National Crisis and the Female Image: Expressions of Trauma in Japanese Film 1945-1964

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Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

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Thesis Abstract

Inspired by recurring themes in the representation of the female body during the early postwar period of Japanese film production, this thesis investigates the affective impact of the female image during national crisis. Following scholars such as Miriam Hansen, Isolde Standish and Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano, who posit film as a reflexive medium which expresses and mediates popular anxieties, I suggest that the popularity of certain reoccurring female images on film can be understood in terms of their expressive and cathartic affect during the Allied occupation of Japan (1945-1952) and its aftermath. My art-historically informed iconographic analysis of popular film texts is contextualised by contemporary criticism and viewer responses published in major commercial film journals of the period, with reference to Japan's socio-political climate during the first decades of the postwar era.

This study addresses the affect of film on the viewer as a means to understand the popularity of repetitive imagery. I suggest that recurrent trends within the presentation of the female image are coded to reflect viewer concerns and allay popular fears. In focusing on reoccurring themes in the female image on film, I engage with extant scholarship which identifies popular tropes in the representation of women in Japanese cinema, but which has yet to fully interrogate their impact or the reasons for their popularity, which engenders their repetition. The interdisciplinary approach of this thesis contributes to methodological questions within film studies as a discipline, while my use of affect theory is a new theoretical approach to postwar Japanese film. Analysis of the impact of affective imagery addresses concerns expressed in scholarship and in popular media throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first as to the impact of film imagery on the viewer.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Notes on Japanese Names and the Romanization of Japanese Words

Japanese names are given in the Japanese manner of family name first, followed by given name. For the Romanization of Japanese words in the text, macrons indicate long vowels, but are not given in words commonly used in English (for example 'Tokyo' rather than 'Tōkyō').

I have used the standard English translations of the titles of the films under discussion; where a film was distributed widely under an alternate English title I have cited it as 'aka'. The Japanese film title is given in brackets at the first mention of each film, alongside the date of release in Japan.

Birth and death dates (where known) of filmmakers, actors and artists are similarly given in brackets after their first mention in each chapter. Where the known dates are unclear, they are cited as 'c.'

All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Acknowledgements

Introduction

The cinema not only traded in the mass production of the senses but
also provided an aesthetic horizon for the experience of industrial mass
society. (Hansen 2000b: 342)

This study's investigation of the role of postwar Japanese film in expressing and mediating national trauma is greatly informed by Miriam Hansen's description of film as an aesthetic or 'reflexive horizon' upon which the trauma of change can be 'reflected, rejected or disavowed, transmuted or negotiated' (2000b: 342). In the wake of Japan's unconditional surrender following World War II and the Asia-Pacific war,[1] the nation was traumatized by defeat, occupation, and memories of war. The ensuing struggle for a coherent national identity encompassed popular anxieties over postwar Japanese subjectivity and war responsibility, as well as radically re-imagined social and gender roles. Within this period of change, striking repetitive patterns are discernible in the representation of the female body on film. This study suggests that such repetitions play a large part in the expression and mediation of trauma through film. Informed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's writing on affect and the refrain (2003), I suggest that repetitive tropes heighten the affective impact of film texts, inviting emotional investment from the viewer. The intensity of viewer investment created by highly affective imagery positions the film text as a 'reflexive horizon' for the expression and mediation of trauma during national crisis.

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[1] The Asia-Pacific War, also known as The Fifteen Year War or the Sino-Japanese War and Pacific War, is variously dated from 19 September 1931 on the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, 1 July 1937 on the declaration of the second Sino-Japanese war, or 7 and 8 December 1941 with the invasion of Thailand and the bombing of Pearl Harbor. I refer to the Asia Pacific or Fifteen Year war as 1931-1945, as Japanese studies tend to favour these dates.

Approaching Post-Defeat Film

In investigating the affect of film texts in postwar Japan, this study is prompted by the question of what motivates spectators to consume repetitive and familiar filmic imagery. Viewing approximately six hundred films made and distributed in Japan between 1945 and 1964, I was struck by the reoccurrence of certain images and characterizations. Female representations in particular shared a great deal of imagistic tropes from film to film. Despite the repetitive nature of these tropes, they consistently engaged me as a viewer. As I became familiar with the codes pertaining to the female image in this era of film production, I found narratives and characters becoming predictable, largely because I had seen the same tropes in other films. And yet, this process of recognition was enjoyable; if anything, I enjoyed the films more as the patterns within their repetitions became clearer. My own response sparked my interest in the responses of contemporary viewers of the postwar era, though as recent work on audience studies has suggested, gauging the responses of film viewers of the past is a difficult task. Instead I sought out contemporary commentary and criticism surrounding this body of films, looking for personal responses and observations from film critics and fans, which would suggest the affect film had on these writers.

From 1945-1964, larger numbers of Japanese viewers than ever before consumed increasingly repetitive and mass-produced imagery in a 'golden age' of cinema in which production and viewership was at its peak. The popularity of the films and surrounding print media that I have selected for close analyses clearly demonstrates a direct communication between these films and their consumers. My research into the critical reception of these films suggests that many spoke to their consumers with a particular intensity. This project aims to situate the recurring tropes in female representation identified by many scholars on Japanese cinema (Barrett

1989; Satō 1982) in their historical context in order to better understand the intense popularity of such imagery with postwar audiences. The scope of the project extends from the occupation era (1945-1952) into Japan's economic recovery of the early 1960s in order to engage in detail with the changing issues posed to Japanese national identity during the long postwar.

Literature Review

This study of the female body in postwar Japanese film addresses a gap in extant literature on Japanese film studies, arising out of an engagement with the exsisting scholarship and identification of its shortcomings. While Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano's *Nippon Modern* (2008) analyses representations of women in pre-war and wartime film, and Isolde Standish's *Myth and Masculinity in the Japanese Cinema* (2000) presents a political reading of the male body in Japanese film, there has yet to be an in-depth study of the political and social significance of the representation of the female body in postwar Japanese cinema in the context of national crisis. Catherine Russell's study (2008) of Naruse Mikio's (1905-1969) work addresses the question of women's relationships to modernity in pre- and postwar Japan, reading female representation through autobiographical details of the auteur's life and work. Earlier scholarship such as that of Joan Mellen (1976) and Noël Burch (1979) has also tended towards this approach, drawing connections between individual film texts within a director's oeuvre rather than considering the impact of a filmic image over a historical period. Conversely, this study approaches film from an iconographic perspective. Iconographic analysis combines a technical study of the components of an image (lighting, costuming, props etc.) with semantic analysis of the meanings created by these components. This analysis is contextualized by a cultural reading of the socio-

political historical context of the image, allowing the researcher to hypothesize the affect of the image on the viewer; the image leads the study back into the history of postwar Japan, rather than beginning from a biographical standpoint.

Earlier studies have tended to focus on female characterization rather than the female image in itself, conducting psychological examinations of key characters, often linked to biographical details of directors' lives. Recent work, such as Keiko McDonald's *Reading a Japanese Film: Cinema in Context* (2006) continues Mellen and Burch's fascination with the female characters of Japanese cinema. McDonald accounts for the historical backgrounds of the female characters within her study, however her representation of historical contexts often conforms to a national meta-narrative which resists investigation of the social and political production of a 'national history' through filmic imagery. McDonald presents selected female characterizations from films of the 1950s and 1960s as extenuations of an essentialist 'Japanese' understanding of the feminine, depicted as consistent throughout history. Taking a different approach, I focus on the imagery used to construct representations of the female body in postwar Japanese cinema, rather than female characterizations and their scripting. Through iconographic analysis of the representation of women in Japanese film, I add a new approach to the extant scholarship on Japanese film history in an attempt to understand how repeated tropes in the representation of women can speak to their contemporary viewers' everyday lives. A critique of essentialist understandings of Japanese cultural preference is implicit here in that I aim to understand how affective imagery appealed to an audience subject to national crisis, that is, an audience cognizant of the fragility and constructed nature of the Japanese nation.

While recent work on Japanese film has challenged the extant assumption that Japanese-language film scholarship has historically lacked a theoretical approach (Furuhata 2007), Japanese-language film scholarship has often taken the opposite approach to that of English-language scholarship in foregrounding historical context to the point of delivering only brief synopses and slight observations on the films themselves. In *Japanese Film and Japanese Culture* (*Nihon no eiga to Nihon no bunka,* 1989) Satō Tadao attends to historical and political context in his analysis of selected postwar films, however, his arguments are often based on his subjective personal account rather than reflective of a general public response. Writings such as Satō's therefore inform this thesis as examples of critical response rather than theoretical analysis.

Recent Japanese film criticism has begun to take a different approach, exemplified by Yomota Inuhiko's *Fighting Women: Japanese Cinema's Female Action* (*Tatakau onnatachi: Nihon eiga no josei akushon*, 2009) which identifies a set of popular female characterizations within the action genre. Yomota gives an account of the reception of selected action films within their social and historical context, providing analysis of certain images taken from a handful of still frames, rather than descriptions of whole sequences or narratives as is common in earlier Japanese-language film criticism. Yomota's work also includes suggestions as to how spectators may have read these images, as does Takei Teruo in *Films from Postwar History* (*Sengoshi no naka no eiga*, 2003). In selecting small sections of film for detailed analysis, I follow Yomota's approach. However, I base my account of a films' reception on analysis of the popular journals of the period rather than on iconographic reading alone. This study also aims to expand this recent development in Japanese film discourse to include a variety of 'types' of images of the female body.

Gregory Barrett's translations of Satō Tadao's work, published as *Currents in Japanese Cinema* (1982), engage with the issue of recurring types of characterization in Japanese film; Barrett developed this theme more clearly in his own *Archetypes in Japanese Film* (1989). While Barrett's focus on the socio-political importance of the filmic archetype and his development of an art historically-informed iconographic research method inform this study, the work positions analysis of archetypal characterizations in relation to the concept of an essential 'Japaneseness'. In constrast, I aim to problematize rather than contribute to understanding of the archetypal image as illustrative of unique national characteristics. The structure of this thesis does however reflect the structures of Barrett's and Satō's studies of archetypes in the Japanese cinema, addressing a set of archetypal images in each chapter, divided in 'domestic', 'public' and 'excessive' representations. These divisions are designed to reflect the historical context in which roles for women in Japanese society were at the forefront of public debate. This structure is also intended to make explicit the thesis' engagement with Barrett and Satō's scholarship; while both address archetypal representation as self-motivated in a way this study aims to avoid, it is nonetheless clear that archetypes, or tropes, in representation continue to reoccur throughout Japanese and many other national cinemas. For this reason I believe Barrett and Satō's account of archetypal representation, though flawed, merits revisiting.

As Isolde Standish has observed, writing on Japanese cinema has often taken a high-art approach (Standish 2000: 8) that focuses on auteurs and prizewinners rather than box-office hits. In contrast, recent work such as that of Wada-Marciano and Standish draws out themes across Japanese film production as a whole; this study aims to follow this approach. Wada-Marciano's in-depth account of the function of the female image on screen in pre-war Japan (2008) provides a starting point for

investigation of the affects of the image of the female body in postwar film. The image of the female body is clearly connected to national concerns as film creates 'an imagined female subjectivity as a visible re-enactment of Japanese anxiety' (Wada-Marciano 2008: 14). In Wada-Marciano's study of the pre-war era, such anxieties centre on 'the transformative aspects of modernity' (2008: 14). My research reveals postwar anxieties of defeat, war guilt, and occupation to be coded within similar reoccurring imagery.

Wada-Marciano's *Nippon Modern* deals with national anxieties around the perceived threat of Westernization in the 1920s and 1930s. Similar issues were clearly present during the Allied occupation of Japan from 1945-1952. The image of the modern girl, or *moga* was used in the pre-war era 'to symbolize the assimilation of Westernness and the Japanese mastery over the encounter' (Wada-Marciano 2008: 87). I argue that this theme is picked up again in the postwar era, leading to the development of a new *moga*, as discussed in chapter three. Wada-Marciano's understanding of 'popular films as the cultural "translation" of ordinary people's desires, needs and hopes' (2008: 134) greatly informs this study, as the affect of repetitive tropes is contingent on viewer investment in popular filmic imagery, an investment guaranteed by screening the 'desires, needs and hopes' of the audience.

These 'desires, needs and hopes' are largely informed by the social, political, and historical contexts of the audience. Isolde Standish has focused on film's relation to socio-political factors including 'nationalism, Imperialism, transgression and gender', writing of film as 'a mechanism of mediation that is both constitutive of, and constituted by, these same socio-political discourses' (2005: 14). In a similar way, I conceptualize film as both symptom and antidote to anxieties surrounding nationalism

in defeat, as both creation of and commentary on postwar gender and generational conflicts. Standish suggests that;

> …images, like language, form part of a continuous social process that both shapes individual consciousness and to which spectators and viewing audiences, to a limited extent, actively contribute through their acceptance or non-acceptance of dramatic, stylistic and technical innovations. (Standish 2005: 14)

This study approaches the image within film and film journals as a body in dialogue with the spectator. Reoccurring imagistic tropes within Japanese film production are examples of such a dialogue, as the spectator actively engages with the same image again and again. Repetitive imagery is created by the spectators' willingness to consume an image repeatedly; as in Standish's account, the viewer's repeated acceptance of an imagistic trope guarantees its archetypal status. In order to win the acceptance of the viewer, an image must impact or affectively engage the viewer. I suggest that the archetypal image, whose reoccurrence indicates acceptance or desire on the part of the viewer, engages its audience with particular affect, resulting in its continued popularity. In postwar Japan, this special engagement with the viewer is predicated on the ability of the archetypal image to represent and negotiate the trauma of the era. This system is cyclical in that repetitive images carry heightened affect and are therefore more desirable; their desirability ensures their repetition, heightening their affect.

Throughout her work, Standish refers to a 'collective imagination' (2011: 51), 'collective tradition' (2000: 21), and 'communal patterns of interpretation and memory' (2005: 211). This study attempts to draw out this theme as a key aspect of

film viewing using Yoshimoto's *Communal Fantasies*, which is discussed in detail in the next section of this chapter. These terms suggest an element of group thinking, created in the postwar era by the totalising experience of wartime defeat and the 'search for stability in meaning' undertaken by many Japanese in the aftermath of war (Standish 2011:51). Of course, the cinematic image was designed to be consumed *en masse* and, in the golden age of film theatres, as a collective theatre audience. However, Standish refers particularly to the re-creation of national memories and ideas of what it means to be Japanese in her use of 'communal' and 'collective', which suggests that while 'communal illusion' may surface more clearly during national crisis, it is also a constant element in the building of the nation state, as Yoshimoto has observed (1968: 17). The collective nature of film viewing in postwar Japan is central to my use of affect theory to re-imagine viewership practices.

> Since affect is about *affectus*, about being affected and affecting, and therefore about relationality and reciprocity as such, affect theory is inevitably concerned with the analysis of collective atmospheres. (Berlant 2012: 88)

 While Standish's early work focuses on the male body as the ground for a Japanese 'myth and masculinity' (2000), her later work suggests the importance of the image of the female body in considering postwar Japan as a site of social and political upheaval (2005; 2011). In the postwar period,

> …women and social conceptions of femininity became the focus around which various political discourses associated with economic and social change found representation within popular films. (Standish 2005: 162)

In drawing a link between female images on-screen and social unrest, Standish's work invites consideration of the affect of the archetypal female image for the postwar viewer. Archetypal structures within postwar female representation are similarly linked to crises in the national historical context in the work of David Desser, who suggests that in the postwar period, 'In order to make film style and the image of women genuinely political, genuinely progressive, a repositioning of traditional archetypes was required' (1988: 143). This study constitutes a systematic investigation of reoccurring archetypes within postwar images of women on film, suggesting that these archetypes were 'repositioned' to provide grounds for the renegotiation of traumatic wartime memories, and to imagine a future for the postwar Japanese nation.

Though Desser's study includes analyses of both the male and female body on film, he notes the privileged position of the image of the female body as coded with social and political reference to the contemporary state of the nation.

> A focus on women can reveal most of Japan's inner tensions and
> contradictions. The changing roles of women in Japanese society and
> the changing nature of their image in myth, religion and ideology
> provide a good index of Japan's cultural identity at a given moment.
> (Desser 1988: 108)

Although life changed drastically for all Japanese citizens at the end of the war, women, and images of women, were at the very centre of change. While reforms issued by SCAP affected everyone, a high proportion of reforms dealt specifically with women and their roles. From 1947, Article 24 of the postwar constitution engendered reforms such as the legal emancipation of women; introduction of the

vote for women; the right of women to inherit property; and triggered a popular campaign to discourage arranged marriage in a move to recognise the rights of women to choose their marriage partners. These reforms inevitably affected men and children as well, causing a seismic shift in postwar society.

The involvement of women in politics at both local and national levels, and their disproportionate representation in

Fig. 1: Awashima Chikage as Yae in Naruse Mikio's *Summer Clouds* (*Iwashigumo*, 1958).

movements such as anti-nuclear protests made women a highly visible and audible demographic. Desser's observation appears true for the early postwar period, in which female bodies on film map the effects of occupation reforms on everyday life. For example, Naruse Mikio's *Summer Clouds* (*Iwashigumo*, 1958) depicts a young war widow coming to terms with postwar Japanese society. Yae, played by Awashima Chikage (1924-2012), deals with the impact of land reform on her squabbling family, advising on the love marriages and abortion of her younger cousins, and counselling her traditional elder brother on his relationships with his many ex-wives, discarded under the old familial system for not working hard enough. Desser's work connects women on film to issues of cultural identity, providing this study with a point of departure for investigating the relationship between the archetypal female image and the trauma of drastic social change.

Close attention to the historical background of Japanese film texts in the work of Wada-Marciano, Standish, and Desser has prompted me to ground my own study in historical writing. John Dower's account of Japan during the Occupation heavily influences my understanding of the era as a period of national crisis (1999). Dower

points to crises apparent on both the personal and national level in the immediate

aftermath of defeat, manifesting in a popular sense of Japan as a 'weak and vulnerable'

nation (1999: 138). Tessa Morris-Suzuki notes repeated use of the phrase 'one

hundred million people in a state of trauma (*ichi-oku sō-kyodatsu*)' in contemporary

writing on postwar Japan (1984: 196), while Victor J. Koschmann's study of

subjectivity in postwar Japan (1996) indicates a pervasive sense of crisis extending

from everyday life in the burnt-out ruins of Tokyo to public and academic debate.

Mark Williams and David Stahl's edited volume *Imag(in)ing the War in

Japan: Representing and Responding to Trauma in Postwar Literature and Film*

(2010) addresses the representation of this trauma in literary and film texts of the

postwar period. While Williams and Stahl's theoretical approach informs my research,

literary representations of trauma dominate the content of this volume, with only two

chapters devoted to film. The films discussed are texts from the later postwar era of

the 1980s, however this thesis proposes that the immediate nature of film production

in the golden era of the Japanese studios allowed for response to Japan's postwar

trauma in films made as early as the first years of occupation.[2] My research uncovers

popular response to reflections of Japan's postwar trauma in the earlier period of film

production from 1945-1964, filling a gap in extant scholarship on Japanese film and

trauma which currently begins in 1964 with Adam Lowenstein's description of

Shindō Kaneto's *Onibaba* (*Onibaba,* 1964) as a 'trauma text' (2004).

Lowenstein and the contributors to Williams and Stahl's volume approach the

'trauma text' from the perspective of the artist, thinking of the medium as a mode of

expression for the traumatized producer. This study takes a different approach, using

discourse analysis and affect theory to suggest how the traumatized viewer may have

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[2] For example, Kurosawa Akira's *Yōjimbō* premiered just four days after shooting wrapped on April 20, 1961 (Galbraith 2002: 309). Such quick turnaround speeds allowed Japanese films of the postwar era to deal with contemporary issues as they arose.

consumed and been affected by the trauma text. While Williams and Stahl focus on 'great works of art' (Williams 2010: 6), I analyse popular film texts which sold well at the box office and generated public discussion on the understanding that these texts spoke to the viewer with particular affect, securing their popularity and the subsequent reoccurrence of repetitive imagery, remakes, and serials. Analysing the affect of popular texts allows us to investigate the role of film as a 'reflexive horizon' upon which trauma is expressed and mediated during national crisis.

The question of film's affect on the viewer underpins the archival research of Hirano Kyoko in her study of Japanese cinema under occupation (1992). Hirano's research indicates the immense power of film through her detailed account of the occupation government's concern about the affect of popular films and journals on the attitudes of the Japanese public. She explores the reported reactions of audiences to many of SCAP's policies, such as the enforced inclusion of kissing scenes in early postwar romances. The inclusion of reported audience reaction is useful for a well-rounded understanding of the effects of SCAP's censorship policies as audiences often subverted SCAP's intentions, reacting to kissing scenes with laughter or disgust rather than romantic interest. However, Hirano's study is largely concerned with the censorship procedures and rationale of the occupation forces rather than Japanese reaction to filmic imagery. This thesis aims to present the other side of this imagistic interaction, drawn from accounts of contemporary viewership practices in the popular film journals of the period.

Hirano does consider the role of the Japanese viewer in the popular reception and production of reoccurring images, suggesting that 'if the Japanese people had not actually enjoyed them, such scenes would not have continued to appear for long on the Japanese screen' (1992: 162). We must take into account an element of pleasure

for the viewer in the consumption of archetypal recurring imagery; a pleasure which, I suggest, stems from the relation of screen imagery and narratives to issues in everyday life. Pleasure in self-recognition is possible where the viewer identifies their own stories or suffering in the narratives presented on film.

Of course, many of the narratives on screen during the early postwar period were indeed the life stories of Japanese citizens. Horiguchi Noriko considers the use of women's writing in filmmaking in her examination of memory and nostalgia in the postwar period (2012). She argues that many postwar revisions of written texts, such as Naruse's adaptations of Hayashi Fumiko's work (c. 1903-1951), discount the collaboration of women in Japan's wartime past, and create a memory of women as victims in the pre-war era.[3] As a literary analyst, Horiguchi is in a unique position, able to compare Naruse's film adaptations to Hayashi's original novels, and to spot several narrative details alluding to women's complicity with the state in Japanese aggression which have been replaced in postwar film adaptations by scenes of female suffering. I argue that an element of the appeal of archetypal imagery in postwar Japanese film was the potential for the viewer to read his or her own life experiences through the image on screen; however I do not wish to suggest that these experiences, particularly where memories of wartime are concerned, are necessarily historically accurate. In reading popular imagery from a historical perspective, Horiguchi's work provides a necessary reminder that the filmic image constructs memory and nostalgia as much as it represents the world, or an idea of the world. My analysis of a diverse

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[3] Naruse Mikio adapted six of Hayashi Fumiko's written works, including *Repast* (*Meshi*, 1951), *Lightning* (*Inazuma*, 1952), *Wife* (*Tsuma*, 1953) *Late Chrysanthemums* (*Bangiku*, 1954), *Floating Clouds* (*Ukigumo*, 1955) and *A Wanderer's Notebook* (*Hōrōki*, 1962). As is the case for the many adaptations discussed in this thesis including Ichikawa Kon's adaptation of Tanizaki Junichirō's *The Key* (*Kagi*, 1959) and the adaptations of *Gates of Flesh* (*Nikutai no mon*, 1948; 1964) based on the successful stage play of the same name, the popularity of the preceding texts influenced the reception of the film adaptations.

range of contemporary materials is designed to prevent a simplistic reading of the female image on film as an unproblematic representation of everyday postwar life.

Horiguchi argues that large numbers of the pre-war and wartime population were both victims and aggressors simultaneously within the project of the Imperial nation state. Describing the historical and socio-economic contexts in which such a proportion of the Japanese populace were enlisted to participate in the aims of the nation state, she focuses on the affective representation of the nation as a body, analysing the Japanese Civil Code (1897) and the Imperial Constitution (1889) to demonstrate multiple ways in which the image of Japan as a body filtered into the national self-image. Exploring the place of women in this Imperial body, Horiguchi observes that the female population were imagined as the 'universal womb' (2012: 19) of Japan in their role as potential mothers who were encouraged to produce children who would become soldiers. Horiguchi also refers to the dominant image of working class women as the hands of Japan in the manual labour of factory production; placing these polar images side by side challenges the prevailing tendency to write of the female body in Japan as one cohesive entity. This study employs Horiguchi's account of the historical imagination of Japan as a body to argue that the postwar nation state, imagined as feminized after defeat, can be allegorized as a female body subject to the demands of the occupying American forces. In this way, we can read reoccurring images of the female body on screen as representative of the nation, and viewer investment in these images as at once symptomatic and mediative of national anxieties.

