. Many things have become a very obvious thing to do and I've lost appreciation for anything		41	9	Reply
<a href="#">2015-12-20</a> <a href="#">15:55:00</a>	せっかく4カ月ぶりに彼氏に会えるのに、そのために仕事をめっちゃめっちゃ早く終わらせなきゃならないことと愚痴を言うてはいけないというプレッシャーで辛いつたらないんだよな。社会人になるってことは、一時も気を抜けないってことなんだな。	After 4 months I'm meeting with my boyfriend, but I really need to end work. I don't want to stress him out with my complaints and that's just very stressful. Being an employee also means I can't sigh or show others my burden	Pains of being a Japanese employee	732	806	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-20</a> <a href="#">17:41:37</a>	FB 広告に俺自身を出稿するという新たな出会い系の形。	Facebook adverts now allow yourself to be promoted just like a product for sale to meet new people (dating)		0	0	Retweet
<a href="#">2015-12-20</a> <a href="#">17:54:49</a>	男性上司から女子力がないだのなんだのと言われるの、笑いを取るためのいじりだとしても我慢の限界である。おじさんが禿げても男子力がないと言われないのずるいよね。鬱だ～。	My boss told me I lack femininity and I thought it was a joke - But he seems to be pushing it too far. Unfortunately, I wish I could tell him that despite his skin bald head, he too lack masculinity. This sucks and is very depressing	Depression, being bullied, sexual intimidation	1779	2239	Tweet
<a href="#">2015-12-20</a> <a href="#">22:07:01</a>	@G だいたい四半期に一回西海岸から帰国するか、中間のハワイで会います。	@G About once in 3 months he comes back from the west coast or		23	8	Reply

		else we meet up in Hawaii				
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## Appendix B

### Work-related tweets

<a href="#">05/30/15</a> <a href="#">1:54 PM</a>	Saturday	Yesterday, I had attended an alumni function/event, I got so drunk and lacked sleep. I felt very sick, and was drinking "Pho" and was talking to one of them - motivation/reason to join was "I wanted to join a gorgeous career/department/industry" and I felt I showed a student the reality of the world.
<a href="#">09/09/15</a> <a href="#">12:39 AM</a>	Wednesday	@D I give up / I'm done
<a href="#">09/09/15</a> <a href="#">12:41 AM</a>	Wednesday	@D A fresh graduate is one who would be sincere and loyal to his job till the very last train...
<a href="#">09/10/15</a> <a href="#">11:04 PM</a>	Thursday	A very few people say "Yeah, I worked so hard and achieved my goal/objective of joining XXX company." However, those that work for foreign banks, foreign affairs, and those that pass the law/legislature examinations tend to show off their achievements. And I was effectively right about how I felt about my abilities during my job hunting phase.
<a href="#">09/10/15</a> <a href="#">11:07 PM</a>	Thursday	And, I get goose bumps whenever those posts receive "wow, congrats", "very much like you" comments from businessmen (managers/directors) especially those who were from the same university as myself.
<a href="#">09/10/15</a> <a href="#">11:28 PM</a>	Thursday	@nighttypemen I feel that those that give praise are either very honest people who speak from the heart. If not, they simply have sarcasm/jealousy in their mind.
<a href="#">09/10/15</a> <a href="#">11:35 PM</a>	Thursday	@G ah, I guess that's how it was. I feel the ministry of health, education, culture, sports, science and technology are great places to work at. (MEXT)
<a href="#">09/13/15</a> <a href="#">9:20 PM</a>	Sunday	In public/government universities, they claim everything is paid for - however you still need to work hard for scholarships/exemptions and yet they still pay 50,000 yen per month. And they tend to become workers who have no patriotism/commitment to their own country. I personally respect those that work for the government (civil servants and similar ) some of those whom are my own friends. But reality is that there are many old men who live in the countryside and only have the mouth to complain - and I take no interest in listening to what they have to say.
<a href="#">09/16/15</a> <a href="#">8:36 AM</a>	Wednesday	Since you have such a big mouth, then do my work as well, instead of me.
<a href="#">10/08/15</a> <a href="#">11:48 PM</a>	Thursday	Partners of fate, princesses of overworking and the prince of the annual salary system
<a href="#">10/12/15</a> <a href="#">11:21 PM</a>	Monday	I heard of rumours that we get home at 47 o'clock and come back to work at 47:40 again
<a href="#">10/13/15</a> <a href="#">1:28 AM</a>	Tuesday	@A I am going to go to work after taking a bath
<a href="#">10/13/15</a> <a href="#">1:31 AM</a>	Tuesday	I always narrate "here is another sky of festival" when I start work daily
<a href="#">10/13/15</a> <a href="#">3:09 AM</a>	Tuesday	Upon the first 2 years of starting work, the first year I got lots of complaints and comments from my seniors. I used the advice to my advantage and I felt like a free-style vulgar girl rapper