Horiguchi's work serves as a reminder that in writing on the impact of war and defeat in postwar Japan, one is writing not of the history of war but of memory. Film is a tool for the production of memory and nostalgia rather than a reflection of any

'true history' of wartime Japan. This study therefore approaches filmic representation as a means of producing a national collective memory for the re-construction of the national self-image in postwar Japan.

War, Trauma and National Crisis: Historical Contexts of the Thesis

> Perception takes place not simply in a phenomenological present but in
> an engagement with individual and cultural memory. (Marks 2000: 147)

While it may be true that 'Japan has not been able to find a dominant cultural memory for World War II' (Seaton 2007: 35), much postwar narrative cinema has been consumed by the attempt to find or create such a memory. This cinematic drive suggests the possibility (or hope) that trauma may be resolved by the development of a collective memory upon which a nation can agree, and in which a collective can even find national pride. Such memories are constructed 'using the public language and meanings of our culture' (Thomson 1994: 8), language such as the visual vernacular of the cinema. However, the construction of collective memory is not unproblematic. Seaton describes the process as follows;

> The first process in the creation of cultural memory is the transition
> from the individual to the collective… personal narratives are heard and
> resonate with the memories of other individuals, shared memories
> emerge among groups… The second process in the creation of cultural
> memory involves the transition from the war generation's memories to
> the postwar generations' cultural memory. This may generate
> substantial conflict within a society. (Seaton 2007: 13-14)

Seaton argues that war memories can become particularly confrontational 'as groups struggle to turn their disparate versions of the past into the dominant cultural memory' (2007: 15). The socio-political and historical contexts presented as background for the images and affects analysed in this thesis are offered with this in mind; that memories differ and are fluid, and that the accepted collective memory of an event often has little relation to events as they may have transpired. Postwar Japanese cinema presents a horizon for 'the national production of collective screen memories – memories of an unbearable affect that gets distorted into taking shape as memories of events that didn't quite happen that or any other way' (Berlant 2012: 76). These memories can be understood as collective fantasies in Yoshimoto Takaaki's terms; events whose relation to history is unproven at best nonetheless capture the popular imagination to the extent that they are repeated throughout material culture (Yoshimoto 1968: 120).

In terms of the historically verifiable however, Japan suffered a number of crises between 1945 and 1964 including defeat in the Asia Pacific War and World War II, occupation by victorious Allied forces, war crimes trials held across the country and in Japan's former colonies and warzones, and the daily realities of poverty, accompanied by emotional and moral paralysis (*kyodatsu*) as Japan struggled to reconcieve of itself as a nation on very different terms to those which it had imagined only years before. However, the same period also saw national successes such as the beginning of the postwar economic miracle marked by Japan's accession to the OECD in 1964 and the Olympic Games hosted by Tokyo in the same year.

Though I focus on one particular period of Japanese history which can be understood as a national crisis, I conceive of the nation as an entity perpetually in crisis, as a body which requires crisis in order to define its boundaries and limits, and so at once to sustain itself and continually bring itself into being. Benedict Anderson

has famously written of the nation as 'an imagined political community, and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (2006: 6). In its limitations, Anderson highlights the importance of boundaries to the concept of the nation (2006: 7). One way in which boundaries are defined and maintained is by being transgressed, in actuality or in threat; the nation defines itself both by and against threats to its existence, or crises. Just as personal identity can be understood as 'a normative ideal rather than a descriptive feature of experience' governed by 'regulatory practices' which are activated by conflict and transgression (Butler 1990: 16), the nation as a normative ideal is governed by the regulatory practices born of crisis. Victor Koschmann writes of China as 'incessantly reconstituting itself through struggle' (1996: 227); I suggest the same could be said of any nation, particularly Japan during the postwar era.

In many ways, Japan's struggle to re-constitute itself postwar can be understood in terms of crisis. Kent E. Calder defines crisis as the 'prospect of major loss or unwanted change that threatens the established order' (1988: 37), arguing that the Japanese institutional structure, though normally resistant to change, has historically tended towards accelerating the pace of change in times of crisis (1988: 28).

> If the concept of crisis is to be useful as an analytical variable, one must
> be able to clearly delimit crisis periods, when tensions escalated above
> the general levels already discussed, and to distinguish them from non-
> crisis periods in terms of a clear set of indicators. Although such a
> process of definition is inevitably subjective, the following indicators
> would appear to demonstrate the "prospect of major loss or unwanted
> change which threatens the established order"… Legislative turmoil…

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Economic dislocation, including levels of economic stagnation,

inflation, and unemployment. Where these various political indices of

instability co-vary with one another at a high level, it would seem

legitimate to speak of major "prospects of unwanted change" or crisis.

(Calder 1988: 71-72)

In the immediate postwar period, Japan suffered all of the conditions listed above in

addition to shortages of materials and food, low economic growth, and severe and

rising unemployment. In this sense, I understand the early postwar period as a period

of national crisis.

Human existence in itself is often experienced as crisis; Berlant argues that

'everyone lives the present intensely, from within a sense that *their time, this time, is*

crisis time' (Berlant 2011:57, italics in the original). Berlant's language echoes Peter

High's description of popular understanding of the Imperial Japanese government's

description of the inter-war period as '*hijōji*', or a period of crisis (2003: xvii). High

attributes the spectre of crisis in this period to the impact of popular media; cinema,

radio and print media collaborated to 'generate successive waves of public hysteria

and, ultimately, to manufacture the illusion of a vast politico-social "time of crisis"'

(2003: xvii). While the experience of crisis is traumatic, its articulation can also be

humorous. High records that on the distribution of *Crisis-Time Japan (Hijōji Nihon*,

1933), in which War Minister Araki Sadao lectured the nation on the dangers of

Westernization (High 2003: 46), the phrase 'crisis time' was often used jokingly as a

form of passive resistance; "What time is it?" "Its crisis time!" (High 2003: 48).

Whether traumatic or humorous, the articulation of crisis constitutes an

affective episode as described by Berlant;

Episodes are defined first by causality, but their affective charge derives

from confronting the enigma of their ultimate shape. Something has an

impact: What will happen? I call this process the becoming-event of the

situation. A situation usually gets its shape from the way that it

resonates strongly with previous episodes… and media-orchestrated

collective experience… Insofar as it can be read through these other

frames, the episode becomes part of a series and its danger to normative

epistemology and affective habits (intuitions) is diminished, and people

don't have to be too anxious or creative in their processing of it. In

contrast, if a situation arises that feels like a massively genre-breaking

one, then the situation can become the kind of event whose enigmatic

shape repels being governed by the foreclosure of what happened

before. (Berlant 2012: 72)

The experience of defeat and occupation was 'genre-breaking' in the context of

Imperial Japanese propaganda, which had declared defeat 'unimaginable' (High 2003:

502). Such a genre-breaking event engenders attempts to 'turn history into "symbolic

event" in a way that protects the (affective) fantasy of the nation as a powerful anchor'

(Berlant 2012: 73). Cinema presents a mode of re-imagining history in this way.

Without the anchor of a coherent fantasy of the nation, national identity was

crisis-stricken as post-Imperial Japan struggled to redefine itself during the occupation

and its aftermath. Soldiers in prisoner-of-war camps across China and Siberia were

forced to come to terms with a new identity as the Imperial understanding of the

Japanese as a superior race was shattered by defeat. Repatriated soldiers suffered

crises of masculinity in addition to post-traumatic stress as they returned to a nation

which had been 'manned' by women in their absence (Slaymaker 2004: 14). Redress

of power between the genders continued during the occupation, as many men found themselves unemployed and unable to provide for their families, while the Japanese-language staff of SCAP's offices largely consisted of female Japanese employees, giving women greater access to the centres of power in the offices of the Allied forces' headquarters. Women also suffered during crises of national identity of course; as Carol Gluck has observed 'enunciations of crisis displace the spectre of unsettling change onto socially marginal groups, whether Koreans or foreign workers, and often women, who then bear the brunt of the more general fear of things coming undone' (1995: 42). This fear shapes representations of women in postwar Japanese film, driving the female image back towards the archetypal which presents a set of reassuringly familiar tropes.

In Chinese cinema, Rey Chow notes a trend towards what she has termed 'primitive representation' during moments of cultural crisis. She suggests that these reoccurring images are linked to 'fantasies of an origin' (1995: 22), which become increasingly important at times of crisis. I argue that the reoccurrence of archetypal images in postwar Japanese film has a similar function in that the re-use of archetypes from Japan's imagistic history creates a nostalgic sense of reassurance for the viewer. Nostalgia carries connotations of the historically privileged in its situation of selected events within elegiac memory. National history in and as memory speaks directly to questions of identity within the Japanese cinema, an identity understood as;

> … a set of issues related and relevant to individuals trying to create
> individually meaningful lives in which they remain responsible agents
> aware of and sustained by, or else alienated from and rebellious against,
> history and tradition, both national and personal. (Iles 2008: 4)

Reoccurring images within Japan's postwar cinema imply awareness of and affective dependence on history and tradition on the part of the viewer; in this way, the cinema is used to create the self-image of the viewer as an individual with his or her own meaningful life. Filmmaker Yoshida Kijū (also known as Yoshida Yoshishige, 1933-), whose films are informed by his experiences as a young teenager at the end of the war, confirms popular recollections of the period as one of 'transformation and crisis' according to his own memories. He notes that 'people tend to expect grand narratives in such periods of upheaval' (2003: 61), suggesting that national myths may be particularly popular in times of crisis due to their grand narrative structures.

This period of crisis is often understood in relation to its 'postwar' status, although it is difficult to draw definitive temporal boundaries around its affects. The term 'postwar' casts a long shadow in Japanese and English discourse on the period alike. Though the San Francisco Treaty declared Japan autonomous in 1951, and Allied forces officially withdrew from Japan in 1952, the spectre of the postwar remained. The Economic White Paper of 1956 declared an early end to the postwar period, while in the popular journal *Bungei Shunjū* in February of the same year, Nakano Yoshio argued that 'it is no longer the postwar' (*mō haya 'sengo' de wa nai*) (Nakano 1984: 56). For students demonstrating the re-signing of the Japan-America Security Treaty (*Anpo*) in 1960 however, the continued presence of American troops in Okinawa kept aspects of the war and Japan's compromised recovery at the forefront of public consciousness.

Filmmakers also had a persuasive case for extending the 'postwar' due to their position within the broader discursive and political pressures of the time. The proscriptions and rigorous pre- and post-production censorship imposed by the occupation forces were lifted in 1952; the previous eight years' output of film, though

actively encouraged to deal explicitly with certain aspects of postwar reform such as the emancipation of women and demilitarization, had been relatively silent on the more unpalatable aspects of the post-defeat experience including anti-American feeling, negative reaction to democratic reforms, and everyday elements of occupation living such as black market trade. Discussion of such issues opened up after 1952 as a new, bleaker postwar reaction produced films that reflected a darker image of the times. Filmmakers revisited not only the occupation, but the war itself, particularly at home and in Japan's former colonies.

Genre was heavily affected by censorship; the increase in melodrama production during the occupation reflects not only the occupiers' focus on women and their place in the new Japan, but also the total ban on period film, or *jidaigeki*. The re-emergence of such classic *jidaigeki* texts as the *Story of the Loyal Retainers* (*Chūshingura*, 1954; 1958; 1959; 1962), or the *Miyamoto Musashi* series, which was remade twice within the post-occupation period in two multi-part series, the first (1954; 1955; 1956) by Inagaki Hiroshi (1905-1980), and the second (1961; 1962; 1963; 1964; 1965) by Uchida Tomu (1898-1970), indicate a desire to synchronize the image of new Japan with its sizeable filmic and mythological history. The weighty, serious subject matter of much occupation period film left little room for the creative imaginations of the *ero-guro-nansensu* genre so popular in Japan's earlier imagistic history.[4] In the late 1950s and early 1960s however, the now-iconic monster genre (*kaijū eiga*) reintroduced this style to a new generation in Honda Ishirō's prolific output, including *Godzilla* (*Gojira,* 1954), *Mothra* (*Mosura,* 1961) and imaginative sci-fi epics such as *Star Gorath* (*Yōsei Gorasu,* 1962) and *Dogora the Great Outer Space Monster* (*Uchū daikaijū Dogora*, 1964).

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[4] 'Erotic grotesque nonsense', popular in the Edo period and coined as a term in the 1920s.

Viewed through the lens of a popular medium such as film, the 'postwar' appears longer and more complex than official discourses represent. An analysis of postwar film must include popular film made after the occupation in order to grasp an uncensored response to the full implications of Japan's wartime defeat. This is not to suggest, however, that films produced under occupation did not express the chaos of the postwar period, which surfaced in coded references to national crises and trauma. Many films succeeded in getting a great amount of subversive material past the censors, often in the form of images coded with references from Japan's history. Archetypal imagery provided continuity with Japan's pre-war film history while allowing filmmakers to code their meanings for a Japanese audience, making it a little easier to slip certain motifs past the watchful SCAP censors who often relied on translated scripts. The final section of this introduction introduces an early example of this trend, however it is first necessary to clarify the theory and methods used in my analysis of film imagery.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Throughout this thesis, I refer to reoccurring tropes within the presentation of the female image on film as archetypal representations. Within English-language scholarship, 'archetype' is associated with Carl Jung's (1875-1961) definition of the term, from the Greek meaning 'prime imprinter'. While in 1912 Jung identified a phenomenon he termed 'primordial images', by 1919 he had decided on the term 'archetype' to indicate 'a collective a priori beneath the personal psyche' (Jung 1963: 185, trans. Winston and Winston). In writings published in 1946, Jung developed this concept further, suggesting that the archetype is a phenomenon from which images

are produced rather than an image itself; the image is the form and the archetype is the content.

Jung's concept of the archetype has proved useful for film scholars of Western and non-Western traditions. David Desser uses the term in his analysis of the Japanese New Wave (1988: 112), while Gregory Barratt employs Jung's writing in his identification of key archetypes in Japanese film iconography (1989: 19). However, Jung's relative lack of interest in female-gendered archetypal forms, and tendency to read images of the female as reflective of the male psyche leads Barrett to interpret the vengeful female archetype in Japanese film as 'the personification of all female tendencies in a man's psyche' (1989: 104). Jung's definition alone is therefore inadequate for a discussion of gender representation on film. As Terrie Waddell cautions;

> ...the archetype is at its core, gender neutral. Although archetypal
> patterns are often projected into characters and their various story arcs,
> this narrow 'spot the archetype' concentration is problematic. (Waddell
> 2006: 27)

Though the archetype may be a gender neutral phenomenon in psychoanalytic film theory, both Jung himself and many writers on Jung reveal an essentialist approach to gender problematic for the purposes of this study. My understanding of the postwar as a period of crisis is informed by popular confusion around and questioning of gender norms brought about by changes within the Japanese family structure and, by extension, society as a whole. The 'gender neutral' aspect of Jung's archetype often manifests in screen analyses as gender normative, and so Jung's concept of the archetype is not entirely appropriate for the purposes of this study.

Nonetheless, Jung's writing is relevant to this work in its relation of the archetype to an idea of a group consciousness, or collective imagination. John Izod argues that 'the collective unconscious consists of *archetypes*' (2001: 34, italics in the original), indicating that the archetype is a major factor in the process of a group interpreting the world around them. 'There are as many archetypes as there are typical situations in life. Endless repetition has engraved these experiences into our psychic constitution' (Jung 1980: 48, trans. Adler and Hull). Jung suggests that archetypes are explanatory constructs emerging from similarities within the experiences of many people over a prolonged period of time.

> Because archetypal images are collective in nature, and therefore tend
> to change slowly, the symbols, narratives and fictional protagonists
> which they invest tend to be conservative in the sense that they embody
> long-established values. They may also embody desires and fears that,
> although not yet felt consciously, are stirring numbers of people in
> various sectors of society. Generic images are the focus of considerable
> psychic energy for as long as they continue to attract a substantial
> audience. They connect people to the shared experience of common and
> potent myths whose source is often deep within the history of each
> culture; and they do so precisely because they serve the need to express
> collectively felt urges. (Izod 2001: 36)

While I agree with much of Izod's argument, I believe that the body of film theory currently available can take us beyond terms such as 'psychic energy' to a more concrete understanding of the impact of the filmic image. Phenomenological approaches which analyse film's physical and mental affect on the viewer greatly

inform this study's attempt to explore the impact of the filmic archetype while avoiding fuzzy terms such as 'psychic energy' which tend to reoccur across Jungian analyses. Throughout the following chapters, 'affect' is considered the quality of the generic image which repeatedly attracts substantial audiences. Though I discard Izod's 'psychic energy' in favour of affect, many of his observations quoted above hold true for the postwar Japanese context, including the articulation through archetypal imagery of fears and desires not yet verbally present in the public forum; the importance of the viewer in the creation and maintenance of a lexicon of archetypal imagery; and the viewer's desire to see 'collectively felt urges' given imagistic form.

Vague terminology and gender normative and Eurocentric tendencies within much writing on Jungian archetypal structures have prompted me to look closer to the area under discussion for a theoretical framework for this study. Yoshimoto Takaaki's *Communal Fantasies* (*Kyōdōgensōron* 1968) presents a means of incorporating the historically coded repetitions of the archetype into Japanese filmic traditions without the pitfalls of a strictly Jungian approach. In reading Yoshimoto's text as a symptom of its time in the same way as the film texts and journals under study here are symptomatic of their historical period, I am following Izod's suggestion that archetypal imagery often embodies desires and fears that are not yet consciously felt. I interpret *Communal Fantasies* as an early attempt to put these postwar desires and fears into words, and to analyse their expression in popular representation.

Communal Fantasies was serialised in the popular journal *Bungei* from November 1966 to April 1967. It was not only widely available to the Japanese public, as were the films and film publications which are the subject of this study, but it was also written and published close to the period on which this study focuses. Though

Yoshimoto published entirely in Japanese (to date only his *Karl Marx* (*Karu Marukusu,* 1966) has been translated into English) he took a personal interest in contemporary Western philosophy, publishing his conversations with Michel Foucault (2001) and Jean Baudrillard (1995), among others. His writing is therefore compatible with that of several non-Japanese post-structuralist theorists whose work I will draw from throughout this thesis.

Yoshimoto's '*kyōdō gensō*' loosely translates to 'communal fantasy', a term he employs to suggest that certain recurring images are created and disseminated repetitively within the imagination of the populace. *Communal Fantasies* includes examples and analyses of reoccurring imagery in the history of Japanese myth, uncovering a textual history of recurring 'types' of female characterization and image in myth and folklore, which I argue extends to Japanese cinema of the postwar. The term 'archetype' as used in this thesis is therefore a loose translation of the 'types' of women to which Japanese language discourse commonly refers, from early classics such as Sei Shōnagon's *The Pillow Book* (*Makura no Sōshi,* 1002) to the gossip pages of *Eiga Fan*. In order to avoid a *nihonjinron* style of analysis, these reoccurring 'types' are understood as imagistic constructs rather than concepts of an essential Japanese nature.[5] Following Judith Butler's articulation of the gendered body as a social construct (Butler 1990: 8), I read the female bodies of postwar Japanese film as constructs which deliberately invoke associations with earlier imagistic constructs from Japan's art history.

The significant aspects of Yoshimoto's theory of fantasy can be summarized as follows. First, he classified all wide-ranging cultural phenomena into three broad categories (collective, conjugal and self),

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[5] *Nihonjinron* is a body of writing which refers to a 'theory of Japaneseness'; see Harumi Befu (2001).

and clarified the relations between them. Second, following Marx and Engels, he insisted that the domain of fantasy was, to a certain extent, independent of economic relations and could develop autonomously. Third, his use of the term fantasy (*gensō*) suggested the possibility of freedom from a dark unknown force, which previously had been considered to be an inherent condition of society. And finally, by introducing the notion of collectivity (*kyōdō*), he provided a theoretical basis for dealing with the mass of people. (Murakami 2005: 115)

Yoshimoto argues that society itself is a fantasy, which he imagines operates on three levels; the individual level (*jiko gensō*), the conjugal or familial level (*tsui gensō*), and finally, collective fantasy (*kyōdō gensō*), a level which includes politics, religion, law, and the nation state (Yoshimoto 1968: 17). Art, and by extension, film, are located within individual fantasy in Yoshimoto's system, however collective fantasy incorporates both individual and conjugal fantasy to an extent, particularly where art overlaps with politics and the nation, as in the case of cinema. *Communal Fantasies* focuses particularly on the creative arts, referencing Plato's 'original ideas' which are cited by Jungians as an example of the *a priori* image which Jung termed the archetype. Taking the *Kojiki* and Yanagita Kunio's analysis of the *Tōno Monogatari* as sample texts, Yoshimoto identifies a set of reoccurring mythic images and characters within Japanese folktales, which he reads as expressions of fear, anxiety, and national concerns. In this sense, I interpret Yoshimoto's communal fantasy as similar to Jung's archetype, fit to the Japanese context. Throughout this study, I use the term archetype to refer to reoccurring female images within Japanese film, understood as concrete expressions of communal fantasies.

The literary and philosophical moment in which Yoshimoto wrote and published *Communal Fantasies* was rife with works which revisited texts such as the *Kojiki, Tōno Monogatari* and the work of Yanagita Kunio to seek an essential 'Japanese' quality which would become the foundation of *nihonjinron* discourse. I aim to avoid a *nihonjinron*-style approach by maintaining awareness of key components within my research area as social constructs. In thinking of the nation, the feminine, and the body itself as socially constructed concepts, I am guided by Butler's identification of 'cultural operations' (1990: 13), which regulate 'normative ideals' (1990: 16). We can see the film text and its content as such cultural operations which regulate the normative ideal of national identity by presenting a 'reflexive horizon' upon which the national image can be reworked in the process of expressing and mediating national trauma. At the same time, this reworking contributes to the production of a national collective memory.

Viewers' communal fantasies are represented in popular postwar film as a means to express and mediate trauma during national crisis. While Yoshimoto writes of communal fantasies as 'the form of a concept created by humans' attitude to the world' (1968: 27), Hansen's definition of cinema as a 'sensory reflexive horizon' (2000a: 10) reminds us that film not only reflects and mediates human attitudes to the world, but also acts on the body of the viewer in a sensory manner, reflexively mediating between the viewer and their surroundings. Murakami emphasizes the constitutive nature of fantasy, particularly in the postwar period, where Japanese citizens were subject not only to their own communal fantasies as presented on screen, but also to the constitutive fantasies of the occupying forces; 'when a weaker culture comes face to face with another stronger culture, the former inescapably accepts the latter's fantasy' (Murakami 2005: 105). On the contrary, in line with Hansen's

emphasis on reflexivity, I suggest that the archetypal female image in postwar Japanese film presented a reflexive horizon for the communal fantasies of its viewers. This horizon cathartically expressed and mediated national anxieties, shaping and displaying a Japanese public which did not accept the occupation forces' fantasies unquestioningly or unproblematically.

Using Yanagita Kunio's example of reoccurring themes across the popular myths of four village and mountain communities, Yoshimoto argues that fears or phobias have a communality often expressed through retelling and the passing on and 'wearing out' of narratives (1968: 42). The immediate post-defeat and occupation period, a time rife with fear and rumour, was a site for retelling and wearing out narratives which include archetypal representations of popular anxieties. For communal fantasy to filter through a social group in Yoshimoto's system, the subject of the fantasy must already have been disseminated in the local consciousness though oral transmission, and there must be a general realization or belief that one's interests and wishes are unattainable through one's own will or cooperation (Yoshimoto 1968: 86). Both conditions are met in the context of the immediate postwar era; the Emperor's radio broadcast of August 15, 1945 disseminated throughout the national consciousness an awareness of Japan's defeat, while the highly visible occupation forces produced a sense of powerlessness amongst the Japanese. The time was ripe for the production and dissemination of archetypal images which spoke directly to postwar communal fantasies of national crisis.

Affect and the Spectator

I use contemporary writing on affect to theorize this communication between repetitive film tropes and their audiences as subjects of national crisis.

By affect I understand affections of the body by which the body's

power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained, and at

the same time, the ideas of these affections. (Spinoza 1994: 154, trans.