<a href="#">10/14/15</a> <a href="#">12:47 AM</a>	Wednesday	Even after becoming a salaryman/worker - those that live together with their lovers, or head back to their own homes and be pampered by their mothers like babies - should learn to pay their own taxes on their own
<a href="#">10/14/15</a> <a href="#">12:52 AM</a>	Wednesday	@N kie-san, you are interesting/funny as always. hahah. where work and client-relationships are concerned - you know exactly what to say to make yourself look like a fool and bond with your clients more easily (gain trust) you're good
<a href="#">10/16/15</a> <a href="#">6:25 PM</a>	Friday	There is no such thing as a rain that will not stop - but, there is surely a company that you surely can't go home from
<a href="#">10/16/15</a> <a href="#">8:39 PM</a>	Friday	@L I'm still on my overtime shift so I can't drink. Please send me your worries/questions on a excel sheer over email.
<a href="#">10/19/15</a> <a href="#">11:17 PM</a>	Monday	My favourite motto "it's does not matter if the company I'm working for is "black" or not - it's more of "do I get paid for my overtime"
<a href="#">10/21/15</a> <a href="#">3:41 AM</a>	Wednesday	just got home
<a href="#">10/21/15</a> <a href="#">5:24 PM</a>	Wednesday	Emergency declaration no 1: I have applied for change in career over an online website
<a href="#">10/22/15</a> <a href="#">12:35 AM</a>	Thursday	@F thank you! I also think he/she is not funny but I am impressed by his action. He was able to leave a very stable career of a company and I wish I could have that too. I too want to be able to do things on my own, but I have to work hard for it.
<a href="#">10/22/15</a> <a href="#">10:59 PM</a>	Thursday	@V_h if the cafeteria is the place you end up working at - what would you do?
<a href="#">10/22/15</a> <a href="#">11:21 PM</a>	Thursday	@J I really want to go... recently, I work 19 hours non-stop. I eat lunch at my desk or I skip lunch
<a href="#">10/22/15</a> <a href="#">11:26 PM</a>	Thursday	@@J thank you. I do not like that. I just talk to no one other than my fellow colleagues every day.
<a href="#">10/25/15</a> <a href="#">4:36 PM</a>	Sunday	Even if I broke up with boyfriend and I am not in the mood, I feel comfortable because I can go to work and there are so many tasks that never seem to ends. I'm grateful for such a tough(stressful) job
<a href="#">10/25/15</a> <a href="#">5:37 PM</a>	Sunday	@K overworking is the god's gift
<a href="#">10/27/15</a> <a href="#">12:36 PM</a>	Tuesday	It's completely absurd and ridiculous since I have to work so many hours without sleep. I used to be happy with my work - but not anymore
<a href="#">10/28/15</a> <a href="#">8:56 PM</a>	Wednesday	For 2 days straight, I've been working on a report - but it wasn't good enough apparently. I was told that if I fix it then then we could send it to the client. But it seemed like I simply had to work even on my off days. I am basically sacrificing my own life (lifestyle) just for my company.
<a href="#">10/29/15</a> <a href="#">12:00 AM</a>	Thursday	Ever since joining this company, my 7th month's payslip is now 1.5 times of my first month's salary - all thanks to over-working! an achievement indeed!
<a href="#">10/29/15</a> <a href="#">12:10 AM</a>	Thursday	@I "the quotes of the wise employee" is a great book to have a read and I strongly recommend it. Let's try our best to make the best out of each day!
<a href="#">10/29/15</a> <a href="#">9:48 PM</a>	Thursday	"The age gap between the elders and us is deeper than the ocean" is a phrase that some countries may have, similarly - I forgot what the rules of the company were just once - and used the casual tones on my seniors, and got scolded by them; and so, yet again, my motivation has been affected.