Curley)

As defined by Baruch Spinoza, the term 'affect' is popularly and academically used to

refer to a particular intensity of experience of sensory phenomena. Affect in the

cinema is contingent on sensory factors such as sight and sound as well as on filmic

narrative. The image, with its privileged relation to emotion (Spinoza 1677, quoted in

Morgan 2002) is often the site of strong affect, conscious or unconscious emotional

response to objects or concepts in the world. These responses are influenced by social

conditioning, often termed 'cultural coding' in the study of visual media, which

creates links between objects and emotional response. Recent writing on affect has

tended to focus on its 'unrepresentable' aspect; this study argues that traumatic

memory, often imagined as 'unrepresentable', can be expressed and mediated by the

particular intensity or affect of repetitive imagery in the Japanese cinema.[6]

    While 'affect refers generally to bodily capacities to affect and be affected'

(Clough 2007: 2), Gilles Deleuze defines affective imagery as 'images that arouse an

emotional or visceral response' in the viewer (Powell 2007: 2). The formal grammar

of narrative cinema is geared towards the production of affect, exemplified by the

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[6] In blending trauma theory with recent work on affect, I address contemporary concerns surrounding the relation of one body of scholarship to the other. While trauma studies of the1990s and 2000s (Alexander 2004; 2012; Caruth 1995; 1996; Felman and Laub 1992) paved the way for a return to academic interest in and understanding of affect in their concern with literary and visual representations of trauma, I am aware that the recent 'affective turn' in cultural studies scholarship has been received with trepidation bordering on cynicism. In addressing the role of affective film imagery in the expression and mediation of trauma, I work against scholarly tendencies to reduce affect to a theoretical fad, or 'the new trauma' (Berlant 2009: 131), by demonstrating the value of a theoretical approach which combines the two. Lauren Berlant's awareness of this issue, and the assistance of Miriam Hansen in developing Berlant's theory of affect (2008a: xiii), makes her work particularly helpful to this study. Berlant argues for affect theory as 'another phase in the history of ideology theory' (2011: 53); this understanding is particularly relevant to my study of national ideologies of postwar Japan.

close-up which is used to create a feeling of closeness between the protagonist and the viewer; Deleuze terms this technique the ultimate 'affection-image' or 'affective framing' (Deleuze 1986: 103). My archival research uncovers such 'emotional or visceral response' in the popular film magazines of the early postwar period as writers regularly refer to the emotional affect of particular stars, images or narratives (Kitagawa 1946: 46; Kimura 1949: 34; *Kinema Junpō* 1947: 21).

While my use of affect theory constitutes a new approach to the study of classical Japanese cinema, affect is by no means outside the cultural context of Japan. Thomas LaMarre notes that Japanese writers as diverse as Edogawa Rampo (Hirai Tarō 1894-1965) and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965) wrote of the cinema as an affective medium. Edogawa described the cinema as a mode of bringing images;

> … closer and closer to spectators, such that optical distance gives way
> to tactile proximity… so close that perception gives way to a shock to
> the body. The cinematic close-up involves an experience of pure affect.
> (LaMarre 2005: 110)

Tanizaki similarly called attention to 'the tension between affect and narrative in cinematic experience' (LaMarre 2005: 113). Affect theory is therefore a useful framework for understanding the relation between film and viewer in postwar Japan.

In investigating the affect of filmic imagery which reflects post-defeat Japan's national crises, I aim towards a theory of affective identification which allows the researcher to understand how films with uncomfortable and unpopular themes for mainstream narrative cinema, such as Japan's failed expansion and war crimes, found a popular audience base. The study of the affect of film texts necessarily involves an element of audience studies; for the purposes of this thesis, I understand the postwar

Japanese viewer as schizophrenic in the sense described by Ella Shohat and Robert

Stam. Stam and Shohat argue for 'multiple registers' of spectatorship, understanding

the spectator as a hybrid of the following;

> 1. The spectator as fashioned by the text itself (through focalization,
>
> point-of-view construction, narrative structuring, *mise-en-scène*); 2. The
>
> spectator as fashioned by the (diverse and evolving) technical
>
> apparatuses (movie theatre, domestic VCR); 3. The spectator as
>
> fashioned by the institutional contexts of spectatorship (social rite of
>
> movie-going, classroom analysis, cinématique); 4. The spectator as
>
> constituted by ambient discourses and ideologies; and 5. The actual
>
> spectator as embodied; raced, gendered, and historically situated.
>
> (Shohat and Stam 1994: 350)

While we must consider the reflection of national crisis on screen potentially

traumatic to the viewing subject as regards point five in the context of the viewer's

personal embodied experience as a defeated and occupied, racialized subject,[7] we

must also acknowledge the pleasurable aspects of film-viewing for the postwar

spectator, as outlined in the constitutive factors described in points one through four

of Shohat and Stam's description. The power of the film text to fashion the spectator

as outlined in point one can provide a pleasurable experience where affective film

style constitutes the viewer as a Japanese citizen with a particular understanding or

memory of the Asia-Pacific war. The technical apparatus of film fashions the viewer

as the locus of a pleasurable spectatorial fascination, in which the kinetic nature of the

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[7] Sharalyn Orbaugh argues that during the Allied Occupation 'to be "normal" and "adult" was to be not only male but also physically large, white, English-speaking, and prosperous-looking. In contrast to that normative image, young Japanese men discovered themselves to be figured in the visual economy of Occupation as small "raced", linguistically inept, materially impoverished, abject infants/adolescents' (2007: 390).

moving image creates an 'aesthetic of attraction' (Gunning 1989: 31). Meanwhile the 'institutional context of spectatorship' affects the viewer in a pleasurable manner in the context of postwar Japan in terms of the camaraderie experienced within the film theatres of the early postwar years, as recorded in interviews with viewers conducted by Kanako Terasawa (2010). Finally, in its potential to assist in the creation of a national collective memory of war which can 'naturalize past experience into cognitively viable patterns as determined by present necessity' (Orbaugh 2007: 15), the film text appeals to the spectator constituted by the discourses and ideologies of postwar Japan, including, but not limited to, popular understanding of the Japanese populace as victims of their wartime government.[8]

The spectator, constituted by the film text itself, the experience of consuming film and by external factors, can experience pleasurable interactions with the film text which balance unpleasurable or traumatic narratives of crisis and defeat. From the understanding of the spectator outlined above, Shohat and Stam argue that 'spectatorial positions are multiform, fissured, and even schizophrenic' (1994: 350) as 'the same person might be crossed by contradictory discourses and codes' (Shohat and Stam 1994: 350-351). Elizabeth Cowie similarly suggests that forms of identification in the cinema are extremely fluid (1984), implying that the processes of personal identification with protagonists and stars are not one-dimensional, but can occur variously and multiply in relation to a single text. Throughout this thesis, I will consider star persona as a dominant mode through which points three and four are articulated; a positive star persona, or the viewer's ability to recognise and successfully interpret a star persona according to social and cultural codes, is a site of

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[8] The postwar spectator is understood here as desiring to fit their memories to that of the national collective, in accordance with Thomson's argument; 'Our memories are risky and painful if they do not fit the public myths, so we try to compose our memories to ensure that they will fit with what is publically acceptable… we also seek the affirmation of our memories.' (Thomson 1994: 11).

pleasurable affect. I understand affective identifications to be produced by film style, which invites emotional investment in the film as a whole by making the audience experience a range of emotions in depth, many of which intersect with the emotions of the characters on-screen. According to the conventions of classical narrative cinema in which the female image is both an incitement to audience affect and the subject of her own emotional reactions, the female image 'as both *moved* and the *moving*' (Williams 1991: 4) is central to this process.

'Affect is most often loosely used as a synonym for emotion' (Massumi 2002: 27). This is an overly reductive equivalence for the purposes of this study, which approaches affect as a central component in the expression and mediation of trauma. While cathartic emotion has a place in the expression of trauma and memories of suffering, affect understood as 'those forces - visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally *other than* conscious knowing, vital forces insisting beyond emotion - that can serve to drive us toward movement, toward thought and extension' (Gregg and Seigworth 2010: 1) can achieve a mediation of trauma in breaking the cyclical repetitions of its representation.

> Trauma theorists argue for trauma as a repetitive and involuntary experience;
> … the repetitive intrusion of nightmares and reliving… the painful
> repetition of the flashback can only be understood as the absolute
> inability of the mind to avoid an unpleasurable event that has not been
> given psychic meaning in any way. (Caruth 1995: 59)

This study suggests that repetitive tropes in the representation of the female image in post-defeat Japanese film are conditioned by, and expressive of, postwar trauma. According to Deleuze and Guattari, repetition in the generic or reoccurring motif

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creates an 'expressional value' which imbues the repeated motif with heightened affect (Deleuze and Guattari 2003: 327). Affect is produced and emphasized by repetition; the traumatic re-presentation of unpleasurable or anxiety-laden imagery therefore achieves heightened affect in its very repetition.

As Gregg and Seigworth argue, this affect can also 'serve to drive us toward movement, toward thought and extension'; in short, towards the active resolution of trauma. I suggest that screen imagery which expresses trauma can also mediate that trauma as a form of 'working through'. Dominick La Capra connects the 'working through' of trauma, and attendant modes of 'acting out', to repetitive motifs in that 'acting out is compulsively repetitive. Working through involves repetition with significant difference - difference that may be desirable when compared to compulsive repetition' (La Capra 2001: 148). I argue that this desirable 'working through' can be achieved by affective identification with filmic imagery.

Following scholars such as Hansen (2000), Isolde Standish (2000), and Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano (2008), I approach film texts as both symptom and mediator of viewers' anxieties. This is clearest during periods of crises, particularly national crises, as large groups of the nation/viewership share similar concerns at such a time (Alexander 2004). Lauren Berlant argues that aesthetic representations carry heightened affect during periods of crisis, as 'when the terms of survival seem up for grabs, the aesthetic situation turns to the phenomena of affective disruption' (2008b: 846). In Berlant's work, affective narrative and imagery are positioned as tools for mediating crisis in the process of imagining the nation;

> … what nations do, how power works - is derived from stories
>
> constituted by catching up to a crisis already happening in worlds that

are being shaped by a collectivity that is also caught up in making and

apprehending the present moment. (Berlant 2008b: 846)

This study understands attempts to situate postwar Japan on film in terms of Berlant's

'stories constituted by catching up to a crisis already happening'. The appeal of these

stories is located in their reflection of the 'collectivity that is also caught up in making

and apprehending the present moment'; that is, the citizens of a postwar nation

attempting to re-imagine and rebuild a national identity, and an understanding of

'what nations do' in the wake of defeat.

The female body on film is a particularly affective tool for re-imagining

national identity, as 'the alignment of women with bodily expressivity (at both the

narrative and the discursive levels)' makes the female body 'a particularly productive

site for the emergence of the affective-performative' (del Río 2008: 31). The female

image is associated with both bodily and emotional expressivity, as Berlant suggests

in describing the female image as an image which bears the burden of 'producing

emotional clarity for others and protecting everyone's optimism' (2008a: 174). As

'woman serves as an affective conduit' (del Río 2008: 197) in the economy of the

visual, addressing the affective impact of repetitive imagery in the expression and

mediation of trauma may begin from an analysis of reoccurring tropes in the female

image in postwar Japanese cinema.

I am wary of presuming to read the image of the female body on behalf of an

imagined postwar spectator, temporally and geographically distant from my object of

study as I am. My analysis of selected films is therefore grounded in the popular

literature of the period, particularly in the 'big three' Japanese film journals. I focus

on films which generated a large amount of criticism and discussion in the pages of

Eiga Geijutsu, *Kinema Junpō* and *Eiga Hyōron*. These films are indicative of greater

public interest, as contemporary audiences not only viewed the films but also read about them in great detail. The yearly *Eiga Nenkan* provides further evidence of the popularity of the film texts under study here in terms of box office statistics and financial reports. The popularity of the films I have selected as case studies indicates that they spoke to their viewers with a particular force or affect; criticism in the popular journals of the time supports this hypothesis, as critics explicitly articulate a heightened emotional response to many films and stars.

While *Eiga Geijutsu*, *Kinema Junpō* and *Eiga Hyōron* were all relatively cheap and widely available, the tone of much of the writing and the high-art nature of many of the films selected for review suggests that the intended readership of these particular journals were educated and middle class, largely students and cinephiles. There is a distinct bias toward the educated masculine critical response in the reviews and articles in these three publications, though research conducted by the Society of Movie Research at Chuo University and the Movie Research group of Hosei University in 1948 and 1950 respectively indicates that audiences were of equal gender distribution in the demographic which made up the largest portion of audiences, that of 16-30 year olds (Sorensen 2009: 37). I attempt to extrapolate my findings within these admittedly biased articles to identify the appeal of selected postwar films for a wider audience. I balance my account of popular films' reception using the monthly gossip magazines *Eiga Bunko, Eiga Fan, Eiga Goraku* and *Eiga Romansu*, which are directed towards a different readership, largely female and lifestyle-focused. However, I remain aware that critical and fan responses are by no means indicative of the responses of the general film-viewing public, and so this study largely restricts itself to investigation of the appeal of the female image on film for these particular groups of viewers.

Marlene Mayo's work on the censorship practices of the Civil Information and Education Section of the offices of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces (hereafter CIE and SCAP) demonstrates that the occupying bodies themselves had attempted to formulate a hypothetical 'typical' viewer of the period, known as 'Moe-san' (Mayo 1984: 303). Based on their understanding of wartime schooling and social indoctrination, the CIE attempted to predict Moe-san's reaction to the media of the postwar period, with the intention of influencing the ideal viewer's 'democratization' through this same media. While this study is not reliant on the creation of a hypothetical 'typical' viewer, I do attempt to imagine the motivations of the general postwar Japanese viewership in order to understand the affective impact of repetitive tropes in the representation of the female body on film.

Reading the Female Image: An Iconographic Approach

In order to answer the research questions outlined above, I have selected films from a corpus of almost 600 commercial films made and screened in Japan between 1945 and 1964. As audience investment is a major concern of this study, the imagery under study has been selected from films which performed particularly well at the box office and which were discussed in popular magazines. A system of key words (for example, *shōjo*, wife, mother) was used in the note-taking process and entered into a database, allowing the identification of certain images as reoccurring with significant frequency throughout the corpus.

I have subjected the images selected to iconographic analysis, which I have contextualized using commentary in popular magazines published in the postwar era. However, it should be noted that these magazine offices, the publishing houses, contributing writers and the stars discussed in publications, as well as the theatres

which provided box office data were generally Tokyo-based (excepting the *Eiga Nenkan* trade annual which provided data from around the country). As the Allied occupation of Japan involved disproportionate distribution of soldiers throughout the country, with a large number stationed at General Headquarters in Tokyo, reference in the popular media to the aftermath of the war perhaps occurred with greater regularity around the Tokyo area. While popular magazines and journals provide the socio-political historical context for my analysis of the film imagery in question, an element of bia towards popular concerns and attitudes particular to Tokyo may occur, as in the following example of Mizoguchi Kenji's *Five Women Around Utamaro* (*Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna*, 1946).

Fig. 2: Kitagawa Utamaro's 'Hanamurasaki of the Tamaya' from *An Array of Supreme Beauties of the Present Day* (*Tōjizensei bijin zoroe*, c. 1794), published by Wakasaya Yoichi.

The advantages of an art-historically informed iconographic approach to the study of the female image in postwar Japanese film are apparent in a brief analysis Mizoguchi's early postwar film text. *Five Women Around Utamaro* was screened after the first year of the occupation, and demonstrates the sizeable distance between a script approved by SCAP censors and the ideological content of the finished product. Using iconographic analysis to demonstrate how *Five Women Around Utamaro* differed imagistically from its stated and scripted intentions, I wish to illustrate the value of weighting the image and audience response against stated authorial intent and scripting.

In its choice of subject matter, Mizoguchi's film alludes to a tradition within Japanese imagistic history dating back to the Edo period (1603-1868). Kitagawa

Utamaro (c. 1753-1806) was one of the most famous artists of the era, a golden age of production for the popular images of the pleasure districts known as *ukiyo-e*. Women were a major subject of *ukiyo-e* prints, which were cheaply and widely available in the Edo period just as film tickets were in the postwar. Utamaro himself had a reputation as a ladies' man, though dogged by scandal and tragedy, much like Mizoguchi, whose troubled history with the women of his family and love life was gossip for the print media of his day.

Utamaro, and later, Mizoguchi, based their public personae on the idea that they had a special talent for depicting the female image. Utamaro popularized the concept of 'types' of women in Japanese art, publishing several series on the subject, including *Ten Types of Women's Physiognomies* (1792–1793), *Famous Beauties of Edo* (1792–1793), *Ten Learned Studies of Women* (1792–1793), *Array of Supreme Beauties of the Present Day* (1794), and his final *Ten Forms of Feminine Physiognomy* (1802). This pseudo-scientific categorisation of the female form and character is reflected in the structure of Mizoguchi's 1946 film. The five women of the title each constitute different archetypal images; Yukie is a virtuous daughter and the respectable fiancée of painter Seinosuke, an eighteenth century version of the postwar *shufu*, or housewife. In contrast, Iizuka Toshiko's (1914-1991) Tagasode takes the Hollywood vamp archetype back to the Edo period as a glamorous but amoral courtesan, while Tanaka Kinuyo (1909-1977) as Okita is an example of the excessive female image discussed in chapter four, a destructive force of nature.

Fig. 3: Five women around Utamaro, 1946.

The structure of five female archetypes revolving around Utamaro, a narrator rather

than character in his own right, reflects Utamaro's own artistic use of the female image. However, the structure is also relevant to the political and historical moment in which the film was produced. In 1946, the first year of the Allied occupation of Japan, the CIE and the CCD (Civil Censorship Department) conducted rigorous pre- and post-production censorship on all Japanese films. *Jidaigeki* were condemned as celebratory of the nation's feudalistic history, which SCAP believed to have contributed to Japan's wartime aggression. On the other hand, SCAP proscribed and encouraged romantic love stories on film, and particularly supported women's films and films which discussed the role of women in postwar Japan. *Five Women Around Utamaro* passed the censors on this account, dealing with the lives and loves of a group of women in the mid-Edo period.

Within this study's understanding of filmic imagery as expressive and mediative of viewer anxieties, Mizoguchi's film can be interpreted as a complex expression of post-defeat chaos wrapped in a comfortably familiar structure. Released on December 17, 1946, Mizoguchi's film met the Japanese viewing public during widespread debate on a controversial new Japanese Constitution. At the beginning of the occupation, SCAP declared that a new constitution for the Japanese people must be written by the people themselves. By early 1946 however, the occupying forces were losing patience. A new constitution was suddenly drafted by American officials, overseen by General MacArthur, translated into Japanese and made public on March 7, 1946. SCAP invited debate on the document in national newspapers, but ratification continued to move quickly. The Constitution was adopted by the Diet on August 21, approved by the House of Peers on October 6, passed and proclaimed the law of the land on November 3, 1946 and finally came into effect on May 3, 1947. The subject of the Constitution and its contents was at the forefront of national

attention for just over a year, and one of its most controversial aspects was Article 24, which sought to guarantee equality of the sexes.

As early as October 1945 MacArthur had suggested equal rights for women as the highest of five priority reforms to be enforced by the occupation. Universal suffrage, female admission to national universities, and the elimination of the pre-war adultery law were key foci of SCAP reforms, while the Land Reform Law of October 1946 also allowed women to inherit equal shares of familial property. At the same time, a strong female presence was building in Japanese politics, beginning with the August 25, 1945 formation of the Women's Committee on Postwar Policy (*Sengo Taisaku Fujin Iinkai*), organized by prominent feminists Ichikawa Fusae, Yamataka Shigeri, Akamatsu Tsuneko and Kawasaki Natsu. Working women were also in the public eye as the occupation forces moved to counter Japan's long history of licensed prostitution, abolishing the rules regulating licensed prostitution on February 2, 1946. The Women's Democratic Club (*Fujin Minshu Kurabu*) was formed in March of 1946, followed by an unprecedented seventy-nine female candidates out of an overall two thousand running in the General Election held on April 10, 1946. Thirty-nine women were elected, a figure that would remain an all-time high for the whole postwar period.

At the end of 1946, with the ruins of pre-war Japanese society crumbling around them, viewers flocked to Mizoguchi's re-imagining of the life of an Edo period icon. *Kinema Junpō* placed the film at number seven in its 'Best Ten' issue of January 1947, and it was remade in 1959 (*Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna*, Kimura Kungo), indicating its positive reception on both an artistic and public level. The March 1947 issue reports that the film sold 1,171,020 tickets across the eight largest theatres in its first week; almost double that of the other top earning films in December (*Kinema Junpō* 1947: 35). Critical reception was divided however, with

Eiga Fan calling the film 'effective' (*Eiga Fan* 1946: 22), while *Kinema Junpō* judge Tsumura Hideo (1907-1985) described the film as 'unpleasant to watch' (*mita toki wa fukai*) (1947: 21). Mixed reviews did not deter audiences, indicating that Mizoguchi's film successfully engaged with its viewership.

While the chaotic structure of the film reflects the turbulent times in which it was produced, the presentation of five 'types' of Edo women is equally relevant to the early postwar period. As debates raged over the content of the new constitution, people were confronted with a radical revision of what the Japanese woman, and by extension, Japanese society itself, should be. Mizoguchi's film presents five options, with each character following a story arc of successes and failures, as though presenting the viewer with a series of models of womanhood from which to choose, each with its own benefits and pitfalls. Hansen and Wada-Marciano's suggestion that film can posit possible scenarios for the viewer which reassure them that they are prepared for similar changes in their everyday lives is similar to Dominick La Capra's argument that writing can present a space for 'working through' trauma (2001). La Capra argues that literature can provide ground upon which to re-work and work through trauma, a space in which;

> … one is able to distinguish between past and present and to recall in memory that something happened to one (or one's people) back then while realising that one is living here and now with openings to the future. (2001: 22)

At the dawn of a new future for Japanese women, film spectators may have found an element of this 'working through' of possibilities in Mizoguchi's text, which allows for both a re-memorialisation of the past and a re-imagining of the national future.

The dangerous Okita, careering through the film at the cost of other characters, is contained by her death at the end of the narrative, providing reassurance and a pleasurable sense of resolution. Meanwhile, loyal Yukie is a constant symbol of virtuous womanhood which wins the sympathy of Utamaro and through his role as narrator, the sympathies of the viewers. Although Mizoguchi's film reflects the chaos of its time, it also provides reassurance for the spectator in a return to the ideal in the form of the virtuous female archetype.

Reading Mizoguchi's text as conservative in this way may seem unjust given the ground-breaking nature of its side-step around the CIE's anti-*jidaigeki* policy and its clever hints at SCAP censorship in the sub-plot which sees Utamaro placed under house arrest after a print design incurs the wrath of the shogun's government.[9] Significantly, his hands are manacled, preventing him from creating images. However, the treatment of the image of the female body, central to the narrative as well as the medium of film itself, is conservative throughout Mizoguchi's film. Several scenes deal explicitly with the relation of woman to image, such as the scene in which Utamaro paints directly onto the courtesan Tagasode's back. The scene serves several purposes; the viewer would be titillated and shocked by the sight of Tagasode's naked back after the strict morality of wartime film production and censorship, as suggested by the use of still images from this scene in advertising both the film itself and reviews of the film in popular journals. At the same time, the ethereally beautiful character of Tagasode is reinscribed back into the economy of visual consumption as her body becomes an artwork. We are reminded that the institution of sexual slavery within which Tagasode works depends upon reducing the human to the consumable

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[9] This is an allusion to the ban on Utamaro's illustrated biography of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (c. 1536-1598), Japan's 'great unifier'. Utamaro defied the shogunate's ruling on *ukiyo-e* by naming and depicting Hideyoshi directly, and was punished severely. The illustrated biography contained a print titled 'Hideyoshi and his five wives viewing cherry blossom at Higashiyama' which echoes Mizoguchi's title.

by way of reducing the body to the image, in this case, the popular and widely-consumed *ukiyo-e* image. Tagasode's back will later be tattooed with the same image, suggesting that this process is indelible.

This equation of female body and image is enforced through Mizoguchi's framing of Tagasode. The scene opens with Utamaro and his friends seated around the fireplace in one of the outer rooms; the mistress of the house introduces Tagasode's problem, explaining that the tattoo artist has become too overwhelmed by her beauty to begin his work. Utamaro rises from the table and goes to Tagasode's room, moving deeper into the teahouse as the camera tracks alongside him in profile, transmitting a sense of urgency in the fast-paced tracking. Before the much-anticipated shot

Fig. 4: A dummy shot sets up the shot of Tagasode in figure 5, the first of a series of mirrored female images.

Fig. 5: Tagasode seated.

Fig. 6: Utamaro persuades Tagasode to allow him to touch her.

of Tagasode, however, Mizoguchi sets up a dummy shot of two women sitting by a lantern in an inner room, framed by the open *shōji* doors on either side of them (fig. 4). This image previews the next shot, which shows Tagasode seated at the far end of a large room, framed by two *shōji* and lit by two candles. In both shots, the women are framed in such a way as to remind the viewer of a static artwork or the *ukiyo-e* of Utamaro. This framing of the female body continues throughout the scene as Utamaro approaches Tagasode and asks to touch her naked back. The two face one another, seated at the same level and occupying half of the screen each, implying their equality.

This shot employs a soft focus, high key lighting, and much shallower depth than the extremely deep focus shots of the previous sequence, updating the close-up of the two to a Hollywood-style glamour shot. The flatness of the shot references the two-dimensional nature of the *ukiyo-e* print, foreshadowing Tagasode's fate to become an artwork herself.

Fig. 7: Tagasode concedes half of the screen to the absent Utamaro.

Fig. 8: Tagasode's body is framed by the edges of the screen in front of her as her back becomes Utamaro's blank canvas.

Throughout their negotiation, however, Tagasode sinks down into a slumped position, and the excited Utamaro rises up on his knees and leans forward, reaching out to touch her shoulder. Tagasode shrinks down to the bottom left hand corner of the screen until Utamaro succeeds in both attaining consent and turning her around to face the back wall. At the close of discussion, Utamaro's body has usurped Tagasode's share of the space framed by the *shōji* in a long shot which symbolizes his usurping of her share of power by taking command of her image. The camera tracks slightly throughout in an attempt to keep the two in the centre of the shot, but Utamaro insistently pushes Tagasode down towards the bottom left of the screen in a coded struggle for control of the female image. The camera's attempt to keep Tagasode in the centre of the shot mirrors Mizoguchi's popular reputation as defender of women; however in the end, both are defeated. As Utamaro rises to speak with the tattoo artist on the other side of the room, Tagasode makes no attempt to move back into the centre of the shot, leaving the space Utamaro had occupied empty and uncontested.

When Utamaro returns to her side, Tagasode gives up the right and centre areas of the shot willingly, turning her back to the camera. For the rest of the scene she faces the back wall, reinscribed into her role as visual object by another frame provided by the edges of the screen in front of her. As Utamaro begins to paint, Tagasode's figure is enclosed by yet a third framing device in the silhouettes of the heads of the men who gather around to watch. In the last shot of the scene, the camera moves in for another soft-focus close-up as Tagasode turns her profile towards it, mirroring the posture of the woman in the painting on her back. The doubled image shows Tagasode firmly inscribed into the realm of the visual, no longer a three-dimensional female character but a static framed image transported from Japan's artistic history into the postwar period.

Fig. 9: Tagasode is framed first by the edges of the screen and then by the silhouettes of the heads of onlookers.

Fig. 10: Tagasode mirrors the posture of the *yama-uba* painted on her back.

The image that Utamaro paints onto Tagasode's back is just as significant as the way in which the painting is orchestrated and shot. Utamaro designs a large *ukiyo-e* style image of an archetypal character from Japanese myth, the boy Kintoki (also known as Kintarō) being suckled by a mountain woman. The *yama-uba*, or mountain wild woman, takes up the largest part of the image painted onto Tagasode, covering most of her upper back. She appears in Japanese popular myth as Kintoki's nurse, or occasionally as his mother (in this version of the tale she is thought to have been banished to the mountains for her ugly appearance). In many stories the *yama-uba* is a

threatening figure with a concealed mouth under her hair and cannibalistic tendencies (Shirane 2004). While Utamaro and his circle remark on Tagasode's flawless beauty, the viewer is alerted to her 'true nature' reflected in the hidden threat within the image of the *yama-uba* which foreshadows her duplicity and violent death.

Reinforcing a woman-nature/man-culture binary, the *yama-uba*'s relation to Kintoki, the boy with Herculean strength, is entirely ancillary. The viewer is reminded that throughout historical narratives such as the Kintoki myth, women tend to play a supporting role. This is reinforced at the end of the film, in which Okita's dramatic death scene is quickly eclipsed by the freeing of Utamaro's hands, and the onset of a burst of creativity inspired by the recent events in the lives of the women around him. As Utamaro shouts "I want to paint!" the camera pans down to the tatami floor, on which he showers leaf after leaf of *ukiyo-e* prints featuring women. The sacrifices of Tagasode and Okita as well as the bodies of the other women who have posed for him throughout the film have been tools to the end of his creative inspiration. In its use of archetypal imagery, Mizoguchi's film presents the image of the female body as a means towards a narrative resolution which is male-focused.

In drawing a link between postwar filmic representations of the female body and representations of women from earlier periods of Japanese history, I emphasize, as Isolde Standish has done (2000: 23) that defeat and occupation did not cause Japan to be reborn anew, cut off from its pre-war and wartime history. Instead, defeat created a social and political chaos that set Japanese filmmakers rummaging through national traditions for images that were comfortingly nostalgic. These images were reworked for the postwar context, and attained great popularity in part because their archetypal nature allowed them to express popular anxieties through imagistic codes in which the audience was already well versed. High-affect images were created using

Fig. 11: Tanaka Kinuyo as Okita.

repetition and imagistic patterns from Japanese art history were employed to heighten affect, as were the images of established stars. Many star personae remained constant from the pre-war through wartime production to the postwar period, providing imagistic repetition in their continuity. For example, Tanaka Kinuyo (fig. 11) carried a headstrong star persona based on her pre-war and wartime film roles into her postwar portrayal of Okita in Mizoguchi's *Five Women Around Utamaro*, providing a reassuringly familiar face for the devastated public of defeated Japan. Continuing with my analysis of the imagery upon which the female characters of postwar Japanese cinema are constructed, the next chapter explores the use of star persona in the postwar Japanese film industry, and demonstrates the importance of the persona to the affect of the female image.

Chapter Outline

The next chapter presents a brief introduction to the workings of the postwar studio system in Japan in order to demonstrate that the archetypal images under study here are not solely the product of one studio or director, but reoccur across the wider body of Japanese film production. I situate the studio and star systems within the historical context of the postwar, indicating their political and social importance with a brief discussion of the Tōhō studio strikes of 1946-1948. I suggest that certain stars incorporated aspects of the upheaval of the postwar era into their personae, with varying degrees of success.

Chapter two presents an analysis of the representation of the domestic female body in Japanese film, beginning with the best-known archetype of all, the suffering mother. Postwar films such as Kinoshita Keisuke's *Tragedy of Japan* (*Nihon no higeki*, 1953) drew a link between the archetypal suffering mother and the generational conflicts of the postwar era. I weave a close reading of Kinoshita's film through analysis of its historical context, suggesting that critical reception of Mochizuki Yūko as the suffering mother was conditioned by the socio-political circumstances of the early post-defeat era. The suffering mother is often juxtaposed with images of the housewife, whom Vera Mackie argues was 'the archetypal figure of womanhood' in the postwar era (2003: 123). Analysis of Hara Setsuko's repetitions on the housewife theme in the films of Naruse Mikio and Ozu Yasujirō (1903-1963) is contextualised by a discussion of the political movements which took the housewife as both target and participant in postwar Japan. Women's involvement in politics in the early post-defeat period, particularly those political movements opposing licensed prostitution, gave rise to a public discourse popularly known as '*shufuron*', or 'housewife debates'; Hara Setsuko's housewife characters show a working out, and often a re-working, of the popular idea of the housewife in this context.

Discussion of generational conflict and the ambiguous position of Japanese women during the occupation era lead us to considerations of war guilt, discussed in chapter three. This chapter addresses public female bodies on screen in postwar Japanese film, beginning with the youthful images of the filial daughter and the schoolgirl. These archetypal figures effect a cathartic mediation of postwar trauma, in that the focus on loss and victimhood presented through the youthful female image forecloses a discussion of war guilt. The 'new life' aspect to images of youth creates a sense of the postwar as a time of brave rebuilding. At the same time, the public sphere

saw a new type of 'modern girl' or *moga,* similar in dress and attitude to that of the

pre-war *moga*, but with a hard edged self-reliance which the earlier *moga* lacks.

Ōshima Nagisa's heroines, particularly the hardened Hanako of *The Sun's Burial*

(*Taiyō no hakaba,* 1960), and Imamura Shōhei's victim-heroines, such as Haruko of

Pigs and Battleships (*Buta to gunkan*, 1961) are examples of this trend. We can see

the development of this archetype from the women of Mizoguchi's *Street of Shame*

(*Akasen Chitai*, 1956) to the B-movie *yakuza* genre's gangsters' moll, which Mihara

Yōko repeatedly reincarnates in Iishi Teruo's *yakuza* series (1958-1964).

The occurrence of a new type of 'modern girl' suggests that similar anxieties

to those of the pre-war era persist in the postwar, including a perceived threat of

Westernization and modernization as corrupting forces. However, the increase in

violence perpetrated on the new *moga* indicates that the image is also a foil for more

pressing anxieties, such as those surrounding the postwar emancipation of women.

Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano interprets the pre-war *moga* as an image that allowed the

viewer to feel at one with the changing times while at the same time providing

comfort in her final destruction and a return to the status quo within the narrative

(2008: 87). The new modern girl serves a similar function, however, she is allowed to

live past the end of the film, often walking off into the camera to start a new life in the

closing credits.

While the postwar *moga* exceeds the cinematic frame, chapter four addresses

mythic bodies of excess, including the monstrous or legendary woman on film, as

reflexive images used to express and elicit positive or negative reactions toward ideas

of tradition. Iconic heroines such as Tanaka Kinuyo's Miyagi in Mizoguchi Kenji's

Tales of Ugetsu (*Ugetsu monogatari*, 1953), or Kyō Machiko's (1924-) Lady Kesa in

Kinugasa Teinosuke's (1896-1982) *The Gates of Hell* (*Jigokumon*, 1953) contrast

with iconic villains such as Kyō's Lady Wakasa, also of *Tales of Ugetsu*, or Yamaguchi Yoshiko (1920-) as the snake monster Lady White in *The Legend of the White Serpent* (*Byaku fujin no yōren*, Toyoda Shirō, 1956), to posit the mythic female image as an ambivalent symbol. The mythic female image is one of extreme power in postwar Japanese film, whether as a paragon of virtue or a threat to the very nature of society. The ambivalent nature of these images posits them as screens upon which a postwar battle over the idea of tradition is played out. The excessive body, often characterised by an excess of size, shape, or sexuality, expresses anxieties related to the irrepressible and inexpressible, the quintessentially archetypal. These bodies bleed between roles, becoming unreadable and unnerving. Excessive female bodily image brings us back to the starting point of this thesis, the supposition that reoccurring female images on film are coded to express the inexpressible, lending imagistic expression to deep-seated anxieties difficult to verbalize for the everyday subject of national crisis.

The studies of archetypal female images presented in this thesis all address the role of the image of the female body in expressing and mediating anxieties surrounding national crisis. However, they also suggest a cinematic use of the female image as a screen for heightened emotional engagement. The image of the female body can be used to present a recognisable and reassuring reality in the midst of crisis, or to drastically undermine the viewers' sense of security with its connotations of the unknowable or the hidden. A study of Japan's historical context and the imagery it produces therefore has broader implications for how we discuss the female image and its affect in the formation of collective imaginaries such as the nation.

CHAPTER 1

Postwar Stars and the Japanese Studio System

> The stars are a reflection in which the public studies and adjusts its own
>
> image of itself… The social history of a nation can be written in terms
>
> of its film stars. (Durgnat 1967: 137)

Postwar film texts reflect Japan's struggle to re-construct a national identity in the
wake of defeat and the traumatic experiences of wartime. In the first years after the
war, the reformation of the Japanese film industry reflected the rebuilding of the
nation. Just as citizens were re-cast in democratic modes of subjectivity according to
the occupation agenda, the screen idols of wartime cinema were similarly
rehabilitated in humanistic and pacifist narratives. The Japanese film industry
participated in the production of postwar film texts which re-imagined and
disseminated new understandings of 'being Japanese' and star images were
constructed and displayed as role models for this project.

The traumatic legacy of the war created extremely unstable conditions in early
postwar Japanese society, exacerbated by demanding reforms instituted by the office
of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (hereafter SCAP). Richard Dyer
suggests that a film star's 'charismatic appeal is effective especially when the social
order is uncertain, unstable and ambiguous and when the charismatic figure or group
offers a value, order or stability to counterpoise this' (1998: 31). In the unstable social
order of early postwar Japan, the values upon which the personae of such pre-war
stars as Hara Setsuko (1920-) and Tanaka Kinuyo (1909-1977) were based provided

a reassuring sense of consistency to postwar audiences struggling to re-imagine Japanese national identity while preserving a sense of connection to the national past.

Events in the early years of the post-defeat period presented a challenge to the limits of the imagination.

> The people had been taught to believe – and most had accepted – that Japanese defeat was impossible. Now that the impossible had happened all the rules and relationships which governed normal life became fragile – everything was possible and nothing certain. (Morris-Suzuki 1984: 196)

Hara and Tanaka's repeated representations of Japanese women acclimatising to the postwar, as in *No Regrets for Our Youth* (*Waga seishun ni kuinashi*, Kurosawa Akira, 1946) and *A Hen in the Wind* (*Kaze no naka no mendori*, Ozu Yasujirō, 1948), reassured the viewer that the impossible could be assimilated into a cohesive national identity. In cohering pre- and postwar embodied realities, the image of the performer's body as 'a body in pieces, fragmented and yet one' (Féral 1982: 171) becomes the ideal tool through which a broken and defeated nation can re-imagine itself. This is particularly true of the female performing body, which draws on the association of the female image with the concept of the nation (Igarashi 2000: 14; Horiguchi 2012: viii), to represent defeated Japan as similarly 'fragmented and yet one'. This chapter argues for postwar Japanese star personae and the studio system within which these personae were located as key components of cinema's expression and mediation of Japan's postwar national crisis. Analysis of the construction and maintenance of female star personae in postwar Japan reveals repetitive archetypal

structures within the star persona which are coded to speak directly to and of the traumatized nation.

Study of the studio and star systems dominant from 1945-1964 reveals that the imagistic tropes discernible in this period are not the products of a single studio or director but rather reoccur across the wider body of Japanese film production. The star persona and the studio context can be considered archetypal structures in themselves. It is essential to understand the conditions of the production of the archetypal female image during national crisis in order to gauge the impact of crisis contexts on the star persona and so to understand the strength of viewer affect produced by the image. The socio-political importance of the studio and star systems to the everyday viewer is indicated by mass media coverage of events such as the Tōhō studio strikes of 1946-1948,[10] during which the political and social concerns of popular stars reflected national anxieties. Such events presented the postwar film star as a larger than life everyman experiencing the same trauma and social upheaval as the rest of the nation. However, study of the involvement of SCAP's Civil Information and Education department (hereafter CIE) in Japanese studio production also reveals significant elements of continuity with the pre-war and wartime Japanese film industry and its practices.

The representative potential of film to normalise the postwar situation and provide a pattern for how to live under contemporary circumstances did not escape the CIE. The 'Memorandum Concerning Elimination of Japanese Government Control of the Motion Picture Industry' circulated by SCAP on October 16, 1945 (Hirano 1992: 39), indicated that the occupiers had cast the Japanese film industry an important role in the nation's recovery.

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[10] After a successful strike in March 1946 to improve working conditions, second and third strike attempts became entrenched, culminating in a six month occupation of the studio from April 1948 (Galbraith 2008: x; xi; 451)

Eager to utilize the screen to "educate" and "reorient" the Japanese, the

occupiers imposed their will on filmmakers, in particular by censoring

their products. U.S. censors regularly met with directors and studio

executives to provide "suggestions" for desirable themes. After

studying the synopses, screenplays, and film prints, they requested

deletions and modifications wherever the messages seemed

inappropriate. Through these practices, SCAP functioned as a regulator

of cultural output. (Kitamura 2010: 42)

While the occupiers recognised the positive potentialities of film, they also noted the

wartime collaboration of the postwar studios. All but one of the major studios had

substantial pre-war and wartime history, a major issue in the immediate post-defeat

period as SCAP began to purge postwar Japanese society of wartime collaborators.

SCAP's own political use of the studios in the post-defeat era drew heavily on

wartime practices however, as the CIE utilised censorship practices similar to those of

wartime, continuing a conservative approach to film content. Postwar star personae

within the major studios were similarly constructed from the pre-war and wartime

personae of individual stars to create nostalgic affect in order to secure viewer interest

and emotional investment.

Popular interest in the images and off-screen lives of the stars can be attributed

to the attraction of star persona and its importance to the everyday lives of film fans.

The representative potential of star persona identified by Raymond Durgnat and

Richard Dyer was also apparent to the occupiers, particularly cinephile David Conde,

head of the Motion Picture and Theatrical branch of the CIE until July 1946. SCAP

censorship extended to film magazines and journals; even gossip magazines were

limited in what they could say about a star, particularly in reference to pre-war and

wartime activities. At the same time, Conde encouraged studios and journals to present a positive image of newly democratic Japan and specifically of women in the public eye using the major film stars of the period. As part of a campaign to 'use the movies to promote meaningful lessons' (Kitamura 2010: 49) Conde instructed filmmakers to avoid confining women to 'roles consisting only of childbearing and housework, considering their newly upgraded social status' (Hirano 1992: 149). Studios and scriptwriters were encouraged to produce narratives and imagery that depicted the emancipated Japanese woman as an aspirational idol. The aspirational aspects of the star system were used to promote SCAP's agenda; star personae were re-worked for the postwar context, and stars such as Hara Setsuko became 'standard bearers' (*kishu*) for humanism (Yomota 2000: 9) and 'goddesses' (*megami*) of the CIE's 'democratic enlightenment' programme (Yomota 2000: 154).

Japanese film stars could restore a sense of national identity to the public in the wake of the nation's defeat as the star modelled new ways of being 'Japanese' on-screen and off in dress, beauty, and mannerism. Male and female stars participated in a re-imagining of the Japanese body under Western and American influence during the occupation.[11] However the postwar Japanese identities performed by female stars are of particular interest to this study in the context of cultural associations of the female body with the image of the nation. Yomota Inuhiko has suggested that the beauty of stars such as Hara Setsuko 'is tied up with the aesthetics of nationalism' (2000: 13); the physical presentation of the female star was often interpreted as symbolic of the nation as Japan struggled to adjust to its newly 'feminized' role in relation to the United States.

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[11] Japanese fashion and beauty ideals were influenced by Western trends in the pre-war 1920s, particularly in popular discourse around the cinema. While discourse on 1920s Westernization in Japan did acknowledge an element of perceived inferiority to the source cultures, I am approaching Western and American influence on Japanese body ideals as particularly loaded in the postwar in the context of defeat and occupation.

Images of postwar Japanese bodies not only were the site of Japan's

reinvention but also were gendered and reflected the power relations

between the two countries. In relation to its colonies, Japan occupied

the position of the dominant male. Yet as Japan accepted U. S. authority,

this male-female relation was replicated in the relation between the

United States and Japan. (Igarashi 2000: 14)

Though recent writing on the nation has noted a general tendency to imagine nations

as feminine (Igarashi 2000; Hage 2003; Horiguchi 2012), Igarashi argues that postwar

Japan experienced a traumatic re-adjustment from the masculine-identified image of

the Imperial nation to the defeated, feminized image of the postwar nation. The body

of the female star as an allegory for Japan therefore carried connotations of defeat and

the traumatic re-writing of national identity.

At the same time, female stars' bodies were the problematic site of popular

interpretations of new roles for women in postwar Japan. Critics Satō Tadao and

Yoshida Chieo suggest that many stars took this role seriously and actively tried to

engage with the difficulties of the postwar public.

In response to the poverty of the post-defeat, and to the fact that good

dramas were valued highly, young actresses such as Miura Mitsuko and

Kuwano Michiko donned *monpe* trousers and serious expressions.

Though *monpe* were drab, a beautiful woman in *monpe* was associated

with the admirable task of doing men's work, and so they were both

admired and desired. (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 203)

Satō and Yoshida's positive interpretation of the star image coded with signs of

Japan's defeat suggests that the 'desired and admired' stars of the early postwar were

those who engaged with and reflected the realities of the everyday lives of their viewership. Their comments demonstrate the success of SCAP's agenda in obscuring the negative connotations of defeat and change with positive, desirable, or aspirational imagery in film. The attractive bodies of female stars were used to shift focus from the trauma and humiliation of defeat and poverty, and to imbue the labour of rebuilding the bombed nation with desirable affect.

Hirano notes that viewers' response to new issues and characterizations in film was largely positive; 'In general, the Japanese public enthusiastically accepted the liberation of the Japanese film industry, and the production of films treating novel ideas and subjects' (1992: 178). Despite desperate poverty exacerbated by inflation, many paid the entrance fees to go to the cinema; 'if the Japanese public had not really supported it, the industry would of course not have flourished as it did' (Hirano 1992: 178). Just as the film industry relies on audience support and participation, so the star persona requires input from the public at many levels to sustain itself. Dyer argues that a star image is created outside of film texts as well as within the total body of films in which an actor performs;

> The star phenomenon consists of everything that is publically available about stars. A film star's image is not just his or her films, but the promotion of those films and of the star through pin-ups, public appearances, studio handouts and so on, as well as interviews, biographies and coverage in the press of the star's doings and 'private' life. Further, a star's image is also what people say or write about him or her, as critics or commentators. (Dyer 2004: 2-3)

Analysis of selected star images in this chapter will therefore draw from the popular

film journals introduced in the last chapter as well as from film texts themselves. I

balance accounts of selected star personae in the highbrow journals *Eiga Geijutsu*,

Eiga Hyōron, and *Kinema Junpō* with commentary from the fan magazines *Eiga Fan,*

Eiga Goraku, Eiga Romansu and *Eiga Bunko*. While the former 'big three' journals

are largely authored by male and academically-inclined film critics, the latter set of

fan-focused gossip magazines appear to be directed towards a female readership,

dealing with elements of star persona such as fashion and make-up, and encouraging

the reader to copy the style of her favourite star. As I am interested in general public

response to star persona within the context of national crisis, drawing from these

journals is designed to give a balanced account of the affect of selected star personae

for their male and female audience demographics.

I add one aspect particular to the context of postwar Japan in applying Dyer's

theory to this topic; that is, the importance of absence to the creation of star persona.

In this fraught period, where the image of a star does not appear is just as important as

where it does. The 'big three' journals provided extensive commentary on domestic

film productions; while the pages are packed with photographs and news of the

Japanese studio and star systems however, the covers of these magazines tend to

feature the images of female Hollywood stars. Popular interest in Japanese stars was

strong enough to generate large quantities of coverage, however the image selected to

draw the reader to buy the journal was almost always that of a female Hollywood star.

The attraction of these stars presumably outweighed that of the female stars of the

Japanese cinema, a hypothesis supported by Kitamura Hiroshi's work on the

distribution and reception of Hollywood film in the occupation period (2010). Until

1964 when controls on imported films were lifted however, Japanese films

substantially outnumbered foreign imports in cinemas; at the peak of production in 1960, 547 Japanese films were made, while foreign imports numbered less than half the total of Japanese productions (Kitamura 2010:180).[12] The attraction of Hollywood beauty ideals may have been influenced by the largely American Allied occupation, as the first Japanese actress appeared on a major Japanese cinema journal in 1954 (Kishi

Fig. 12: Kishi Keiko on the cover of *Kinema Junpō* (September) 1954.

Keiko on the cover of *Kinema Junpō*, fig. 12) (Thiam 2012), two years after the end of occupation.