<a href="#">10/30/15</a> <a href="#">7:31 PM</a>	Friday	Ever since I became the assistant director, and I brought one of my juniors around the town to take photos. Seemed like his first time so I had to help him out and reach out to women in their 20s (as our target) but he seemed to interview everyone that was not our target as well - so I told him to pick "good-looking faces" since it's for TV anyways and he replied "oh yea, that's exactly how TV is right..." back at me. I'm sorry (but you're right)
<a href="#">10/31/15</a> <a href="#">7:58 AM</a>	Saturday	One of my top-ranking bosses said "you're out of your overtime shifts, 20 hours have been a total waste of time" "during meeting, when you become sleepy, it means you're not observing enough" "your hair is messy, eyes are red and swollen - don't show up to work that way" "if you can't do what you're supposed to do - it means your capacity is inadequate" Me: having red eyes is wrong?
<a href="#">10/31/15</a> <a href="#">10:53 PM</a>	Saturday	@B Even professionals can't control if theirs eyes get red or, not right? It's not like they have special abilities to control their veins / blood flow
<a href="#">11/01/15</a> <a href="#">3:23 PM</a>	Sunday	Don't feel like going to work anymore. It would be great to have just two days off from work every week
<a href="#">11/01/15</a> <a href="#">3:27 PM</a>	Sunday	"getting a shower/bath on a Sunday around lunch time, then heading to work, just to sleep at work" is the kind of lifestyle I'm kind of getting very used to...
<a href="#">11/01/15</a> <a href="#">5:39 PM</a>	Sunday	My company is bright even on a Sunday
<a href="#">11/03/15</a> <a href="#">8:22 PM</a>	Tuesday	Work to live or live to work; this is the dilemma of life
<a href="#">11/04/15</a> <a href="#">1:26 AM</a>	Wednesday	Even if I'm slower than others at work, I don't think it's fair to make such a statement at me – I'd rather quit
<a href="#">11/04/15</a> <a href="#">1:59 AM</a>	Wednesday	@X Thanks to one of my boss's thoughts its now ok to eat and drink at the office
<a href="#">11/05/15</a> <a href="#">11:59 PM</a>	Thursday	When I resign, I will use Twitter as evidence to sue (them)
<a href="#">11/12/15</a> <a href="#">11:58 PM</a>	Thursday	I thought U have been working hard and ahead of time, but I've come to realise that I'm going to be broken just by my expectations and I hate myself for that
<a href="#">11/13/15</a> <a href="#">12:34 AM</a>	Friday	@B It must be a miracle that I can go back to work. Fuu
<a href="#">11/13/15</a> <a href="#">9:07 AM</a>	Friday	I wore a fancy turtle neck type white shirt today - thinking it is fashionable, but I also realised that it seemed like I'm going back to work either way since its common to use it at work these days
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">1:12 AM</a>	Sunday	What I would like to tell those students who are job hunting is "a job is not a fun part-time job, it's more of a career path that you decide upon on the long run and if you don't suit the job - you'd fail mentally and physically more than often."
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">1:37 AM</a>	Sunday	Girls / women with attractive / fancy profiles - tend to say "sorry mr.xxxx, etc" and get a reply from that particular person and screenshot such LINE chats online". Isn't that a violation of privacy and make the company work look bad; and I wish they would stop doing this - to the extent that I would even send them a direct message to tell them to do so
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">1:43 AM</a>	Sunday	@E I used to adore a job like that, and I wanted to improve myself in those areas but it's very exhausting and pressurizing as the people around me have high expectations - and it's really tiring just with the mix of all those