Dyer's account of star persona posits the star image as something 'powerfully, inescapably present, always-already-signifying' (1998: 129). The previous work of the star in question, including advertising, interviews, or articles in print media, and public opinion and gossip, create a wealth of signification in the star image. However, Dyer does not imagine this system as closed, allowing for the film text or the star him or herself to play on selected aspects of the persona at different times for different purposes;

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[12] SCAP controlled the import of foreign films to Japan, with a heavy bias on American Hollywood productions, according to the 'one-distributor-per-country rule' announced in December 1946 (Terasawa 2010: 55). In 1946, 39 American films, 5 foreign films of non-American origin (all imported before the war) and 67 Japanese films were screened in cinemas. The Central Motion Pictures Exchange (CMPE) was inaugurated in May 1947 as a private enterprise to import and distribute Hollywood films. By 1950 foreign imports had risen to 185, 133 of which were American. A new quota system was introduced in the same year to set a cap on foreign imports based on the number of films from a certain country shown over the previous ten years. After the control of foreign film importation was given over to the Japanese government in 1951, the percentage of foreign films released in Japan declined from 52.7 per cent to 40.7 per cent between 1951 and 1952 (Terasawa 2010: 56). In 1955, 514 Japanese films were released, accounting for 65.8 per cent of all films screened in commercial cinemas, while in 1960 the percentage of domestic productions screened had risen to 78.3 per cent. Audience attendance was calculated at 733 million (rounded to the nearest million) in 1946, increasing by 3.2 per cent in 1947, 1.7 per cent in 1948 and 3.7 per cent in 1949, surpassing one billion in 1957 (Izbicki 1997: 46). The number of cinemas peaked at 7,457 in 1960.

The film may, through its deployment of the other signs of character and the rhetoric of film, bring out certain features of the star's image and ignore others. In other words, from the structured polysemy of the star's image certain meanings are selected in accord with the overriding conception of the character in the film. (Dyer 1998: 127)

In considering the aspects of pre-war and wartime star personae drawn out in postwar film texts, as opposed to those emphasized in earlier productions, we are reminded that the creation and maintenance of a star persona is a reflexive process, shaped by viewer response but also active in shaping that response. Though Tanaka Kinuyo was revered as a 'veteran' of the Japanese film industry in the print media of the early postwar period (Tanaka 1946: 22), in 1950, a forty-year old Tanaka was sharply criticised by newspapers and fans for her perceived 'Americanization' on returning to Japan after a trip to the United States (Satō 1987a: 11). Satō Tadao suggests that her subsequent 'traditional kimono roles' in a series of melodramas and home dramas in the early 1950s were part of a deliberate attempt to reverse this perception to regain popularity, as 'losing self-confidence in the postwar era, Japanese people revaluated tradition' and began to demand traditional images of their female stars (Satō 1987a: 11). Despite her return to Japanese attire and home-based roles, *Eiga Nenkan* described Tanaka as suffering from a 'slump' (*fushin*) in popularity in 1952 (1952: 62). Tanaka's struggles demonstrate that the star persona is always in flux and must be constantly updated in accord with public demand. While the modern and Westernized elements of Tanaka's persona were popular with pre-war audiences, in the wake of defeat and during occupation Westernization took on an unpleasurable element of threat.

Tanaka's career spans a large portion of the history of Japanese cinema and television, from her first role in 1929 to her last in 1976. She starred in over 250 films, and directed five as the second female director in Japanese film history. 'If you say 'Japanese actress', Tanaka Kinuyo is the first person who comes to mind. She is both in name and in actuality number one, she has no equal' (Iijima 1947: 16). The postwar reconstruction of her star persona rehabilitated certain aspects of pre-war culture, as Tanaka's star persona was originally formed by early roles in Ozu Yasujirō's (1903-1963) pre-war films and the conservative context of wartime production. As the archetypal *moga*, or modern girl, Tanaka's pre-war persona was based on her 'ability to bridge the contradiction between the modern and the traditional' (Standish 2005: 57). Tanaka developed motherly and romantic aspects to her persona in the years before World War II, starring in *The Love-Troth Tree* (*Aizen Katsura,* Nomura Hiromasa, 1938), which allied 'autonomy to romance and the maternal instinct' (Standish 2005: 78) in her characterization and performance.

While Tanaka's star persona could be interpreted as collaborative with wartime agendas in such pro-war productions as *The Night Before the Outbreak of War* (*Kaisen no zen'ya*, Yoshimura Kōzaburō, 1943) and *Army*, (*Rikugun,* Kinoshita Keisuke, 1944), her performances often contained the potential for subversion and reading 'against the grain'. In *The Night Before the Outbreak of War*, Tanaka plays a self-sacrificing geisha double-agent for whom the protection of Japan is allegorized by her love for a Japanese officer. Her performance builds on her persona as established in *The Love-Troth Tree* to create the potential for reading her character as a romantic heroine, a subversive role in the context of Japan's Imperial expansion, during which the nation was prioritised over personal relationships.

Tanaka's performance in *Army* similarly foregrounds the personal over the national, and is therefore open to an anti-fascist interpretation. In the final scene, Tanaka runs through the streets to meet a parade for her son going to war, catching a tearful glimpse of the boy as he leaves. Emotional farewells were frowned upon during wartime as mothers were expected to celebrate their sons' participation in the war effort. Tanaka's tears are so affective however, that she 'usurps control of the hither-to male-dominated narrative' (Standish 2005:144), wordlessly communicating a mother's distress with an intensity that could easily be interpreted after defeat as defiance towards wartime censors.

At the time of the film's release Tanaka was sharply criticised, however such potentially subversive performances allowed postwar viewers to interpret her star persona flexibly in the context of postwar social change. Tanaka remained one of the most popular female stars of Japanese cinema; Iijima argues that her popularity 'was hardly shaken by the war' (1947: 16). Star personae which spanned the pre-war and wartime eras, such as those of Tanaka, Yamada Isuzu (1917-2012) and Irie Takako (1911-1995) often experienced dips in success and popularity. However, this tended to have a positive effect on the star persona as a whole; the criticisms levelled at Tanaka during wartime distanced her star persona from association with Imperial propaganda in the humanist years of the early postwar period.

The traumatized and defeated nation's attachment to its pre-war and wartime stars is nostalgic, associated with the memory of 'better times' for the national self-image if not in actuality. In the immediate postwar period, Tanaka's physical appearance appears to have been a source of comfort and familiarity for many fans and critics. *Eiga Bunko* reports that fans imagined her as familiar and 'close to themselves' (*michikana hito*) (*Eiga Bunko* 1947: 34); this is largely due to her

physical appearance, as 'with her small frame and small face, she is rather ordinary even for a Japanese woman' (*Nihon no josei toshite mo mushiro heibonna hō de aru*) (1947: 34). Iijima suggests that her acting style also creates a sense of closeness and the impression of honesty; 'if you pay attention to her facial expression, what is inside comes out confidently. Because a person who has confidence is a good person' (1947: 16).

An element of repetition is perceptible in the popular interest in rehabilitated wartime stars enacting archetypal characterizations repeated from earlier pre-war and wartime texts. If we think of the film text as a trauma text, the repetitive representation of well-known stars in well-known roles reflects the repetition impulse common to sufferers of trauma. In Cathy Caruth's reading of Freud's work on trauma, the repetitive re-living of a traumatic experience in the imaginative or dream lives of the trauma sufferer constructs a space in which to understand the event and the sufferer's own survival (Caruth 1996: 59). Caruth extrapolates from Freud's suggestion that 'traumatic repetition… defines the shape of individual lives' (Caruth 1996: 59) to argue that repetitive references to trauma in literary production likewise define the shape of the final product. I suggest that similar repetitive structures in film not only reflect the repetitive patterns experienced by the trauma sufferer but also posit the film text as an imaginative space, or horizon, within which the national trauma of defeat and occupation can be understood and worked out.

Let us map this 'working out' of trauma with an example taken from the range of archetypal characterizations repeated throughout the early postwar period. In the first years of occupation, melodrama and home dramas continued to draw on the archetypal image of the woman in the home, discussed in detail in chapter two, in a manner consistent with her representation in earlier productions. E. Ann Kaplan

argues that melodrama as a genre is closely linked to the need to 'repeat family and war traumas and recoveries' in order to 'seal over the traumatic ruptures and breaks that culture endures' (Kaplan 2001: 202-3). For Kaplan, 'family traumas… imagined in melodrama… are closely linked to the politics and economics of the Euro-American nation-state' (Kaplan 2001:202). I argue that similar links are apparent in postwar Japan, a nation re-made to a great extent in the mould of the American nation-state. The stars of postwar Japanese cinema produced the cathartic affect of re-imagining or working through national trauma in their repeated performances of family traumas within the melodrama genre. Publicised family traumas in the 'real lives' of the stars, reported in the gossip magazines of the era, similarly linked family and national trauma in such postwar issues as women's newly granted right to petition for divorce.

Hirano draws attention to a dissonance for the spectator caused by the personae of stars whose performances had reflected pre-war and wartime values as well as those of the postwar, such as the stars who made both wartime propaganda and anti-war films.

> The general public was disillusioned to see so many Japanese appear to change so quickly from ardent defenders of the Imperial system, and the war that was being fought to defend it, into enthusiastic pacifists espousing democracy. (Hirano 1992: 201)

Hara Setsuko was one such star; though her debut at 15 in Nikkatsu's *Young Folks, Don't Hesitate* (*Tamerau nakare wakodo yo*, Taguchi Tetsu, 1935) was followed by her first leading role in the pro-expansionist, pro-Axis German-Japanese co-production *The New Earth* (*Atarashiki tsuchi*, Itami Mansaku/ Arnold Fanck, 1937),

she adopted the mode of 'standard bearer' for SCAP's democratic agenda as the unpopular Yukie in Kurosawa Akira's *No Regrets for Our Youth*, an early example of the postwar humanist (*hyūmanisuto*) genre popular with SCAP and the CIE. Though she weathered this particular dissonance to become one of the early postwar period's major female stars, Hara's persona proved less sustainable than Tanaka's. Her repetitions on the devoted daughter theme in Ozu's *Late Spring* (*Banshun*, 1949) and *Tokyo Story* (*Tokyo monogatari,* 1953) cast her as Japan's 'eternal virgin' (*eien no shojo*) (Yomota 2000: 4). She retired from cinema in 1962 as the youth-oriented *taiyōzoku* ('sun tribe') and *nuberu bagu* (*nouvelle vague*) genres overtook Shōchiku's formulaic home dramas and melodramas in popularity. Despite her symbolic value as the 'standard bearer' for postwar humanism, by the 1960s Hara was no longer an aspirational personal ideal nor a figure of identification for many postwar Japanese viewers.

Dyer's understanding of stars as 'identification figures, people like you and me – embodiments of *typical* ways of behaving' (1998: 22, italics in the original) suggests that the star persona is related to the typical or archetypal. While the presentation of an image or character within a film text is informed by archetypal structures created by the narrative and by cultural or national histories of imagistic representation, where the image is that of a major star, the star themselves is often already identified with one or more particular archetypes. For example, Hara's star persona conforms in many ways to the archetype of the virtuous woman; she cemented her persona as Japan's 'eternal virgin' on set as well as on-screen by famously refusing to kiss on camera. Aspects of Hara and Tanaka's star personae overlap as examples of the archetypal construct which posits the emotional female as a force of nature; however Tanaka's star persona also incorporates the durable

archetype of the suffering woman. Her ground-breaking career as Japan's second female director complements the stubborn, unstoppable aspect of her star persona, while her reported bouts of physical illness on stage and on set (Furukawa 1947: 11), and her alleged ill-treatment by director Mizoguchi Kenji (1898-1956), contributes to her suffering persona.

Dyer suggests that 'what is important about stars, especially in their particularity, is their typicality or representativeness. Stars, in other words, relate to the social types of a society' (1998: 49). The female star personae introduced in this chapter are often already archetypal in and of themselves in their reflections of 'social types'. These personae are then incorporated into a script, in-house style and total studio system with its own archetypal structures, reinforced by actor training schools such as the one established at Shōchiku (Yoshimoto 2000: 219), which trained stars in the studio's in-house style of acting. Elena del Rìo argues that the body on film 'is not any particular body, but a more abstract idea of the way we generally live in our bodies' (2008: 103). This suggests that the female body image on screen created by the nexus of star persona, studio training, director, and script could speak directly to the conditions of living in postwar Japan, presenting an 'abstract idea' of how the postwar Japanese body could be lived. In this sense the star body as well as the film screen presents a horizon upon which to negotiate traumatic social change.

In the context of postwar crises of subjectivity and national identity, the 'abstract ideas' of how to live presented by film texts and film stars were subject to intense scrutiny and popular discussion. Dyer suggests that the star persona itself contains an admission of the difficulties and lack of totality inherent in the project of being a person;

This sense of crisis as to what a person is seems to me to be central also

to the star phenomenon. It can be seen to lie behind star charisma as a

generalised phenomenon, in that stars speak centrally to this crisis and

seem to embody it or to condense it within themselves. (Dyer 1998: 160)

While the multiple archetypes at the heart of a star persona often overlap, they are

also in conflict with one another, pulling the persona towards opposing poles. Elena

del Rìo argues that 'oppressive structures and expressive capacities' (2008: 31)

coexist in the image of the body on film; in the case of the postwar Japanese star,

SCAP censorship and the demands of the studio system constituted oppressive

structures which contained the expressive capacities of the star body. This tension was

often unsustainable, particularly when acted upon by outside factors such as a star's

decline in popularity, lack of relevance due to changing social circumstances, or aging.

While Tanaka swapped her youthful 'modern girl' persona for the archetypal elderly

wise woman in roles such as Orin in *The Ballad of Narayama* (*Narayama bushiko,*

Kinoshita Keisuke, 1958), the changing social circumstances of 1960s Japan caused

the poles of Hara's persona to pull apart unsustainably.

Dyer's account of the star persona as a large-scale representation of crises of

personhood suggests that the appeal of the postwar Japanese star may have been

contingent on viewers identifying with, and even taking comfort from, the image of

the star persona as a constant struggle to construct a coherent self. In the postwar era,

public debates around *shutaisei*, or selfhood, recognised the difficulty of creating a

new democratic Japanese self at the demand of an occupying body. Public figures

were divided as to the form that this new Japanese self should take, from author

Sakaguchi Ango (1906-1955), who advocated that the postwar Japanese self be built

on decadence, to political philosopher Maruyama Masao (1914-1996), whose concept

of the self centred on a split between public and private selves. The star persona was a larger-than-life embodiment of this debate during the occupation and beyond, as studios and journalists attempted to cohere the screen roles and 'real lives' of popular stars. Attempts to establish coherence between pre-war, wartime, and postwar star personae reflected the popular desire for historical continuity in the national myth (Igarashi 2000: 12). Where the star persona successfully presented a coherent account of the private and the public in the context of historical continuity, the affect of the star persona could create a satisfying sense of national self, as 'selves feel whole when they are protected within the boundaries of affective alliances' (Lukács 2010: 209).

The production of 'affective alliances' in the display of the star persona and star body on screen is contingent on the 'performance as expression-event of unassimilable affect' (del Río 2008: 4). In such an event, the performing/performative body is 'the site where the affective event takes place, in either its productive or receptive modalities, or more likely, in both simultaneously' (del Río 2008: 4). The impact of the affective event for which the performing body is the site is heightened by the way in which the star body is framed and formed in narrative cinema. Gilles Deleuze argues for the close-up as an 'affective framing' (Deleuze 1986: 107) of the face, which is the 'pure building material of affect' (Deleuze 1986: 103). However, scholarship on star persona has not yet produced a detailed investigation of the affect of the star body, which for del Río is based in 'the affective intensity bodies are for other bodies inside and outside a film' (del Río 2008: 4). This chapter seeks to demonstrate that the affect of the reoccurring visual trope in postwar Japanese film is created in part by the affect of the star persona.

Stars and the Studios

The studio system had great impact and controlling influence on the Japanese star system, reflected in the attention paid to individual studios and their stars in the print media surrounding postwar film production. Popular film journals of the period often situated their star interviews in the context of the studios, with regular features on journalists' visits to studio stages. It is therefore useful to give a brief introduction to the workings of the postwar studio system at this point.

The major studios of the postwar period each specialized in a market niche. Nikkatsu, the eldest studio, was formed in 1912 from the merger of Yoshizawa Shōten, Yokota Shōkai, M. Pathé and Fukudo. The studio specialized in *jidaimono*, or period film, from the 1930s onwards. Though Nikkatsu was inactive during the period of SCAP's ban on the *jidaigeki* genre due to a merger enforced during wartime, the studio recovered as the principle distributor of Hollywood films throughout the occupation. Nikkatsu resumed production in 1954, introducing a new genre known as *taiyōzoku*, or 'sun tribe' youth films, which 'exploited the fashion for American culture' to attract the Japanese youth market (Standish 2005: 267). The studio's postwar productions were largely marketed to viewers who came of age in the 1950s, for whom the recent war was a childhood memory, and occupation era Americanization fresh in the mind. Youthful stars such as the popular Ishihara Yūjirō (1934-1987), Asaoka Ruriko (1940-) and Matsubara Chieko (1945-) were recruited to the studio and innovative young directors such as Imamura Shōhei (1926-2006) and Suzuki Seijun (1923-) were attracted by the promise of attaining full directorship within a year, avoiding the lengthy process of training and mentorship required by studios such as Shōchiku.

While Nikkatsu founded its reputation on *jidaimono*, the Shōchiku Kinema Company, formed in 1920 as a subsidiary of the Shōchiku Theatre Company, produced mainly *gendaigeki*, or contemporary films, influenced by the 'new theatre' (*shinpa*) movement. Shōchiku's Tokyo studios were known as the *joyū ōkoku* or the 'kingdom of actresses' (Standish 2005: 83) as the studio's policy of targeting female audiences resulted in the production of large numbers of melodrama and *shōshimin eiga* (suburban-set films about every-day life) such as those of Ozu Yasujirō and Naruse Mikio (1905-1969). During the golden age of cinema Shōchiku productions often drew the largest crowds as they were marketed at the suburban housewife, a demographic with free time during the day and a certain amount of disposable income.

Originally known as Tōkyō Takarazuka Gekijō Kabushiki Kaisha, Tōhō Studio shared Shōchiku's theatrical background in its origins in the Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre Company, founded by Hankyu Railway owner Kobayashi Ichizō (1873-1957) in 1932. Shōchiku and Tōhō survived the wartime merger of all studios into three major conglomerates; two new studios were structured around Shōchiku and Tōhō, and a third, Daiei, formed by Nikkatsu, Shinkō and Daitō. Japan's wartime government exercised tight control over production following the Film Law of 1939 and its subsequent amendments, which effectively nationalized the film industry.

Under the occupation government, however, new studios began to emerge. SCAP removed the wartime Home Ministry and encouraged Tōhō, Shōchiku and Daiei to resume production as soon as possible (Kitamura 2010: 43). In 1947, Tōei was founded by a merger of Tōyoko Eiga, Ōizumi Eiga and distribution company Tokyo Eiga Haikyū. Formally established in 1951, Tōei was known as 'the production factory of the popular' (*tsūzoku no seizō kōjō*) (Standish 2005: 272), specialising in *jidaigeki* from which the *yakuza* gangster genre developed. In the early 1960s, the

studio began to produce 'cruel' *jidaigeki* (*zankoku jidaigeki*) films designed to compete with the budding appeal of television, which had co-opted many of Tōei's major franchises such as the *Miyamoto Musashi* series. Tōei's *jidaigeki* samurai dramas progressed from the stagey, kabuki theatre-influenced epics of the early 1950s featuring elderly stars rehabilitated from pre-war Japanese cinema to the gritty 'realistic' black and white samurai features of the late 1950s and early 1960s. The studio's target audience was largely male, and as the elderly matinee idols retired, female audiences for Tōei productions declined. Tōei therefore employed relatively few actresses; however the female image was often used as a plot motivator. The masculine atmosphere of the studios in the late 1950s and early 1960s gave rise to the spirited tomboyish heroine of the *yakuza* genre, epitomized by the sword-wielding cross-dressing characters played by Misora Hibari (1937-1989) and Fuji Junko (1945-), and by postwar 'modern girls' such as Mihara Yōko (1933-) who specialized in a new type of gangster's moll character discussed in chapter three.

Tōhō also had a large share of the white-collar male audience due to the studio's popular 'salaryman' genre, which even included a salaryman version of the popular *Chūshingura* (Galbraith 2002: 335). In the immediate post-defeat period, Tōhō established its reputation with a series of productions in the new humanist genre, including Kurosawa's *Drunken Angel* (*Yoidore tenshi*, 1948) and *Stray Dog* (*Nora inu*, 1949). Tōhō also made modest literary adaptations, but turned to melodrama, comedies and the popular *chanbara* sub-genre of *jidaigeki* to boost its finances. High-brow productions attracted the attention of cinephiles and critics, making Tōhō productions popular with students and 'thinking audiences' as well as fans of the studio's well-known stars, while home dramas attracted female viewers and the housewife demographic with their reflection of the postwar household in crisis,

discussed in further detail in chapter two. However, the 'politicization' of the studio during the 1946-1948 strikes prompted many of Tōhō's top stars to leave the studio to form Shin-Tōhō in October and November of 1946 (Standish 2005: 178). After the occupation, Tōhō developed Japan's now-iconic monster genre with the films of Honda Ishirō, which found popular distribution in America through United Productions of America (UPA, originally an animation studio). Meanwhile Daiei made 'mothers' pictures' (*hahamono*), aimed at female audiences, and sex comedies popular with young viewers.

A high demand for public entertainment in the early years of the postwar led to a boom in independent production, which created twenty-three new film companies by 1951 (Kitamura 2010: 44). Shin-Tōhō had the highest profile due to its star stable, many of whom had well-established careers at Tōhō before the 1946-1948 strikes. This provided a sense of continuity popular with viewers; stars idolised during wartime continued to appeal to postwar filmgoers, suggesting that continuity with the past was an important factor in star attraction. Stars reflected crises in national identity in postwar Japan as viewers struggled in their own lives to reconcile postwar senses of self with previous experiences; 'National identity was thus maintained through a circuitous process in which the present was seen to be a continuation of a past, which was itself a construction of the present!' (Martin-Jones 2006: 33).

As a central component of Japan's postwar identity, memory of the recent war was often reconstructed on and through the bodies of popular stars.

> Japan after the war remembered its past: its memories were discursively
> constructed through bodily tropes. Postwar Japan inherited this
> discursive practice from the wartime regulatory regime that aspired to
> create a healthy national body (*kokutai*). Furthermore, in the immediate

aftermath of the war, many Japanese discovered their bodies as the

entities that survived destruction and thus embodied historical

continuity. Their bodies became sites for national rehabilitation, thus

overcoming the historical crisis that Japan's defeat created. (Igarashi

2000: 5)

Uses of bodily imagery in the construction of national identity were in many ways

continuous with wartime practice. The continuity evident in an individual's survival

through wartime and into the postwar was experienced positively by most,

outweighing any negative associations of continuity with wartime, and casting the

body of the star and viewer alike in a positive light as potential sites of 'national

rehabilitation'.

The major studios exhibited continuity in many other areas as well as in the

star system. As there were no Japanese film schools at this time, directors followed a

career trajectory from entry-level positions up to the position of assistant director and

finally director, receiving their training on the job. In wartime and in the early postwar

period, directorial careers were pursued within a single studio, and so most Japanese

film directors were schooled in a studio's in-house style as part of their practical

training. In-house style dictated much stylistic decision-making, such as choice of

lens or film stock, greatly influencing the aesthetic presentation of the final product.

Some studios developed their own lenses such as TōhōScope, used at Tōhō from the

late 1950s in an attempt to distinguish the studio's product from television.

TōhōScope's anamorphic lens had identical technical specifications to those of the

popular CinemaScope; that Tōhō was able to produce its own lenses demonstrates the

independence and power of the studio system. TōeiScope was used at Tōei in

Technicolor and widescreen format, contributing to the high-colour, flat and stagey

aesthetics of Tōei's early 1950s *jidaigeki*, in contrast with the gritty black and white 'realist' aesthetics of later cruel *jidaigeki* and *yakuza* productions.

Technical specifications particular to a single studio were contingent on widespread vertical integration, which allowed studios to own and run their own cinemas screening primarily their own products. The studios controlled not only the production, but also the distribution of almost all films made in Japan; Tōhō owned 68 theatres while Shōchiku owned 72, and both companies maintained distribution contracts with hundreds of other cinemas (Kitamura 2010: 45). By the early 1960s however, independent production and distribution companies began to appear following the creation of the Art Theatre Guild and Oshima Nagisa's (1932-2013) much-publicised move from Shōchiku, which began a trend for independent filmmaking.

Star personae were created within this system by studios which retained large elements of continuity with wartime practices, and which were held to censorship standards very similar to those of wartime production. It is therefore difficult to argue that the imagery of the postwar was entirely fresh, though it reflected and engaged with conditions of defeat and occupation which were shockingly new. This thesis does not suggest that the imagery created within the major studios was necessarily novel; archetypal imagery is created through reoccurrence and repetition. Instead, this study seeks to demonstrate that images consistent with Japan's pre-war and wartime practices were re-imagined and re-used to reflect and mediate the national crises of the postwar era.