		feelings. I feel I follow the rights of an employee and it would be great if we could work together.
<a href="#">11/23/15</a> <a href="#">4:31 PM</a>	Monday	"today, most likely I'll be going home late after work - so I don't think it's possible for a full course dinner" I said to cancel my plans and it just so happened to be Rojje (a famous French restaurant in Ginza). especially wanted to go since I've been eating at 7-11 (convenience store food) all the time...
<a href="#">12/02/15</a> <a href="#">12:37 AM</a>	Wednesday	I'm expected to prepare the contents of the company's party and I personally find it so tough since unlike TV shows - there are less members by number, and across a large age group from 20-60 years old. But if I do somehow make it - even NHK would be impressed
<a href="#">12/08/15</a> <a href="#">8:40 PM</a>	Tuesday	whenever I want I can stay there, and even if it's not that expensive - I still receive taxi allowances. I don't get to go home every day. and these are things that are always on my mind - my company
<a href="#">12/08/15</a> <a href="#">8:42 PM</a>	Tuesday	shit, just like a salmon I'm heading to work
<a href="#">12/09/15</a> <a href="#">9:00 AM</a>	Wednesday	@B thanks. yesterday especially my performance was really really bad
<a href="#">12/11/15</a> <a href="#">5:39 AM</a>	Friday	I am going to go back home now
<a href="#">12/11/15</a> <a href="#">5:42 AM</a>	Friday	@E I want to someday become a know-it-all person working in a "professional company"
<a href="#">12/12/15</a> <a href="#">12:41 AM</a>	Saturday	daily, I look at just numbers so when I look at "creative" type of jobs (i.e. creative marketing / designer) it looks very fun and appealing to me
<a href="#">12/12/15</a> <a href="#">3:10 PM</a>	Saturday	working on Saturdays is only fun because they are all my batchmates
<a href="#">12/13/15</a> <a href="#">10:57 AM</a>	Sunday	ladies fashion sense, at every project we somehow work it out together but - I've rarely had this problem. people that do not concern with my work line - get along very well with me. and ladies please remember this point!
<a href="#">12/14/15</a> <a href="#">12:40 AM</a>	Monday	as soon as possible I want to stop work in a happy manner
<a href="#">12/14/15</a> <a href="#">6:35 PM</a>	Monday	Amazon already has the "fast delivery option" but personally they should consider creating the "I'm not in any rush option" coz I would rather that those people too have a day off since I chose a more realistic option. instead I would rather that they inform me that "thanks to your option choice person XX could have a day off, thank you type of email.
<a href="#">12/15/15</a> <a href="#">1:02 AM</a>	Tuesday	in my job and with regards to my name - I don't have any gains or value. but as a young woman, I just want to share my feelings and help out the rest. listen to my worries and pains; I just want to be appreciated by words rather than objects / more work
<a href="#">12/15/15</a> <a href="#">11:18 PM</a>	Tuesday	my favourite senpai said "well done" to me. that, is priceless
<a href="#">12/16/15</a> <a href="#">9:41 PM</a>	Wednesday	I can go back home before 10 pm... this must be a miracle
<a href="#">12/17/15</a> <a href="#">12:00 AM</a>	Thursday	where decision makings are concerned and my thoughts - the way franchises operate (from a top-down management style) and their vicious cycle of spreading bad ethics and values to its staff and part timers inclusively is what we call "black companies" and in 2015's list of black companies; 7-11 has now newly joined them

<a href="#">12/17/15</a> <a href="#">7:37 PM</a>	Thursday	senior! when I did well, you praise and when I did bad, you warned me kindly. please stop being the shining light in my dark gloomy life. I can't fail you. (because I can't stay at work just for you)
<a href="#">12/18/15</a> <a href="#">3:55 AM</a>	Friday	I am going back home from now on, isn't it funny?
<a href="#">12/18/15</a> <a href="#">3:59 AM</a>	Friday	@FF I really want to fall seriously sick and get official leave from work since I can't find any other excuses
<a href="#">12/18/15</a> <a href="#">10:28 AM</a>	Friday	@B I did that all the time at Roppongi's Itamae Zushi (sushi restaurant) such nostalgic times indeed. many thing have become a very obvious thing to do and I've lost appreciation for anything

### Wanting more free time

<a href="#">10/16/15</a> <a href="#">6:38 PM</a>	Friday	@A @D someday I want to have free time for myself
<a href="#">10/26/15</a> <a href="#">10:34 PM</a>	Monday	@X before I had so much work that it was the reason why I couldn't meet up with my BF. but nothing has changed in that sense since I don't have any time even for myself now. I wish I could have some balance in my own life primarily.
<a href="#">11/01/15</a> <a href="#">3:23 PM</a>	Sunday	Don't feel like going to work anymore. It would be great to have just two days off from work every week
<a href="#">12/09/15</a> <a href="#">4:06 AM</a>	Wednesday	I'm heading home now - but no matter how I look at it - I have no time to do anything - even to head to home. my weakness is that my performance will be affected

### Gender and age issues

<a href="#">10/20/15</a> <a href="#">1:29 AM</a>	Tuesday	@F its going to be this manner forever on into being a housewife
<a href="#">10/31/15</a> <a href="#">1:29 AM</a>	Saturday	@Y seniority (by age) salary system is amazing right? or scary ?
<a href="#">11/01/15</a> <a href="#">10:44 PM</a>	Sunday	kind, funny / interesting, work-smart people (juniors, same-batch personnel, seniors included) - more than often behave differently in their own personal lives; like disturbing women / girls, making them cry etc etc. I don't understand how these "advertisement men" exist. makes me feel just pitiful and sad
<a href="#">11/03/15</a> <a href="#">2:36 AM</a>	Tuesday	seniority (age-based) pay scheme - are usually in major positions. it does not matter of their position/ranking if they do something wrong. Rules remain. it is not right to poke at people without reason nor good a motive. it's not right either that they don't realise it due to their (old) age. There are too many of such ojii-chans (old men that don't notice their surroundings)
<a href="#">11/03/15</a> <a href="#">5:31 PM</a>	Tuesday	to be very honest about it I would even call them "kuso-jiji"

<a href="#">11/23/15</a> <a href="#">4:34 PM</a>	Monday	this is called an all-rounded women... I guess
<a href="#">11/23/15</a> <a href="#">4:37 PM</a>	Monday	I want to spend time with the opposite gender, to go out and have children someday - but this sounds impractical isn't it. I know it's not a good thing - but then what the use of having periods anyway right. isn't that just sad?
<a href="#">12/20/15</a> <a href="#">5:54 PM</a>	Sunday	My boss told me I lack femininity and I thought it was a joke - but he seems to be pushing it too far. unfortunately, I wish I could tell him that despite his skin bald head, he too lack masculinity. this sucks and very depressing

## Private matters

<a href="#">11/01/15</a> <a href="#">11:02 PM</a>	Sunday	On my super party-type ex-BFs dropped me a text via LINE just an hour before my birthday - it said "hooray I'm getting married" . . . .
<a href="#">11/02/15</a> <a href="#">12:27 AM</a>	Monday	People who do bad things are kind of interesting (just small bad things / small deal issues). But I'm rather focused on getting ready/prepared to get married.
<a href="#">11/13/15</a> <a href="#">12:23 AM</a>	Friday	During my student life, at the snack bar I used to work at, I sang Nakajima Miyuki's "break-up song" and one of the lines said "ever had the experience of falling down on the road, and repeatedly calling out someone's name?"... "normal people would never do this" was what I said but the snack bar's "mama" said "true, but even I've done that before". and that's the time I realised that mature women are indeed amazing. and 2 years after that very experience, even I ended up that way
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">1:49 AM</a>	Sunday	really a meaningless anniversary day
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">2:04 AM</a>	Sunday	@AA oh! haha that's pitiful. people that don't realise that invasion of privacy is wrong are really scary - especially if it's one of my own friends.
<a href="#">11/20/15</a> <a href="#">7:53 AM</a>	Friday	This . . . after this I would have to make 50, 000 copies of it right?
<a href="#">11/21/15</a> <a href="#">12:07 AM</a>	Saturday	No matter how late I get home - I spend about an hour looking for new cat videos. otherwise I won't be able to sleep at all - and that the vicious cycle that's affecting the life of a 23-year-old office lady (me). my biggest worry is next year's residential annual tax for my apartment due in June. my happiest time is when pay comes in and I go for sushi alone and have a good time. the end.
<a href="#">11/21/15</a> <a href="#">6:48 PM</a>	Saturday	period/menstruation is basically useful preparation for things after getting married. so that's the same as paying for pension monthly - eternally. for nothing... am I wrong?
<a href="#">11/22/15</a> <a href="#">12:09 AM</a>	Sunday	@D really, the preparation time is too long - I wish my period would be more suited to me so I don't have to suffer this much
<a href="#">11/23/15</a> <a href="#">4:43 PM</a>	Monday	@B @C I just really have a thing for government supported universities - and it doesn't mean we are poor since we don't have to pay too much for education as compared to a private university - so please reconsider your thoughts
<a href="#">12/03/15</a> <a href="#">7:07 AM</a>	Thursday	life, I want to somehow seek perfection - but waking up every day just to work on it / continue where I left off is indeed a challenge
<a href="#">12/03/15</a> <a href="#">7:11 AM</a>	Thursday	I want to adopt this child and buy a nice house - is my dream. but I have to essentially work endlessly just to make it come true and it starts by waking up