While vertical integration had given the studios a monopolistic advantage before the war, during the early postwar period the major studios suffered two-fold losses from print shortages and a decline in output as both producers and distributors.

In 1945, only 21 films were made and shown by the Japanese film industry; though the figure rose to 123 in 1948, this was not sufficient to satisfy popular demand (Kitamura 2010: 44). Ticket sales increased by 34 per cent between 1945 and 1946 alone (Izbicki 1997: 46). Rampant inflation in the early postwar period put the price of film stock at a premium causing studios to rely on 'cheap amusement products that catered to the interests of the lowly masses' according to *Eiga Nenkan* in 1950 (quoted in Kitamura 2010: 44). High demand indicates the importance of the cinema to Japanese viewers.

> … cinema was not only part and symptom of the crisis and upheaval as which modernity was experienced and perceived; it was also, most importantly, the single most inclusive, cultural horizon in which the traumatic effects of modernity were reflected, rejected or disavowed, transmuted or negotiated. (Hansen 2000b: 341-2)

I believe we can extrapolate Hansen's argument to the Japanese post-defeat era to explain the high demand for films at a time when even the price of a cinema ticket was a stretch for the finances of many. The power of film to reflect, reject, transmute and negotiate the experience of Japan's postwar trauma explains its popularity and demand in this period.

However, the major studios not only experienced shortages of film stock, but also shortages of manpower, as staff, directors and actors who had survived active service slowly returned to the industry. Many filmmakers had direct experience of wartime suffering, either as deployed soldiers, home guard, in forced labour camps or as members of film crews sent to territories such as Manchuria during the Imperial expansion. In this sense, the trauma of war and defeat was built into postwar film

imagery at the level of production as well as reception and interpretation. The very practice of making films, described in detail in the popular print media of the time, as well as the resulting products themselves, mirrored the suffering of the postwar populace in terms of rationing, shortages and the often over-reaching bureaucracy of the occupation.

SCAP intervened in the domestic film industry through censorship at both pre- and postproduction stages; censors regularly met with directors and studio executives 'to provide "suggestions" for desirable themes' (Kitamura 2010: 43). Synopses, screenplays and film prints were presented for the approval of the CIE, while the Civil Censorship Detachment, relying closely on the Motion Picture Code, examined prints. Finished products were often sent back to the studios for cuts and insertions. Kitamura writes of the Japanese cinema as 'a "contact zone" that reflected the uneven power dynamic of the occupation' (Kitamura 2010: 43); I argue that in this aspect as in many others, the Japanese cinema reflected the experiences of the everyday Japanese citizen. SCAP's censorship practice was similar in many ways to that of the wartime government, lending an aspect of continuity to the postwar period. Violent or sexualized imagery was banned under both systems, and while SCAP's insistence on the inclusion of kissing scenes was a direct counter-measure to the ban on displays of physical intimacy issued by Japan's wartime government, it reflected that same government's insistence on the inclusion of ideologically significant imagery with the aim of engendering a change in social attitudes.

SCAP encouraged the studios to self-censor, forming the Motion Picture Producers Association (*Eiga Seisakusha Rengōkai*) on November 5, 1945, renamed The Japanese Association of Filmmakers (*Nihon Eiga Seisaku Renmei*) on March 1, 1947, and colloquially abbreviated to Eiren. The 'oligopolistic practices' of the major

studios were therefore 're-affirmed and re-enforced by the occupation reforms' in the 1950s (Standish 2005: 272). Just as the studio system began to stabilize around the 'big six' Nikkatsu, Tōhō, Shin-Tōhō, Tōei, Shōchiku and Daiei however, television began to make a serious impact on the Japanese film industry's profits and attendance figures. Film audiences began to change as a boom in suburban, nuclear family-centred living encouraged female viewers to remain at home with the television. The studios were slow to react to this development; though box office takings peaked in 1957, the studios continued their competitive over-production until 1960.

The postwar studio system controlled not only the production and distribution of films in Japan, but also determined to an extent which actors and actresses could star in particular films. The heads of the major studios participated in a monopoly agreement which held each studio to a collective promise not to employ stars who had left another major studio within a set period of time. This agreement allowed the major studios to build 'big-budget productions' around star personae (Standish 2005: 267), but the monopoly also served the interests of many stars, as a budding star persona could be based around the 'persona' of the studio. Young stars at Nikkatsu, for example, both contributed to and were constructed by the showy and nihilistic aura of the *taiyōzoku* genre, while Ozu Yasujirō's gentle home dramas for Shōchiku cast a golden-age Hollywood glamour over their stars.

Competitive overproduction in the early 1950s created a demand for new stars; over 200 films were made in 1950, and as many as 500 per year from 1955. A studio recruitment drive titled 'New Faces' became a public event, with female stars chosen from open auditions and from the choruses of review shows and the popular Takarazuka Opera. At Shōchiku, Kishi Keiko (1932-), Koyama Akiko (1935-), Tsushima Keiko (1926-2012), and Sumi Rieko (1928-2005) were introduced as the

new heroines of postwar melodrama. Tōhō cast Arima Ineko (1932-), Tsukasa Yōko (1934-), Aoyama Kyōko (1935-), Kōchi Momoko (1932-1998), Kitagawa Machiko (1932-), Okada Mariko (1933-) and Dan Reiko (1932-2003) in the studio's salaryman and home dramas (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 103). Wakao Ayako (1933-), Minamida Yōko (1933-), Otowa Nobuko (1924-1994), Yamamoto Fujiko (1931-) and Nozoe Hitomi (1937-1995) joined Daiei, while Shin-Tōhō boasted well-received newcomers such as Anzai Kyōko (1934-2002), Obata Kinuko (1931-), Hidari Sachiko (1930-) and Kubo Naoko (1932-). After the mass defection of high profile Tōhō stars to Shin-Tōhō, several actresses began to move between studios; Hidari Sachiko from Shin-Tōhō to Nikkatsu, Minamida Yōko from Daiei to Nikkatsu, and Kitahara Mie (1933-) from Shōchiku to Nikkatsu. Asaoka Ruriko took lead roles at Nikkatsu on an independent basis, as did Ashikawa Izumi (1935-); stars who bent the studio system's rules to operate between studios or independently created star personae which were defiantly anti-establishment. Hidari Sachiko's 'natural' rebelliousness was a basis for her role in Imamura Shōhei's *Insect Woman* (*Nippon konchūki*, 1963) and later, her own career move to director.

There was little requirement for new female stars at Tōei, as most of the films produced at the studio in the early 1950s were all-male samurai epics. However, Satō and Yoshida speak highly of the impact of Hanayagi Kogiku (1921-2011) and Hanai Ranko (1918-1961) at Tōei and Ichikawa Haruyo (1913-2004) at Daiei as 'model images of beautiful women' (*bijotachi no tenkeitekina imēji*) in such male-centred film genres (1975: 204). Clearly, even genres with little need for fully rounded female characterizations still required the 'woman as image'. Though Tōei and Daiei did not actively recruit new female stars, the figure of the female star was nonetheless a central aesthetic attraction in the male-oriented *jidaigeki* produced at the two studios,

suggesting that the female star image is coded with particular representative qualities understood as necessary to the production of affect in the cinema.

The Impact of Social Change on the Studios: Purges, Strikes and the 'Reverse Course'

The life of the studio, and stars' interactions therein, was a popular topic in the print media of the period, indicating fan interest in the 'real lives' or work-lives of the stars. Magazines published regular accounts of visits to studio stages, indicating a high level of viewer interest in and understanding of the processes of constructing a film text. While the image of the star often reflected the realities of the viewer's everyday struggles in this period of crisis, the studios also became areas of crisis in themselves at significant points during the early postwar era. As previously mentioned, at the beginning of SCAP's 'reverse course' policy, stars, studios, and government clashed in a high-profile series of strikes motivated by issues shared by much of the nation in the early years of the postwar period.

The film industry was a point of issue in SCAP's determination to purge wartime collaborators from Japanese society, as the majority of people employed in the film industry by August 1945 had had little choice but to follow the strict rules for film production set out by the wartime government in the Film Law of 1939 and its subsequent amendments, and had therefore adhered to the ensuing wartime censorship programme. However, the whole industry could not be blacklisted as SCAP was aware of the positive role film could play in instituting the Allied agenda. In April 1946, under the auspices of SCAP, the Japanese government began a wide-ranging investigation into the conduct of public officials during the war. A group of film industry representatives and 'cultural elites' (Kitamura 2010: 44) formed a special

committee to investigate the wartime actions of the film industry; the All Japan Film

Employees Association (*Zen Nippon Eiga Jūgyōin Kumiai Dōmei*), along with the

screenplay writers' group and the critics association, were requested to compile lists

of film industry personnel thought to have actively supported the war. Those who had

held executive level positions in the industry between July 7, 1937 and December 8,

1941 were purged; the result was a list of thirty-one people who were banned from

participation in film production in October 1947, and charged with 'incitement to war'

(*sensō chōhatsu hanzaisha*) based on their perceived responsibility for the

implementation of national film policy in their various capacities as managers or

government officials (Standish 2005: 175). Head of Shōchiku Kido Shirō (1894-1977),

Tōhō head Mori Iwao (1899-1979), and Nagata Masaichi (1906-1985), the head of

Daiei and ex-head of Nikkatsu, were included on the blacklist, though Nagata

successfully appealed his blacklisting and Kido and Mori had returned to top positions

in their respective studios by 1951.

Stars were spared the blacklist but required to reinvent their personae to fit the

ideological demands of the new era. This involved a delicate balance between

significant change and the appearance of consistency with wartime and pre-war

personae, as the star attraction is based on the fiction that stars present their 'real

selves', imagined as coherent personalities (Dyer 1998: 152). When the heads of the

studios had been replaced, production recommenced immediately, and for a few years

a liberal humanist ethos pervaded the studio system. At the onset of the reverse course

however, SCAP abandoned its hunt for wartime collaborators and began to target

suspected communists and communist sympathizers. The liberal humanism of the first

years of occupation had resulted in a popular turn to socialist and communist feeling

which made the largely American Allied forces uneasy. Beginning with scriptwriters and staff, SCAP officials began to search the studios for suspected communists.

The studios had unionized heavily in the early post-defeat period with the encouragement of SCAP, forming the All Japan Film and Theatre Workers Union (*Nihon Eiga Engeki Rōdō Kumiai*, also known as Nichiren) on April 28, 1946. Nichiren was composed of various smaller studio-based groups, the most radical of which was based at Tōhō. This group lodged a demand for union involvement in management and planning in 1946, beginning a protracted period of bargaining with Tōhō management personnel involving several dramatic strikes. The first strike was called for March 20, 1946 and lasted for fifteen days, after which both parties agreed on labour representation in management decision-making and policy, and on improved wages. However October and November brought two more strikes supported by the unions based at other studios within Nichiren. Several actors and actresses including Yamada Isuzu, Hara Setsuko, Yamane Hisako (1921-1990), Takamine Hideko (1924-2010), Hanai Ranko, Hanayagi Kogiku and Irie Takako separated from the union and the studio during the second strike, forming the Shin-Tōhō studio in protest at the 'politicization' of Nichiren (Standish 2005: 178). Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru (1878-1967) also speculated on the political aspirations of the strike, suggesting it was brought about by 'Communist hard-liners' (Standish 2005: 178).

Yoshida's mention of Communism foreshadowed a renewed perception of the movement as a national threat in the mid- and late 1950s. Though six Tōhō films placed in *Kinema Junpō*'s 'best ten' list of 1947, the studio had lost seventy-five million yen that year (Standish 2005: 178). Controversial advisor Watanabe Tetsuzō (1885-1980) was brought in to attack the 'two kinds of red' at the studio; budget

deficits and communism (Hirano 1992: 224). A third and final strike was called in April 1948 in response to Watanabe's attempt to dismiss 1,200 employees. Kuga Yoshiko and Kurosawa Akira joined the estimated 1,200 strikers in the final six month strike which resulted in the occupation of the studios (Izbicki 1997: 71), aligning their cause with the humanist ethos of their films such as *Drunken Angel*. However, the unions were defeated as police backed by the First Cavalry Division of the Eighth Army removed occupying strikers.

Further regulation of the postwar film industry was cemented in June 1949 with the establishment of a Film Ethics Regulation Control Committee. Initial plans for a 'motion picture code of ethics' (Kitamura 2010: 47) had been discussed as early as January 13, 1946, however many saw the large public ceremony to inaugurate the Control Committee for the Motion Picture Code of Ethics (popularly known as Eirin) held on April 14, 1949 as a final sign from SCAP that dissent within the film industry would no longer be tolerated. According to Kitamura, the CCD described the committee as 'largely devoid of "leftist leaning individuals"' (2010: 48), while Nichiren complained of a lack of representation. This treatment of the leftist organizations within the film industry reflected the political change of course of the later years of occupation. The reverse course further destabilized popular understanding of the political agenda of the occupation forces and postwar government and engendered a second wave of identity crises focused on generational discord and anti-American sentiment.

The studios' high profile strikes reflected the conditions of many in postwar Japan, just as star personae reflected issues in the living of everyday life. Strikes and demonstrations had become commonplace, with regular large scale protests such as the 1946 'Food May Day' in which 250,000 people took to the streets in protest at

rationing enforced by the occupation government. The Trade Union Law drafted by SCAP in November 1945 guaranteed the right of all workers to strike, excepting fire-fighters and police. By June 1946, there were 12,006 unions with 3,679,000 members (Hane 1996: 116). In 1946, two major union organizations, The Congress of Industrial Organizations (*Zenkoku Sangyōbetsu Kumiai Kaigi*), known as Sanbetsu, and the Japanese Confederation of Labour (*Zen Nihon Rōdō Sōdōmei*), known as Sōdōmei organized a 'struggle committee' to stage numerous strikes.

In the middle of the Tōhō strikes however, the political climate changed dramatically with General MacArthur's decision to ban the general strike planned for February 1, 1947. Rumoured Communist sympathizer David Conde resigned as head of the Motion Picture and Theatre branch of the CIE in July 1946 and was succeeded by George Gerke, a member of the Information Division who had worked for the film industry before the war. Liberal Brigadier General Kermit Dyke had left the CIE in May 1946, to be replaced by the conservative Lieutenant Colonel D. R. Nugent. By early 1947, the tone of the political climate in Japan had changed completely. The 'reverse course', as this change became known, confused and disoriented many, as citizens previously encouraged to exercise their newfound rights to organize and strike became fearful of the government's anti-Communist agenda. Kitamura suggests that SCAP's 'desire to assist industrial recovery led the occupiers to turn against organized labor' within the film industry (2010: 47), however, the 'Red Purge' which began at Tōhō in the wake of the strikers' removal also marked the beginning of a nationwide Communist-hunt, in which over 11,000 public servants were dismissed and labour unions disbanded. Postwar Anti-Trust legislation was reversed in 1949, and the National Police Reserve formed in July 1950; 'The reactionary nature of the 'reverse course' was self evident. It also changed dramatically the parameters of

revolution and reaction' (Kersten 1996: 154). The struggles at Tōhō studios brought

this change to national attention, reflecting the confusion and anxiety of a traumatized

nation on a large scale in the lives of the stars.

Stars and Social Change: Stars as Reflexive Horizons

In a period in which job losses and strikes were common, wages low and inflation

rampant, and the cities overpopulated due to immigration and demobilisation (Calder

1988: 80), Japanese audiences saw the realities of everyday life reflected not only on

cinema screens but also in the star and studio systems of the Japanese film industry.

Screen idols engaged in high-profile versions of the same struggles and hardships

viewers faced daily in gossip magazines dealing with the stars' 'real lives'.

> Stars are a remarkable social phenomenon – an elite, privileged group
>
> who on the one hand do not excite envy or resentment (because anyone
>
> may become one) and on the other hand have no access to real political
>
> power. (Dyer 1998: 7)

Dyer's suggestion that stars do not incite resentment could explain why a depressed

and starving postwar Japan could still idolise film stars whose lifestyles displayed a

wealth outwith their reach. Tōhō's striking stars, however, did have some access to

real political power in their role as everyman writ large; they mirrored the frustrations

of the populace in need of wage increases and union representation, albeit on an elite

level.

In later work, Dyer argues that the star persona is intimately linked to

conditions under capitalism as 'stars play out some of the ways that work is lived in a

capitalist society' (Dyer 2004: 6); perhaps this link endowed the stars of the early

postwar studio system with heightened affect. Everyday struggles under capitalism

were reflected in the struggles of the stars during the Tōhō strikes. On the other hand, Nigel Thrift suggests that the consumption of glamour inherent to viewer engagement with star personae is an affective process, and the 'consumer capitalism' of film fandom 'part of a series of overlapping affects' (Thrift 2010: 308). While expressing the dissatisfaction of the nation's workers, film stars could also distract from this dissatisfaction with the positive affect of the consumption of glamour. In postwar Japan, public interest in stars' relation to work in the context of the reformed, American-style capitalist society of the late 1940s made the star persona not only an object of fascination but a reflection of popular feeling. At the same time, the glamour of the star persona mediated negative popular feeling with positive affect.

Stars reflected the struggles and harsh realities of the lives of many in postwar Japan, but they also reflected aspirations and ideals. The attractions of specific female star personae as discussed in the popular print media of the period gives an indication of the ways in which the female body of the star was coded with complex national aspirations and anxieties. Hara Setsuko's image as a 'pure/ virtuous beauty' (*seiketsuna bibō*), and a 'symbol of the times', the 'brightest star' of the tendency films (*keikō eiga*) of the post-defeat period (Satō 1987a: 5), indicates that the female body of the star was invested with postwar desires far removed from the chaos and moral uncertainty of the recent war and its aftermath, such as 'cleanliness', 'brightness' and 'innocence'. Satō describes Hara's star persona as refined, clean, earnest and well disciplined, giving the impression of a daughter from a good family (1987a: 6). In her repeated articulation as the 'bourgeois daughter' of the Japanese film, Hara's persona invoked Japan's hope for the future through the image of youth. Satō attributes the desirable impact of her star persona to a sense that she is striving for self-expression while strictly disciplining her acting style, an impression supported

by her distinctive voice, at once clear and resonant and halting, 'as though her breath was stuck in her throat' (Satō 1987a: 6). Hara represented the postwar ideal of self-expression packaged in the form of the diffident and respectful daughter, a hybrid image of democratic aspiration and Japanese convention.

Elements of the star system overlap with the archetypal structure of postwar film imagery in that outside the constructs of a particular film, Hara's image itself is already marked as the archetypal virtuous female body. In her portrayal of the generous Noriko, repeatedly interpolated by the characters of *Tokyo Story* (*Tokyo monogatari*, Ozu Yasujirō, 1953) as 'a good woman', Hara embodies the 'saintly woman' whom Yoshimoto Takaaki has described as a popular communal fantasy during periods of crisis in Japan (1968: 99). Writing on militaristic attitudes in inter-war Germany, Klaus Theweleit has noted a similar archetypal construct in the 'white wife' who 'produces order in a domestic space and functions as a barrier to ward off sexual danger' (1987b: 223). Hara's virtuous image may have produced a similar sense of security for the male Japanese viewer in that she presented a barrier against sexual danger and could reassure the viewer of his 'unity' in the face of the postwar destruction of Japan's national myth.

Hara's star persona mirrors David Desser's theory of archetypal representation within the films of Mizoguchi Kenji. Desser suggests that Mizoguchi's female characters, such as those of *The Story of the Last Chrysanthemum* (*Zangiku monogatari*, 1939)*, Tales of Ugetsu* (*Ugetsu monogatari*, 1953) and *Five Women Around Utamaro* (*Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna*, 1946), fit three basic archetypal structures, the 'prostitute', the 'princess', and the 'priestess', and that all three 'are drawn from the canon of Japanese popular culture and from universal images of women' (1988: 111). I argue that the archetypal structure of the female image within

Japanese film extends to the star persona. Hara Setsuko's star persona corresponds to Desser's 'priestess' archetype in its function as 'goddess or teacher', a substitute leader in place of the 'men who have lost confidence after defeat' (Satō 1987a: 7).

> The priestess is approachable and nourishing. And these priestesses are, as it were, available to all men, drawn as they are from the ranks of ordinary Japanese women: an actress, servant, village wife, working girl. (Desser 1988: 114)

Desser's account of the priestess archetype is relevant to the star persona as outlined by Dyer in that the star is similarly drawn from the ranks of ordinary people; 'anyone may become one' (Dyer 1998: 7). An early example of the popular understanding of the actor as a kind of mystic, priest or otherworldly mediator described by Desser can be found in the *kabuki* theatre of Edo period Japan (c. 1603-1868), where male actors specialising in female roles (*onnagata*) were imagined as akin to the feminine/gender-neutral bodhisattva Kannon, who guides humans towards enlightenment. Hara's star persona guides and 'nourishes' the battered ego of the postwar Japanese viewer as war, or the recent memory of war, 'requires the psychological construction of a nurturing 'feminine' domain… to make the trauma of combat tolerable' (Botsman 2005: 134). The similarity of the way Hara's persona is described in contemporary print media to Theweleit and Botsman's analyses of wartime use of the female image suggests that Hara's star persona created a space for audiences in post-defeat Japan to negotiate wartime trauma, as 'a kind of metaphysical sanctuary for traumatized soldiers' (Goldstein 2001: 304).

Satō and Yoshida interpret Hara's persona as holy and giving of spiritual guidance, akin to Kannon and the Edo *onnagata*; she is 'the image of the goddess of

postwar democracy' (*sengo minshushugi no megami mitai na imēji*) (1975: 205).

Inagaki Hiroshi emphasized this aspect of Hara's star persona in casting her as the sun

goddess Amaterasu in his 1959 epic *The Birth of Japan* (*Nippon tanjō*). However,

there is also an everyday quality to her persona which both contradicts and

compliments her representation as goddess. Satō and Yoshida suggest that in the

crisis-stricken first years of rebuilding, 'when wisdom did not always win out', Hara

was the 'personification of bourgeois common-sense' (1975: 205). As goddess and as

common-sense bourgeois daughter, Hara's star persona retains the position of guide

or leader; a role reflected in the narrative arcs of many of Hara's early postwar

characters such as Yukie in *No Regrets for Our Youth*, who educates her parents and

the members of her dead husband's village in the social developments of postwar

Japan. Hara's persona is both constituting of the characters she plays, and constituted

by the characters she has played; her performance as Yukie enables her to become the

saintly Amaterasu.

However, this alignment of the female star persona with the divine was not a

purely postwar phenomenon; Hara had also been the 'shrine maiden' (*miko*) of

militarism during wartime (Yomota 2000: 154). As her star persona transitioned from

wartime into the postwar era, this history was reformed rather than erased, as Hara

progressed through performances in humanist films such as Kurosawa's to become

the 'goddess' of postwar democracy. These consistent elements of Hara's star persona

demonstrate the continuity of pre-war and wartime imagery and themes into the

postwar period. Yomota argues that this continuity causes 'mythicisation' (*shinwaka*)

of Hara's star persona (2000: 154), a term which recalls Yoshimoto's 'communal

fantasy' as both involve the entrenchment of an image in the popular imaginary

through repetition and reworking. Furthermore, Yoshimoto identifies the shrine

maiden as a popular figure in the communal fantasy of Japanese folklore (1968:99). I argue that the making of the star image or persona into myth through repetition is informed and assisted by such archetypal structures within the star persona. Yomota's account of the 'mythmaking' of Hara's persona corresponds with the star persona understood as an archetypal structure; the star persona shaped by film roles, performances and 'real life' events is extrapolated into a super-star or myth which can reflect and mediate national issues.

As Dyer has observed, the star persona is constructed not only by the particular roles a star performs, but also by critical and audience reception of these performances, and subsequent media discourse. Hara's 'enthusiastic performance' (Satō 1987a: 6) in Kurosawa's *No Regrets for Our Youth* met with mixed critical and public reception; while Satō describes taking courage from the film's 'revelation' that some Japanese citizens opposed the war, critics complained that Hara's character was too eccentric and unrealistic (Satō 1988b: 24). Kurosawa defended her performance, suggesting that one had to be eccentric to oppose the war (Kurosawa 1946: 4). However, Satō claims that early postwar women in Japan were not like Yukie, but were 'traditional and gentle' and that the general view was that such violent female characterizations were not very 'Japanese' (Satō 1988b: 24). Kurosawa reinforced many viewers' impression that Hara's portrayal of Yukie was somewhat forced in an interview in *Eiga Fan* in which he claimed to have tutored her heavily in the role, and to have found her initially unsuited for it (Kurosawa 1946: 4).

Though Hara's performance adhered to the CIE's prescriptions in its portrayal of a strong emancipated female character, popular discourse around her performance reveals a gap between the images of women on screen which the occupation reforms supported, and those which the public was willing to accept as credible. Though it

would be unreasonable to assume that the emancipation of women had become

normalised on the passing of Article 24 of the new constitution in November 1946, a

UNESCO report published in 1961 indicates that gender equality was not always

practiced at the private level even after it became law. Koyama Takeshi surmised that

'in spite of a fundamental reform of the marriage laws, the actual condition of

marriage is still bound by old customs. In many cases, the position of married women

remains relatively unchanged' (1961:45). Research into the postwar Japanese

workplace and into inheritance practices produced similar results, leading Koyama to

conclude that many legal reforms had not filtered through to the individual home or

workplace. This view is reflected in a survey conducted in 1955 by the Ministry of

Labour; 70 per cent of those questioned answered 'the further improvement of

women's position in society is necessary', while only 18 per cent replied 'the position

as it now stands is satisfactory'. 'The younger or the more educated the respondents,

the higher the proportion of responses which state, 'improvement is necessary''

(Koyama 1961: 73).

Koyama's findings suggest that the image of the female body on film in the

early postwar period was limited in its ability to

reflect viewers' experience of everyday life

while complying with SCAP's aggressive

agenda for social reform. Perhaps this limitation

was mediated to an extent by the star persona,

which could amend issues of credibility in

characterization by cohering the star persona

with the difficult character, creating a 'real

world' example of the character in the persona

Fig. 13; Hara Setsuko cartoon in *Eiga Fan* vol. 9 no. 10 (October) 1949 p.31.

of the star herself. In 1988, Satō wrote, 'since the emancipation of women, if one views *No Regrets for Our Youth* again, one does not feel Yukie is especially eccentric' (Satō 1988b: 24). Given the time-lapse in the actual implementation of gender equality in Japanese society indicated by Koyama's 1961 paper, it is unlikely that Hara's performance had become acceptable to the 1980s Japanese critic or viewer on the grounds that gender equality was now operational throughout all levels of society. It is much more likely that Hara's 1946 performance is now coded by her star persona as it was on her retirement in 1963. By then, Hara had become a Garbo-esque figure; reclusive, reluctant to engage with media, and defiantly still unmarried. While many critics referred to her with respect, the irreverent humour of the younger generation also made her a figure of fun, as a cartoon in the October 1947 issue of *Eiga Fan* shows (fig. 13). It is possible that in 1988, Satō read Hara's performance of Yukie in the context of this persona and found it perfectly credible given the 'real world' existence of a figure similarly headstrong and recklessly independent, in the star persona of Hara Setsuko herself.

Kurosawa continued to invoke this aspect of Hara's star persona throughout her career to contest the 'traditional' view of women as gentle and submissive (Satō 1988b: 25). Hara's character in *The Idiot* (*Hakuchi,* 1951) was also critically received as an eccentric character never before depicted in Japan. However Satō suggests that Kurosawa had seen this 'type' in real life 'so thought why not take her from the Dostoyevsky novel' (Satō 1988b: 25). As Japan became more Westernized, Satō argued, Japanese women were becoming more like Hara's 'difficult' characters, and those female 'types' were no longer rare.

Though he took inspiration from a Western novel, Kurosawa has shown
Japan as it is today, and as it will be in the future. It is the most

important job of art to show things as they are, and to show the dreams

and ideals of the future. *No Regrets for Our Youth* succeeds in doing

this. (Satō 1988b: 25)

Hara's 'difficult' characters, and by extension her persona itself, were often accused

of Westernization, echoing the criticism levelled at Tanaka on her return from

America. The two stars were regularly mentioned in articles critiquing the dress of

high-profile stars (Tsukamoto 1947: 43-44). Tanaka is ridiculed for her 'lack of style'

in choosing Western clothing, while Hara is 'a Western dress person' (Tsukamoto

1947: 44). The early postwar personae of Tanaka and Hara were engaged in a delicate

negotiation between the respective images of Japan and the West. While a Western-

styled persona could indicate a modern attitude, as in Tanaka's *moga* persona of the

1930s, it could also suggest the attack on Japanese 'tradition' which many interpreted

in the Allied reforms.

Many critics and gossip writers of the period call attention to 'Western'

aspects in Hara's star persona, from her dress to her striking nose, and the popular

rumours that she had Dutch, American or Russian ancestry (Yomota 2000: 18). At the

same time, she was also celebrated as an example of 'traditional' Japanese femininity

as the nation's 'eternal virgin'. Traditional aspects of Hara's physique and demeanour

provided a comforting sense of nostalgia for many; Wada-Marciano has written of the

postwar nostalgia surrounding the films of the Shōchiku Kamata studios as 'evidence

of a cultural politics of self-nativizing' (2008: 129) and I believe we can see a similar

affect in the nostalgia evoked by stars such as Hara for postwar critics and viewers.

'In times of social crisis nostalgia safely separates the past from the present and at the

same time functions as a link to a longed-for imagined community' (Wada-Marciano

2008: 129). The nostalgic appeal of the values symbolized by Hara's star persona

sealed off the trauma of wartime and defeat by 'safely separate[ing] the past from the present' (Wada-Marciano 2008: 129). At the same time, national anxieties about the loss of a unique Japanese cultural quality were allayed by the simultaneous establishment of a link to the 'longed for imagined community' of 'traditional' Japan in the coding of Hara's postwar star persona as an imagistic link to the past.

Male and female viewers of the time seem to have responded divergently to Hara's appearance however, as an interview published in *Eiga Fan* in February of 1949 shows. The two protagonists in this short conversation are simply titled 'Woman' (*onna*) and 'Man' (*otoko*). While the woman finds Hara a perfect example of natural female beauty, the man disagrees. The woman suggests he is finding fault with Hara in comparison to western female stars.

> **Woman**; 'But you're thinking of women like Bette Davis and such,
> aren't you?'
> **Man**; 'No, that's not it. Hara Setsuko plays rich daughter roles,
> intellectual women roles; it's hard to get any feeling from them.' (*Eiga
> Fan* 1949: 9)

Hara's appearance presented a stumbling block for many viewers who struggled to find her believable as a representative example of everyday Japanese womanhood. Yomota describes her as a 'Westernized beauty' (*seiyōteki na bibō*) (2000: 4), and many postwar era magazines, such as the June 1947 issue of *Eiga Fan* focus on her 'exotic physical appearance' (*Eiga Fan* 1947: 30). She is described as an 'incomplete beauty' (*mikansei no bi*), with a strong will and hysterical nature (*Eiga Fan* 1947: 30); her acting ability is recognised grudgingly, in that she is accorded 'all the makings of talent'. However, her 'aloof' (*kokō*) and 'intellectual' persona appears to have made

her particularly unpopular with male viewers and critics (*Eiga Fan* 1947: 30). Her

nature is described as fierce (*faeisu*), using the katakana syllabary alphabet reserved

for non-Japanese words, indicating that her fierceness is in some way also perceived

as a Western quality.

Tanaka and Hara were the targets of a similarly critical article in *Eiga Goraku*

in April 1948 which argued that they had no '*iroke*', or sex appeal. Critic Matsubara

connects this to their wearing of western dress, claiming that actresses who suit

Japanese dress, such as Yamada Isuzu and Mito Mitsuko have 'masses of *iroke*' (1948:

13). Popular discourse on the physical and sexual attractiveness of female stars

indicates the affective impact of the star body in post-defeat Japan.

> The struggle for survival in the immediate postwar years was also a
>
> process to recover the bodily senses, and particularly sexuality in its
>
> keenest form. Sexual enjoyment marked the postwar liberation of
>
> Japanese bodily sacrifices. (Igarashi 2000: 55)

The distant, sealed-off bodies of nostalgic stars such as Hara did not provide the raw

physicality in which a traumatized postwar Japan had come to revel as a means to

knowledge of the self. Postwar writers such as Ishihara Shintarō (1932-), who penned

the novels which became Nikkatsu's first *taiyōzoku* adaptations (*Season of the Sun/*

Taiyō no kisetsu, Furukawa Takumi*, 1956), and Tamura Tajirō (1911-1983), author of

the infamous *Gates of Flesh*, which was filmed twice in the postwar period (*Nikutai*

no mon, 1948 and 1964), used sexualized images of the female body to address

postwar anxieties around masculinity. Douglas Slaymaker suggests that this trend was

'motivated by the writer's own sense of marginalization, and, in particular, their

anxiety over emasculation during the crisis of identity accompanying defeat and

occupation' (2004: 14). The body of the female star provided a ground upon which such anxieties could be explored and addressed.

Igarashi suggests that the postwar sexualization of the image of the female body created a continuity between wartime and postwar male subjectivity.

> By constituting female subjectivity through sexual enjoyment, men could safely erase the aspects of war that created numerous victims and proudly look back on what they experienced during the war as a sign of their virility. Japanese male subjectivity thereby used female bodies to confirm its historical continuity from wartime into the postwar period. (Igarashi 2000: 60)

Appetite for sexually attractive and available female stars was reflective of an attempt to reconstruct a postwar Japanese masculinity at once removed from the trauma of war and at the same time historically consistent. Demand for sexual attractiveness in the female star was closely but often improbably allied to an 'everyday' quality. Many star personae were dangerously stretched by these opposing demands on the star body; Tanaka was deemed sexually unattractive but invitingly 'close' while Hara was exotically beautiful but too cold and detached; it was 'hard to get any feeling' from her (*Eiga Fan* 1949: 9)*.* With its multi-page spreads of star portraits and fashion photographs, *Eiga Fan* suggests that the ability of a Japanese female star to keep up with (often Western-informed) fashion and beauty trends was a highly desirable quality of the star persona for the female viewer and fan. Conversely, many male viewers, critics and fans appear to have preferred female bodies marked with 'traditional' codes of Japaneseness.

Fig. 14; Hara Setsuko cartoon in *Eiga Fan* vol. 9 no. 10 (October) 1949 p. 32.

Hara's perceived physical otherness or Westerness was a point of great hostility for many male critics, who penned mocking critiques such as that published in *Eiga Fan* in October 1949 by Takada Hideki. The article queries such aspects of Hara's public persona as her lack of a marital partner, and is illustrated by caricatures of her famous scrunched-up smile (fig. 13). A sketch of Hara bearing a cross refers to the self-sacrificing nature of her characters in Ozu's work and to her perceived 'Westerness' (Takada 1949: 32). While male critics and viewers criticised Hara's Western style, many female viewers appear to have enjoyed the self-sacrificing aspect of her persona, and admired her grace under persecution. Perhaps in the early implementation of SCAP's gender-equal social policy Hara's star persona provided a blueprint for female viewers and something of a scapegoat for male viewers. Like the priestess archetype, which Desser argues must die in order to bring about man's 'triumph and/or transcendence' (1988: 114), Hara's star persona did not weather the transition from post-defeat to later postwar Japan. Her retirement in 1963 followed the nation's transition to a post- postwar state marked by the Tokyo Olympics of 1964 and Japan's subsequent accession to the OECD, which occasioned a 'new consciousness of self as Japanese: a new awareness of the country as Japan' (Orr 2001: 138).

Hara's star persona suffered from a certain inflexibility which prohibited her transition into the later postwar era, though Yomota observes that 'by 1948 and 1949, Hara seemed to be freeing herself from the fixed stereotyped image she had stuck to'

(*jibun ni kobiritsuita sutereotaipu no eizō kara jiyū ni narō*) (Yomota 2000: 161). The

star persona of Misora Hibari (1937-1989) successfully performed the escape from

stereotype which Hara's persona struggled to achieve. From her first popular role in

Mournful Whistle (*Kanashiki kuchibue*, Ieki Miyoji, 1949) Misora's portrayal of the

orphaned children of Tokyo's burnt-out ruins spoke directly to the postwar social and

historical context. While Hara's star persona mediated the changing social conditions

of the early postwar for her viewers, Joanne Izbicki suggests that 'Hibari's orphan

implicitly addressed ideological recovery from the demoralisation that followed

Japan's surrender - a recovery defined by a changing perspective towards family

dynamics' (2008: unpaginated). Izbicki sees Misora as representative of Japan herself,

often orphaned in the narrative just as Japan had been symbolically orphaned by the

demotion of the father-figure-emperor.

The image of the child was innocent of war guilt, and so Misora as

representative of Japan cast the nation as innocent also. This fit well into the 'victim

complex' which many theorists have identified at the end of the occupation (Burch

1979: 326; Dower 1993: 276; Gluck 2010; Orr 2001: 3; Standish 2005: 190;

Yoshimoto 1993: 108), predicated on 'the desire to identify with Asian victimhood'

(Orr 2001: 175). Misora's early films saw her child characters rebuilding their lives

from the burnt-out ruins of Tokyo just as Japan attempted to rebuild itself in the

context of mass destruction after the war. Izbicki argues that the resolution of many of

Misora's films often 'reformulated the family to suit the needs of the child'

suggesting that the appeal of her star persona was the idea that 'orphaned' Japan had

the opportunity to reconstitute itself on its own terms (2008: unpaginated).

Those particular terms were skilfully glossed over by the mutability of

Misora's star persona. As a child actress, she often played male roles as well as

female, aided by the husky quality of her singing voice. In films such as *Mournful Whistle* and *Tokyo Kid* (*Tōkyō kiddo,* Saito Torajiro, 1950), Misora's character dresses as a boy for a large portion of her screen time. Kawamoto Saburo suggests that the androgyny of her characters carried a message of gender equality particular to the postwar; 'Misora Hibari embodies this male-female equality' (Kawamoto 1993: 340). We can see Misora's on-screen persona as a light-hearted attempt to normalise the gender re-distribution of the postwar era which many adult males found so traumatizing as to be interpreted as part of Japan's punishment for losing the war.

Misora's on-screen cross-dressing continued past her child roles into her adult career in films such as *The Young Boss* (*Hanagasa wakashu,* Sakei Kiyoshi, 1958). Misora often played two characters or more, one male, one female; in *The Young Boss* she plays twin princesses, one disguised as a young townsman. Misora's characters are mirrored by a second actress of similar appearance who is used as a decoy within the machinations of the plot. While the romantic sub-plot suggests that Misora's cross-dressing character is being re-inscribed into a more traditional plot structure, the film veers away from this resolution at the very end, as the character declares that she is really a man. The gender of Misora's character is left unresolved at the end of the film, refusing to satisfy the viewers' desire for clear answers. However, the generic conventions of this otherwise typical *jidaigeki* production serve to enclose Misora's gender binary-defying performance within a reassuringly conventional context, allaying any viewer anxiety and presenting a humorous 'working through' of the new gender norms of the postwar, including the American-styled tomboy.

Misora's own life story mirrors the uncertain gendering of her characters. Introduced as a female child actress and singer in 1949, Japanese press initially claimed that her husky voice and mannered performances were those of a deformed

adult posing as a child star. In fact Misora had made her debut before the end of the war, singing at a send-off party for her father in 1943; like Tanaka and Hara, Misora's postwar persona had its roots in wartime performances. Misora's much-publicised position as breadwinner for her family further problematized her gender performance and assisted in the construction of her gender-crossing persona. Critics and press also suggested that Misora and her family were ethnically Korean; the persistence of this rumour indicates that her unreadable body was a source of anxiety in its potential to hide an unknown 'Otherness' in the form of non-Japanese ethnicity. Misora's appearance was a constant subject of discussion, from gender and ethnic concerns to the much publicised incident in which a fan threw hydrochloric acid at her face during a concert at the Asakusa International Theatre on January 13, 1957. Though Misora married actor Kobayashi Akira in 1962, they divorced two years later, leaving the gendered aspect of her star persona unresolved in much the same way as in the narrative of *The Young Boss*.

In the popular confusion and desire for knowledge surrounding her ethnicity, Misora's star persona shares similarities with that of Hara Setsuko, and with the persona of another postwar female star known variously as Yamaguchi Yoshiko, Ri Kōran, or Shirley Yamaguchi (1920-). As Ri Kōran, the popular singer and actress starred in many films which encouraged Japanese-Manchurian co-operation, such as *Suchow Nights* (*Soshū no yoru*, Nomura Hiromasa, 1941), in which she played a Chinese girl in love with a Japanese doctor. After Japan's defeat, the star revealed her Japanese heritage and began work within the Japanese film industry under the name Yamaguchi Yoshiko, starring at the same time in several Hollywood productions as Shirley Yamaguchi and in a series of films produced by the Shaw Brothers in Hong Kong. In the early postwar years, Yamaguchi's ethnicity and appearance was the

subject of much discussion as film viewers attempted to forge a female Japanese beauty ideal and through this a sense of national self.

Yomota suggests that the body of Ri Kōran, symbolizing colonialism and defeat in her association with Japan's wartime expansion into Manchuria, was positioned in opposition to Hara, who symbolized a pure Japanese essence by contrast (Yomota 2000: 10). While Hara's Western-associated beauty was publically admired, fans considered her appearance too severe, and emulated the 'exotic' Yamaguchi instead, purchasing cosmetics which advertised their ability to create Yamaguchi's look (Yomota 2000: 19). Yomota notes that Yamaguchi was popular with young women and with men as a 'fleshy' beauty with an 'exotic eroticism' (2000: 18). In this way, star identification allows the viewing public to separate themselves according to 'type'; the younger Yamaguchi- influenced set as defined against the slightly older demographic which admired Hara Setsuko's 'Westernized' beauty, or fans looking to the West for personal icons as opposed to those looking to Asia. Discourse around Hara, Misora and Yamaguchi's disputed ethnicities focused on their secret or hidden aspects, indicating anxieties about the legibility of ethnicity, particularly relevant during the early postwar period when the Japanese public struggled to discard the socio-political effects of wartime indoctrination. The idea that ethnicity could not be clearly read from physiognomy or speech, and by extension, that 'Japaneseness' was not the distinct quality wartime ideology had claimed seems to have been a particular issue, highlighted by the popular obsession with these three stars.

The star personae of Tanaka, Hara, Misora and Yamaguchi all share a mutability which allowed them to reinvent their star personae for the postwar context while retaining elements of nostalgia. Yamada Isuzu and Takamine Mieko (1918-

1990) also succeeded in adapting their pre-war and wartime star personae to fit the demands of the postwar; Takamine Mieko, a child star during the war, gained particular acclaim for her 'timeless beauty' and 'refined' persona (Sanada 1949: 7). She is described as a 'longed-for' (*akogare no sutā*) and 'sympathetic' star (*kyōkan o yobaseru sutā*), credited with the power to 'transmit her happiness directly to the audience' (*sono yorokobi wa wareware kankyaku ni chokusetsushita mono de aru*), suggesting that her popularity stems from an ability to affect her audience deeply (Sanada 1949: 7). However, Takamine Mieko is also cited as a model Japanese woman in articles which praise her beauty, refinement, dress sense, and education (*Eiga Bunko* 1947: 15; Tsukamoto 1947; 42). Her marriage was the object of much discussion and curiosity, as were the marriages of many female stars within the gossip and film magazines of the late 1940s, suggesting that critics saw the female star persona as an ideal on which to base Japanese female values, and perhaps ground upon which to accept or reject SCAP-mandated gender reforms.

Many pre-war female stars such as Urabe Kumiko (1902-1989) and Iida Chōko (1887-1972) found work in postwar film as elderly aunts and supporting female characters. As studios actively recruited new stars to portray Japan's postwar emancipated women however, a demand for clear accents and enunciation led to a drive to recruit new female stars from the popular Takarazuka Women's Opera. Otowa Nobuko moved from the Takarazuka Opera to Daiei, Awashima Chikage (1924-) to Shōchiku, and Koshiji Fubuki (1924-1980), Yachigusa Kaoru (1931-), Kuji Asami (1922-1996), Aratama Michiyo (1930-) and Arima Ineko to Tōhō. These new stars were introduced in *Eiga Fan* as 'New Faces', each with a photograph and biographical data.

This categorisation mirrors a tendency in Japanese art history to group the female image into 'types'; Satō and Yoshida follow this trend, observing that the young women of the postwar were generally quite earnest, as represented by the introduction of new female stars of the 'serious, independent type' such as Tsushima Keiko and Kuga Yoshiko (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 90). Actresses such as Sugi Yōko (1928-), who specialized in daughter roles took on 'the air of the student movement in the postwar' (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 90), reflecting popular socio-political concerns, while pure, youthful *shōjo* 'types' such as Orihara Keiko (1925-1985) and Katsuragi Yōko (1930-) were based on an archetypal characterizations from the pre-war era. Dynamic actresses such as Sanjō Miki (1928-) and the famously green-eyed Wakayama Setsuko (1929-1985) were introduced as novel 'lively, active types' (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 204), while the past was represented in 'a certain individualistic type in the *jidaigeki* genre which stood out vividly, such as Kitagawa Chitsuru' (1930-1997) who 'resembled the *ukiyo-e* beauties of the past' (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 112). Nara Mitsue (1923-1977) is cited as a good example of the type 'who seem slightly weak and seem to be always crying, contrary to the wartime actresses, who were expected to be brave and equal to men' (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 204). Conversely, Hamada Yuriko (1923-) brought a touch of Hollywood to Tōhō as 'the vamp type' (*vampu*) (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 204).

Satō and Yoshida claim that it was rare to see showy (*kebakebashiku*) or garish (*dokitsui*) 'types' however, a new genre of 'fleshly beauties' (*nikutaibi*) such as Kyō Machiko (1924-) were introduced through the 'New Faces' recruitment scheme. Kyō Machiko was a new postwar 'type'; 'wild' (*honpō*) and 'abundantly fleshy' (*yutakana nikutai*) (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 90). Satō and Yoshida read her physical presentation positively, suggesting that 'on her debut in 1949 aged 26, one could see

the beginning of a new era' (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 90). However, her difference

from the 'veterans' of the pre-war period is clear in her representation in popular

journals; in an interview in *Eiga Fan* in 1949, she is repeatedly referred to using the

familiar suffix '*kun*' while Hara, Tanaka, Yamada, and even the junior Takamine are

all afforded the respectful '*san*' (Motomura 1949: 34, 35).

Both the influx of new stars and the
language of the gossip magazines of the 1950s
suggest a shift in modes of public consumption of
film stars in Japan at this time. Unlike the *grande
dames* of the pre-war, the 'New Faces' were
received as public property. This could be
explained in part by the fact that most were taken

Fig. 15; Deko-chan greets Ikebe Ryō, *Eiga Fan* vol. 9 no. 5 (May) 1949 p. 6.

from the ranks of the Takarazuka Opera or from smaller revue shows and cabarets,

and so many had a popular following before their reincarnation as film stars. The

clear favourite in terms of postwar star persona was the wartime child actress

Takamine Hideko. Affectionately nicknamed 'Deko-chan', the diminutive 'chan'

suffix a reference to her early career, critics wrote effusively of her lively personality.

Male star Ikebe Ryō even made an article out of his experience of bumping into her

on the street (Ikebe 1949: 6). Another columnist writes 'Deko-chan is the most

intelligent, the most frequently employed, and the most charming'. Though her beauty

is compared to Greta Garbo, he notes that one of her charms is that she is 'like a

younger sister' (Kichimura 1946: 4). This aspect of 'closeness' which fans found so

desirable was intensified by her large output and ability to perform in many genres;

Satō and Yoshida write 'she could do everything' (1975: 211).

The reception of 'Deko-chan' suggests that the star system of the 1950s differed significantly from that of the early postwar. Stars appear to have become familiar commodities, perhaps due to an increase in their visibility in advertising in the boom years of Japan's high-growth economy. Competitive over-production on the part of the studios also brought the image of the star into greater use in the 1950s, paving the way for the introduction of the stars into the home on the advent of television. The large number of cinema-goers in the 1950s contributed to the impact of the Japanese star on everyday postwar life; 'As the cinemas became fuller, so the stars' brightness increased' (*eiga mo jyūjitsushi, sutā mo issō kagayakashisa o masu*) (Satō and Yoshida 1975:117).