<a href="#">12/03/15</a> <a href="#">7:17 AM</a>	Thursday	Gon (person) it you! I just want a house for Christmas as a gift - for the past few years.
<a href="#">12/13/15</a> <a href="#">11:56 PM</a>	Sunday	life is so crappy, I'm trying so hard to recall my high school ex-BF by using lucid dreaming trainings
<a href="#">12/14/15</a> <a href="#">12:46 AM</a>	Monday	@H no no. same to you. I may even marry a rich old man just like katouchasan's wife or just keep half of all the money I earned for myself and spend it as I please
<a href="#">12/14/15</a> <a href="#">12:48 AM</a>	Monday	@C I have rashes on my neck
<a href="#">12/14/15</a> <a href="#">1:01 AM</a>	Monday	during my university 1st year, my ex-BF dried my hair for me - and that moment was excellent. and I shall recall that very moment and use it to try my best tomorrow at work on a positive note
<a href="#">12/14/15</a> <a href="#">1:02 AM</a>	Monday	@C the rashes are all in my mind so it should go away after 5 hours
<a href="#">12/14/15</a> <a href="#">1:28 AM</a>	Monday	@C even I still remember my ex's feeling and time I spent with him - just like you
<a href="#">12/20/15</a> <a href="#">3:55 PM</a>	Sunday	after 4 months I'm meeting with my boyfriend, but I really need to end work, and I don't want to stress him out with my complaints and that's just very stressful. being an employee also means I can't sigh or show others my burden

### Talking about death/dying

<a href="#">10/26/15</a> <a href="#">10:30 PM</a>	Monday	@W yes, it seems like I'm back to the constant feeling of jealousy (light/low mental illness level). given if I have had not being at this job - I would have killed myself, or simply dead already
<a href="#">11/05/15</a> <a href="#">11:58 PM</a>	Thursday	I really want to die because I need to work on the weekend again
<a href="#">11/18/15</a> <a href="#">8:32 AM</a>	Wednesday	not wanting to wake up every morning isn't it? have the feeling of wanting to run away isn't it?
<a href="#">11/18/15</a> <a href="#">8:32 AM</a>	Wednesday	waking up daily in the morning - I'm beginning to hate it
<a href="#">12/03/15</a> <a href="#">7:21 AM</a>	Thursday	it's not that I don't want to work, I just don't want to wake up in the morning
<a href="#">12/06/15</a> <a href="#">2:18 PM</a>	Sunday	the place where suicide is infamous
<a href="#">12/16/15</a> <a href="#">9:48 PM</a>	Wednesday	I want to die is all I can think and even if I overcome that what is there for me, end of the day?
<a href="#">12/17/15</a> <a href="#">12:04 AM</a>	Thursday	@EE my eyes are dead; my heart is dead too - I might as well just die - id be happier. but today before I die, I want to leave a will. and I'm still thinking who I should CC that mail this entire day
<a href="#">12/18/15</a> <a href="#">4:01 AM</a>	Friday	about 20 hours a day, I'm at work. and I still have no idea why I should stay alive

## Miscellaneous

<a href="#">05/30/15</a> <a href="#">12:41 PM</a>	Saturday	I love weekends
<a href="#">05/30/15</a> <a href="#">2:19 PM</a>	Saturday	I feel good after experiencing the balance of fuzziness and neat/tidy
<a href="#">05/30/15</a> <a href="#">3:15 PM</a>	Saturday	I too saw "Ted" (the movie) but I found it rather uninteresting. I saw it both in English and Japanese but I feel it was a 3rd rate (amateur level) sexual/dirty jokes told by a teddy bear rather not a good way to spend money
<a href="#">05/30/15</a> <a href="#">3:17 PM</a>	Saturday	Everyone seemed to enjoy the movie, but I felt I was the only one not understanding the joke. But I tried to watch it again with English subs but I still did not enjoy it.
<a href="#">05/30/15</a> <a href="#">3:24 PM</a>	Saturday	I feel my humour level is possibly too high to laugh at lame joke at the movie, so maybe it's not suited for me
<a href="#">05/31/15</a> <a href="#">5:41 PM</a>	Sunday	I would rather download a movie onto my iPhone and watch it, instead of going all the way to Tsutaya or turning my PC on just to watch a movie. Over the phone - it's just 400 yen.
<a href="#">06/25/15</a> <a href="#">10:03 PM</a>	Thursday	I enjoy pranking my cats by drawing "bears" on their paws. And my parents have yet to realise it.
<a href="#">09/10/15</a> <a href="#">11:44 PM</a>	Thursday	@G myth and personal service have a very strong image I guess. . I hope others that see this do not feel offended and stray away from me. - I feel those that those that can ignore such comments, have the confidence and the right atmosphere are very lucky, and I feel jealous of them
<a href="#">09/10/15</a> <a href="#">11:48 PM</a>	Thursday	@Q In a few years, I'll be in my post 20s (25-29), and if I behave the same way - I'll feel like "that kid is odd/weird"
<a href="#">10/07/15</a> <a href="#">11:41 PM</a>	Wednesday	@P hongo (place) and yanesen (place), I miss those peaceful and calming places...
<a href="#">10/07/15</a> <a href="#">11:44 PM</a>	Wednesday	@D one of the oasis which is the nearest from office ...
<a href="#">10/09/15</a> <a href="#">12:41 AM</a>	Friday	@k_rafbt wow, the heaven of food
<a href="#">10/11/15</a> <a href="#">5:59 PM</a>	Sunday	the hall of fame's 4 celebs. Takenouchi Yutaka, Tamaki Hiroshi, Hirayama Hiroyuki, Nakamura Tooru.
<a href="#">10/11/15</a> <a href="#">6:01 PM</a>	Sunday	I was able to see Nakamura Tooru's nipples on a black leather scheduler/planner and I must be lucky
<a href="#">10/12/15</a> <a href="#">8:15 PM</a>	Monday	@O please host the event along the Oedo line
<a href="#">10/14/15</a> <a href="#">12:55 AM</a>	Wednesday	@T you are cute
<a href="#">10/15/15</a> <a href="#">9:23 AM</a>	Thursday	@M happy birthday

<a href="#">10/15/15</a> <a href="#">5:37 PM</a>	Thursday	@A yes, I changed brilliantly
<a href="#">10/18/15</a> <a href="#">9:25 PM</a>	Sunday	the thing is that it makes me feel like - you should have informed me earlier
<a href="#">10/19/15</a> <a href="#">11:20 PM</a>	Monday	@K without a doubt, I think (he/she) is just very free.
<a href="#">10/19/15</a> <a href="#">11:55 PM</a>	Monday	"Itochu" (company) uses people to taste test pineapples and they earn money too - wish I had had known that earlier
<a href="#">10/20/15</a> <a href="#">12:27 AM</a>	Tuesday	@F I fully agree to it
<a href="#">10/20/15</a> <a href="#">4:08 AM</a>	Tuesday	I want to have this pet
<a href="#">10/21/15</a> <a href="#">5:11 PM</a>	Wednesday	@B momochan(pet) is white furred
<a href="#">10/21/15</a> <a href="#">5:11 PM</a>	Wednesday	@A (facial expression)
<a href="#">10/22/15</a> <a href="#">9:06 PM</a>	Thursday	@A reality still exists
<a href="#">10/23/15</a> <a href="#">12:36 PM</a>	Friday	@A it is sports advertisement x data driven. I am waiting for people's approach.
<a href="#">10/25/15</a> <a href="#">5:02 PM</a>	Sunday	shit
<a href="#">10/26/15</a> <a href="#">6:17 AM</a>	Monday	
<a href="#">10/29/15</a> <a href="#">9:53 PM</a>	Thursday	@A that is put on "pending" for now
<a href="#">10/29/15</a> <a href="#">10:51 PM</a>	Thursday	@A I got home little bit earlier and was able to watch it. it was great and the journal of Murakami was good as expected
<a href="#">10/31/15</a> <a href="#">1:26 AM</a>	Saturday	when I was told "it's not Takahashi's fault, and yes that's it" and Takahashi replied " that's just like a noble / high pride type of bird "
<a href="#">11/02/15</a> <a href="#">12:28 AM</a>	Monday	@C is it a flamingo?
<a href="#">11/02/15</a> <a href="#">12:29 AM</a>	Monday	this is too funny
<a href="#">11/02/15</a> <a href="#">12:32 AM</a>	Monday	@C I'm not feeling great, but this particular weekend - I got enough sleep. almost 6 days a week, I fall asleep on my sofa when I get home. better than a flamingo (that sleeps while standing)
<a href="#">11/02/15</a> <a href="#">12:41 AM</a>	Monday	@C work is fun! except that I don't sleep much. XX is also not scary at all. again, I don't get to sleep much. how've you been?
<a href="#">11/02/15</a> <a href="#">12:42 AM</a>	Monday	@C just tell me (haha)
<a href="#">11/02/15</a> <a href="#">12:44 AM</a>	Monday	@C don't do that. don't become used to losing your appetite (don't skip meals)

<a href="#">11/03/15</a> <a href="#">8:06 AM</a>	Tuesday	@B @C I never say no / decline
<a href="#">11/06/15</a> <a href="#">12:05 AM</a>	Friday	@B if my proof / evidence is just words - I'd be in trouble right. not to forget the long ass texts messages I've received over LINE
<a href="#">11/06/15</a> <a href="#">12:07 AM</a>	Friday	@B this is the same for divorces, right? its troublesome - but I guess I have to just do it
<a href="#">11/13/15</a> <a href="#">12:25 AM</a>	Friday	I did that too!
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">12:59 AM</a>	Sunday	@Z I don't think it's just a normal consultation. More of a psychopath maybe? I think I'm right on this one
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">1:31 AM</a>	Sunday	@E I've somehow managed to negotiate something. thanks for asking. I'm grateful and touched so I'm looking at it again. something like a new year card type of object
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">2:01 AM</a>	Sunday	@E you're friends with Ayumi-chan right? let's be friends with Mitsumaru too!
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">4:37 PM</a>	Sunday	@E ah, I see! today was a bad day, let's give it a try another day!
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">4:40 PM</a>	Sunday	@BB @E you two are friends as well?
<a href="#">11/15/15</a> <a href="#">4:49 PM</a>	Sunday	I know, I understand - but do I really have to change that?
<a href="#">11/20/15</a> <a href="#">12:37 AM</a>	Friday	@A even if it's one second - I just can't
<a href="#">11/20/15</a> <a href="#">7:20 AM</a>	Friday	@mikitty_ as always, I somehow got up in the morning. the season (maybe winter) is only going to get tougher to get up in the morning
<a href="#">11/20/15</a> <a href="#">4:49 PM</a>	Friday	what, you'd fall down here?
<a href="#">11/23/15</a> <a href="#">10:59 AM</a>	Monday	@B @C my secret folder
<a href="#">11/23/15</a> <a href="#">10:31 PM</a>	Monday	at the gym, more that often I've seen tank top clad, goatee men and with large biceps; but my grandma once told me that she prefers looking at leaner, yet muscular, small hip and flat abs guys instead
<a href="#">11/29/15</a> <a href="#">3:12 PM</a>	Sunday	@DD thanks. I'm a heavy twitter user and I check it very often
<a href="#">11/30/15</a> <a href="#">2:10 AM</a>	Monday	I wanted to wish happy birthday on Facebook to someone but it went to someone else's page so that's rather scary for me. that's why I'm rather quite on my Facebook profile
<a href="#">12/04/15</a> <a href="#">12:55 AM</a>	Friday	@A @HHyou have been texting many place/people! what's up Aso-san?
<a href="#">12/04/15</a> <a href="#">7:09 PM</a>	Friday	"scientific cooking" is a great book. the food/recipes are meant for those that can't cook, unlike those book that only those that can cook can understand
<a href="#">12/12/15</a> <a href="#">5:35 PM</a>	Saturday	my thoughts are very stable and reinforced (does not wobble or collapse); everyday Shiodome (name of a place)

<a href="#">12/13/15</a> <a href="#">9:28 PM</a>	Sunday	@B show me where such a gold mine exists
<a href="#">12/14/15</a> <a href="#">12:38 AM</a>	Monday	@H I know right - I feel bad. so sympathetic that I might even cry
<a href="#">12/18/15</a> <a href="#">3:59 AM</a>	Friday	@B kindness level MK5. employment period/span MY5
<a href="#">12/18/15</a> <a href="#">10:22 AM</a>	Friday	@B just like the bud of a plant / seed coming out of its shell - isn't it very memorable.
<a href="#">12/20/15</a> <a href="#">5:41 PM</a>	Sunday	Facebook adverts now allow yourself to be promoted just like a product for sale to meet new people (dating)
<a href="#">12/20/15</a> <a href="#">10:07 PM</a>	Sunday	@G about once in 3 month he comes back from the west coast or else we meet up in Hawaii

## Appendix C

People she talked to	Amount of mentions
@A	13
@B	13
@C	11
@D	6
@E	6
@F	3
@G	3
@H	2
@I	2
@J	2
@K	2
@L	2
@M	2
@N	1
@O	1
@P	1
@Q	1
@R	1
@S	1
@T	1
@U	1
@V	1
@W	1
@X	1
@Y	1
@X	1
@Z	1
@AA	1
@BB	1
@CC	1
@DD	1
@EE	1
@FF	1
@GG	1