Press coverage of 'Deko-chan' suggests that a new understanding of star persona was dawning in the late 1940s and early '50s. Many articles on Takamine describe her as '*rikō*', intelligent or smart, though the writers acknowledge that she plays many stupid or innocent characters. Iijima describes her as 'feigning innocence' (*kamatoto*) (1947: 16), however this acknowledged split between the 'real' persona and the star persona does not appear to detract from Deko-chan's popularity; in fact she was named most popular star of 1947 by *Eiga Goraku* (*Eiga Goraku* 1947: 2). The studio and star systems of the postwar inaugurated a new understanding and style of consumption of the star image which allowed for an element of discord or incoherence within the star persona. Postwar film magazines encouraged a new type of fandom, more studied than before and with a greater emphasis on the stars (Kitamura 2010: 155). Fan circles and study groups attached themselves to postwar film publications and encouraged new viewing and fandom practices, such as the June 1948 issue of *Eiga no Tomo* in which a fan encouraged his peers to maximise their viewing pleasure using techniques such as 'Envision the star's performance before

attending the theatre' (Kitamura 2010: 170). 'Movie circles' (*eiga sākuru*) were formed in art schools, universities and in workplaces, stimulating public discussion on film and film stars. Kitamura connects this trend to the search for a new selfhood in postwar Japan, suggesting that not only viewership and visual consumption, but also the re-articulation of these processes in discussion with other viewers were activities central to the attempt to rebuild the Japanese self (2010: 175).

Star persona and the postwar studio system were important factors in the cinema's creation of a reflexive horizon for the expression and mediation of postwar trauma. The incorporation of archetypal themes within the star persona, such as Hara Setsuko's casting as the nation's 'eternal virgin' or Tanaka Kinuyo's assumption of the mode of the elderly wise woman, demonstrates how star persona draws from an imagistic vocabulary already present within the national collective consciousness. Re-invoking such imagery strengthens a sense of continuity with the national past, presenting the postwar star persona as a continuation of national traditions while modelling the new subjectivities advocated by the Allied occupiers. Wartime and pre-war stars reborn in the postwar era provided such a sense of continuity; however their public struggles to re-define the self according to postwar democratic norms also provided identificatory models for the viewing public in their representation of the trauma of reworking the Japanese self for the post-defeat context. The star persona constitutes ground on which viewers could re-enact traumatic events in search of resolution. However, Judith Butler reminds us that the 'compulsion to repeat an injury is not necessarily the compulsion to repeat the injury in the same way or to stay fully within the traumatic orbit of that injury' (1993: 84). The postwar star persona provided a public space in which the viewer could repeat the psychic injuries of war and defeat. As the star image is in constant flux as it modifies to fit the viewer

response which creates and sustains it, however stars are uniquely positioned to take the viewer out of the 'traumatic orbit' of their injuries even as they repeat them.

As shifting centres of negotiable affect, the star personae discussed in this chapter will provide a base for the following analysis of reoccurring archetypal images of women within the postwar Japanese cinema. The next chapter introduces the most common reoccurring archetype, the suffering mother, and her successor, the postwar housewife, to give in-depth examples of how affective images of the female body addressed and mediated the trauma of social change.

CHAPTER 2

Domestic Bodies

If you want to say something about Japan, you have to focus on women.

(Hidari Sachiko, quoted in Todeschini 1996: 222)

Film critics have often interpreted film's role in 'saying something' about Japan by looking for reflections of historical moments onscreen (Anderson and Richie 1960; Mellen 1977). Understanding the cinema as a mirror for the social world can result in an overly simplistic equation of cinematic realism with the portrayal of things 'as they really were'; David Bordwell reminds us that 'film does not come straight from cultural consciousness; ideology does not switch on the camera' (Bordwell 1979: 56). At the same time, the vertically integrated studio system of early postwar Japan relied on the predictable popularity of certain themes, imagery and actors to ensure that expensive productions made financial returns. The cinema therefore attempted to engage with popular concerns in order to attract viewers; Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano argues for 'popular films as the cultural "translation" of ordinary people's desires, needs and hopes' (2008: 130), indicating a link between screening the 'desires, needs and hopes' of the audience and viewer investment.

Miriam Hansen and Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano's work invites us to assess cinema as a space in which popular anxieties and desires were screened and tested, a 'sensory horizon' on which the 'traumatic effects' of social change were 'reflected, rejected or disavowed, transmuted or negotiated' (Hansen 2000b: 342). The film screen can be understood as a space of possibilities, where viewers practice thinking

of certain futures (or pasts) as more possible or truthful than others. Cinema makes historical change more imaginable to those caught up within it. While the image of the suffering mother expressed the trauma of wartime loss and the hardships of everyday life in devastated postwar Japan, often re-writing war memory to situate the national history in a more positive light, the potential outcomes of far-reaching changes in the Japanese family structure are reflected in the reoccurring images of housewives in early postwar film. This chapter analyses sample images of mothers and housewives in their socio-political context, arguing that the popularity of these images was based in a large part on their ability to reflect and mediate the anxieties of postwar Japanese society.

Suffering Mothers versus Modern Housewives

Drawing from criticism in the popular journals of the period as well as extant Japanese and English language film scholarship, I argue that the dominant interpretation of mother and wife images as oppositional archetypes in film studies (Haskell 1974; Richie 1961; Satō 1988a) fails to account for a dominant trend in postwar Japanese cinema which collapses the two images into one. While Japanese film scholars are divided as to whether the mother image or the image of the housewife took pre-eminence in postwar discourses on female identity, popular film journals of the period acknowledge the mother image as fundamentally '*tagenteki*' or dualistic (Nakano 1959: 76; Sasaki 1946: 4). This challenges the arguments of writers such as Satō Tadao and David Desser, who identify linear developments within the mother image as the result of the popularization of television and the development of *avant-garde* film genres respectively (Desser 1988: 143; Satō 1988a: 64).

Donald Richie argues for the development of a new genre of *tsuma-mono*, or 'wife picture' in the 1950s, in opposition to the popular *hahamono*, or 'mother film' (1961: 103). Analysing popular film texts of the period however, we can see the mother image frequently collapsed into that of the housewife, particularly in melodrama, where many films from the mid-1950s onwards address popular confusion over domestic roles for women. While in actuality the roles of mother and housewife were often located within one body in the postwar nuclear family, popular discourse separated the two, causing confusion as to which domestic female identity was most symbolic of the aims of the postwar period. In this chapter I argue that archetypal images of mothers and housewives on film are used to address this confusion, mirroring and mediating public anxiety over new roles for women in the postwar Japanese home.

The image of the suffering mother is without doubt the most widely-covered of all archetypal female images in Japanese-language film scholarship. While the *hahamono* genre was well-established before and during the war, postwar films such as Kinoshita Keisuke's *The Tragedy of Japan* (*Nihon no Higeki*, 1953) used the genre to explore issues particular to Japan's postwar national crisis. The first part of this chapter weaves a close reading of Kinoshita's film through discussion of its historical context, suggesting several ways in which the image of Mochizuki Yūko (1917-1977) as the suffering mother expresses and mediates the national anxieties of the audience.

As central as the mother image has been in Japanese film, Vera Mackie argues that 'the archetypal figure of womanhood' in the postwar era was the housewife, due to her high profile in public life and political debate (2003: 123). The social context of the era positioned the housewife as both target and participant for a number of ideological reforms within Japanese politics, reflected in postwar film trends which

treat the image of the housewife in very different ways across genres. Women's involvement in politics in the early post-defeat period, particularly those political movements opposing licensed prostitution, gave rise to a public discourse popularly known as '*shufuron*' or 'housewife debates'. Housewife characters played by Hara Setsuko (1920-) and Takamine Hideko (1924-2010) in melodramas directed by Naruse Mikio (1905-1969) from 1951-1962 work out and re-work issues of personal subjectivity for the newly-imagined American-style housewife. On the other hand, the monstrous wife of Ichikawa Kon's (1915-2008) *The Key* (*Kagi*, 1959) is exemplary of tendencies within noir and thriller genres which treat the image of the housewife as a threatening symbol of suppressed desires and hidden agendas. In the last part of this chapter, analysis of 'hybrid' examples of the *hahamono* such as *The Happiness of Us Alone* (*Na mo naku mazushiku utsukushiku,* Matsuyama Zenzo, 1961) and *Mother* (*Haha*, Shindō Kaneto, 1963) show attempts to balance images of mothers and wives within single characterizations using plot devices heavily reliant on war memory and victimhood. I suggest that such film texts attempted to heal the occupation era's severing of the domestic female image into two opposing archetypes; the mother, associated with the pre-war family system and national traditions, and the modern wife of the new nuclear family.

Melodrama (including the *hahamono* and *tsuma-mono* subgenres) was popular and ubiquitous in the early postwar period as demonstrated by box-office and attendance figures published in *Eiga Nenkan* and *Kinema Junpō* from 1950 onwards. Even in the hands of acknowledged auteurs such as Ozu Yasujirō (1903-1963) or Naruse Mikio however, melodrama was considered a low-brow 'woman's picture' genre. High-brow journals such as *Kinema Junpō*, *Eiga Hyōron* and *Eiga Geijutsu* often declined to produce critiques proportionate to the volume in which such films

were made and distributed, focusing instead on high-art film texts and Hollywood imports. Gossip monthlies such as *Eiga Fan, Eiga Romansu, Eiga Goraku* and *Eiga Bunko* contributed to popular discourse on wives and mothers with news about stars' off-screen marriages and domestic lifestyles. This has slightly problematized my selection of case study film texts in this chapter, as it is my intention to analyse popular films which were seen by large numbers of the viewing public within the context of criticism published in the popular journals of the period. For this reason, the films selected are all winners of domestic and international awards and listed in *Kinema Junpō*'s 'Best Ten' yearly compilations. Though these films incline towards the high-art end of the melodrama genre and so are not entirely representative of the genre as a whole, they have generated more public discussion in contemporary print media than stereotypical examples of *haha-* and *tsuma-mono*, and so were of greater relevance to the general viewership and fans of the postwar period. High incidence of repetition in narrative structures and casting, as well as sequels and re-makes such as *The Happiness of Us Alone; Father and Child* (*Zoku na mo naku mazushiku utsukushiku; Chichi to ko,* Matsuyama Zenzo, 1967), and two re-makes of *The Key* (*Kagi*, Kumashiro Tatsumi, 1974; *Kagi*, Ikeda Toshiharu, 1997) also indicate that the films analysed in this chapter were particularly appealing to audiences.

Changes in the Domestic Female Image in Postwar Japanese Film

During the Allied occupation (1945-1952), the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (hereafter SCAP) engineered a set of social reforms that fundamentally changed everyday life in Japan. Many of these reforms, such as the emancipation of women, are generally acknowledged to have been incompletely assimilated into everyday life (Koyama 1961: 45; Hane 1996: 33). However, the

effects of the emancipation of women on the postwar family cannot be over-emphasized, following the destabilization of pre-war gender roles caused by wartime conscription and reliance on female labour in domestic production, and the breakup of many families due to the loss of spouses and parents both at home and overseas during Japan's Fifteen Years war.

Trends toward the adoption of a nuclear family structure were evident during the pre-war period as a consequence of industrialization; however under SCAP this shift was accelerated and given a legal basis. In popular discourse, through not always in practice,[13] the American-style nuclear family replaced the Neo-Confucian based *ie* family structure in which three generations of relatives had lived under one roof, typically cared for by the mother and later by the daughter-in-law. SCAP propaganda encouraged a move away from the image of the *ie*-based mother (*okāsan*), and attempted to position the romantic couple at the centre of a new American-styled nuclear family unit. This was particularly unsettling for the younger generations and for parent-child relations, as the upbringing of the child underwent drastic change due to a social re-imagining of motherhood.

The emancipation of women also wrought major changes within the family structure; post-defeat, women could inherit property and petition for divorce, reforms which challenged the dominance of the old inter-dependant family system. Pre-war adultery laws were repealed, and women were encouraged to forgo the *omiai* system of arranged marriage, or to exercise the right of refusal and choose their spouses for themselves. Ideally at least, parents were no longer responsible for their children's marriages, and so further removed from their adult children's lives. Simultaneously,

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[13] Many families, particularly in the countryside, continue to live as three generations under one roof. Popular discourse on changes to the Japanese family structure, and loss of Japanese tradition, tended to focus on the developments within cities and suburbs. However, there remain great differences in both lifestyle and attitude between rural and urban areas (Koyama 1960; Tsurumi 1970: 229).

co-education was introduced and the compulsory schooling term was extended to nine years. Women were encouraged to obtain some tertiary education and to work before marriage, bringing Japan's urban female population out of the home for longer than had previously been customary. Changes in the consumer market such as the wide dissemination of electric household goods theoretically decreased housework and articulated the modern housewife as public consumer and market demographic, targeted by products such as Shōchiku and Daiei's melodrama and *hahamono* productions.

When Kinoshita's *hahamono* epic *The Tragedy of Japan* won sixth place in the *Kinema Junpō* Best Ten of 1953, women had been conspicuously present in the workforce for more than a decade as female labour was required in both the domestic arm of the war effort and in re-starting the economy in the early post-defeat period. However, the mother of Kinoshita's postwar *hahamono* works in the older world of the *mizu shōbai* ('water trade', meaning sex work), reflecting popular concerns that many of the occupation reforms had failed to take real effect in everyday lives. The emancipation of women engendered anxiety as well as celebration, articulated on a political level in women's organizations founded around domestic identities. Sheldon Garon argues that many women's organizations were united not so much by 'a deep-seated belief in individual rights as [by] the fear that the Japanese woman, who had evolved as the mainstay of the family, would be relegated to her former lowly position' (1997: 190). Kinoshita's refusal to accord the mother of his postwar *hahamono* the benefits of emancipation reflects such a fear.

Kinoshita's film is nonetheless specifically situated within the postwar context by the use of newsreel footage from the period and excerpts from contemporary print media; the first shot shows a newspaper with the headline "War Ends at the

Promulgation of Imperial Rescript". Documentary shots of protests and demonstrations follow, indicating the turbulent political context of the film. Shots of destitute civilians and the newspaper headline "Mother-child triple suicide" foreshadow the introduction of the unfortunate Inoue family. Though newsreel footage before the opening credits firmly places the stories of the family members within the context of Japan's post-defeat national crisis, Kinoshita's *hahamono* conforms to the narrative tropes of the genre. These tropes are used to underscore the major issues of the postwar era; for example, the stereotypical mother of the *hahamono* is middle aged, as is Kinoshita's heroine, Inoue Haruko. The emphasis placed on the protagonist's age speaks to popular anxieties that the new opportunities of the postwar working world were for younger women, and that many Japanese began the postwar already too old to benefit from SCAP's reforms.

Haruko's work is contextualized early in the film in a newsreel shot of postwar street prostitutes known as *panpan* accompanying Allied soldiers, reminding the viewer that despite SCAP and the Japanese government's reversal from an initial ambivalence towards organized prostitution to vehement opposition, the practice was widespread and employed female bodies as various as those of mothers and wives, as well as those of women outside the family structure. The *panpan* of the newsreel clip casts a glance at the camera as she passes, situating the viewer within the *mise-en-scène* as a witness to her transaction. She looks away from the camera, lowering her head; Sarah Kovner suggests that reoccurring depictions of *panpan* looking away from the camera 'may have been intended to protect their privacy, but the anonymity gave the impression that any Japanese women could be a *panpan*' (2012: 76). While the *panpan* carried negative associations based on a popular discourse of disgust at fraternization with Allied soldiers, Kinoshita's heroine also experiences prejudice

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towards her employment in the more traditional and therefore slightly more accepted 'water trade' (Koikari 2005: 354; Kovner 2012: 82). 'While daughters working to support parents was common in pre-war prostitution, in the postwar mothers worked to support their children' (Kovner 2012: 122); though Kovner's archival research suggests that Kinoshita's narrative reflects conditions in postwar Japan, the shift from the prostitute imagined as daughter to the prostitute imagined as mother was clearly a traumatic one for postwar generations. Furthermore, Haruko's employment is assessed by her children in the postwar context of popular discourse on female emancipation, leading them to interpret her employment as a lifestyle choice rather than an economic necessity.

Newsreel footage is used consistently throughout the film to foreshadow the events in the Inoue family's lives. Fictionalized flashback scenes are also used to emphasize the postwar traumas of the Inoue's early existence, such as several flashbacks to school scenes set during the children's early years. In the first, a group of young schoolchildren participate in a co-ed class election conducted outdoors next to the bombed ruin of the old school. A classmate objects to Haruko's son Seiichi's election on the grounds that his mother sells black market rice. This scene reflects the complex moral systems of the immediate post-defeat period, as the objecting child insists, "There is a difference between someone who buys black market rice out of hunger, and the person who sells it". This uneven moral hierarchy is employed against Haruko by her brother-in-law and her children, who despise her work. Sex work and the black market were conflated in the popular imagination in postwar Japan, where prostitutes;

> …represented a despised underclass against which better folk defined
>
> morality. The seemingly unrestrained behaviour of sex workers, their

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intimate contact with the American occupier and their survival outside

of the officially sanctioned economy were unsettling to Japan's

dominant élites, with their patriarchal values and notions of racial

exclusivity. (Takemae 2002: 69, trans. Ricketts and Swann)

For a nation subjected to the doctrine of Japanese racial superiority throughout the

years of Imperial expansion and war, the image of the mother as sex worker was

particularly problematic in terms of 'racial exclusivity' as women and mothers were

'typically considered the keepers of ethnicity' (Evangelista 2011: 104). The attitudes

described by Takemae contribute to a generational gap in understandings of what it

means to be 'Japanese'. We can read the reflection of Haruko's adult children's

anxieties about what it means to be 'Japanese' after defeat in several scenes where

they berate her for unrestrained drunken or flirtatious behaviour. Kinoshita utilizes the

tropes of the *hahamono*, including the mother's mistreatment by her children, to

address the postwar context, pairing scenes in which the adult children neglect their

mother with flashback scenes showing their own abuse by adults, and their postwar

education which encouraged them to criticize and distrust their elders. With its motif

of endless suffering and the impossibility of resolution, the *hahamono* presents a set

of codes through which to express the complex social anxieties of the postwar era,

many of which were based around generational misunderstandings during the

restructuring of the Japanese family.

The end of the occupation triggered retrospective discourses which

highlighted a gap between SCAP's reforms and the actual state of life in Japan. This

was particularly noticeable at the level of the family, as many reforms which could be

enforced in the public spaces of school and work could not be enforced at the level of

the home. Public life and private existence began to strain against one another,

leading Maruyama Masao (1914-1996) to suggest that the postwar Japanese psyche was similarly split at the juncture of public and private (Koschmann 1996: 192). SCAP-approved images on screen and in print deviated markedly from the actual experiences of many Japanese citizens, as a great divide opened between the generations who had participated in the war effort and those who had inherited its results. Sold a bright postwar future in popular media which did not always translate to personal experience at home, the *après guerre*, or '*apure*' generation who embraced Sakaguchi Ango's (1906-1955) call to decadence and amorality (1986 [1946]) struggled within the environs of the nuclear family. Accused of nihilism and lack of respect for their elders, this generation railed against their parents, teachers, and governmental leaders in student protests and in the pages of *taiyōzoku* novels.

On screen this rebellion was often directed at the mother of the *hahamono*. *The Tragedy of Japan* reflects this generational divide in the ravaged relationship between Haruko and her *apure* children. The repeated association of the Inoue family with postwar Japan as a whole in the film's title and use of flashback scenes and newsreel footage indicates a connection between the conditions of the postwar family and the trials and legacy of the occupation. Isolde Standish argues that Kinoshita 'clearly links these generational divisions, allegorized through the micro-narrative of the fissures that result in the dissolution of the Inoue family, to the failures of postwar political institutions' (2005: 205). In this way, the tropes of the *hahamono* are repurposed to critique the legacy of the Allied occupation.

However, Haruko's characterization also differs in many ways from that of pre-war and wartime heroines of the *hahamono*. Kinoshita describes her as 'the war widow, not such a splendid mother as those who have appeared up to now in films made in the 'mother' genre' (quoted in Standish 2005: 207), indicating the film's

revision of certain tropes of the *hahamono* to reflect the context of postwar Japan. Satō Tadao suggests that the audience would expect a performance of the 'splendid mother' archetype based on Mochizuki's previous roles (1988a: 65); instead, Haruko is depicted as often selfish, self-pitying, and demanding, heightening the sense of disappointment which pervades Kinoshita's revision of the genre.

> That this rather monstrous mother as seen in Japanese films does not
>
> often exist in real life means little. She exists on film and is there
>
> because audiences have willed her there. (Richie 1961: 103)

This chapter investigates the appeal of the image of the suffering mother for postwar audiences who 'willed her' onto the screen with such regularity. Satō and Yoshida argue that the popularity of the genre was based on the viewer's complex identifications with the image of the mother, suggesting that viewers took a protective attitude towards the 'little mother' and the 'working sister' characters of *shomin eiga*, or films about the 'common people' (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 133). Viewers' sympathy for the suffering mother and their desire to protect her is supported by the centrality of the role of the mother in most viewers' personal experience, whether as children or as potential mothers or mothers themselves, and so 'the audience feels the working mothers' hardship in their hearts' (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 223). *Eiga Geijutsu* critic Ito Toshio observes that *hahamono* were particularly popular with young girls, who may have imagined becoming mothers in the future (1959: 100). However, male and female viewers and critics alike record feelings of sympathy and identification with the mother images of the *hahamono*, suggesting that the codes of the genre work on the viewers' affective identifications across gender divides.

Tania Modleski argues that the viewer of melodrama;

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… is constituted as a sort of ideal mother: a person who possesses

greater wisdom than all her children, whose sympathy is large enough

to encompass the conflicting claims of her family (she identifies with

them all), and who has no demands or claims of her own (she identifies

with no one character exclusively). (Modleski 2008: 84)

The characterizations common to melodrama and the genre's tendency to depict a

range of characters and storylines sympathetically casts the viewer in a 'motherly'

role; observing and affected by the imagery onscreen but discouraged from exclusive

identifications or judgements. The viewer of Kinoshita's *The Tragedy of Japan* may

have imagined themselves as such a mother, sympathising with the conflicting claims

of the major characters and willing their happiness even in the knowledge that such an

outcome is impossible within the conventions of the genre. In this way, the viewer of

the *hahamono* can occupy the position of innocence attributed to the mother by Lisa

Yoneyama (1999: 38), and spend an hour or two in the morally unchallengeable

position of the mother image themselves.

While Phillip Seaton warns that victim consciousness 'cannot be called a

dominant narrative' of the postwar period (2007: 26);

… victim consciousness, particularly for those who did not personally

experience the suffering, is an issue of *identification*… a chance to

identify with people on the moral high ground offers comparatively

high levels of comfort in the ongoing process of memory composure…

victim consciousness (particularly concerning the A bombs) is the one

mode of discourse that allows a modicum of national unity about war

history. (Seaton 2007: 27-28)

The style of Kinoshita's film encourages viewer interpretation of the characters as victims; the camera follows each member of the family into their private spaces, giving the viewer a privileged knowledge of each character's life. Standish notes that this 'privileged all-knowing omniscient placement… in effect further supports the protagonists' positions as 'victims of the times', as they are only partially aware of their circumstances *vis-à-vis* the other characters' (2005: 207). In this way, Kinoshita's narrative structure mirrors the mother image's claim to innocence, which was based on the claim of popular lack of awareness of the horrors of Japan's wartime aggression during the war itself. The narrative structure of separate storylines around each family member also emphasizes the distance between the generations, as the children's narratives often cross while Haruko's is solitary. The children are depicted eating, walking and even sleeping together while Haruko is usually alone or with a man or a group of men at work, enhancing viewer sympathy for her character.

The individual perspectives of each family member address the subjective nature of memory, as Haruko remembers her personal sacrifices in the harsh conditions of the early postwar years in flashbacks while her children remember only their abandonment and their own suffering. The problem posed by subjective memory in the construction of an acceptable national memory of Japan's pre-war and wartime history was exacerbated by an emergent hierarchy of victimhood in which victim narratives competed for dominance based on public acceptance of personal memories, and on public acknowledgement of personal suffering. A sub-plot involving Haruko's attempt to arrange a marriage for her daughter Utako is complicated by a series of fragmented flashbacks within

Fig. 16; Haruko hides in a ditch while foraging.

Utako's memory which imply she has been raped by a family member. Several outbursts indicate that she believes that this is the reason for her inability to find a marriage partner. However, the attack remains sealed off from the present time of the narrative in Utako's memory, and so mother and daughter fail to come to a mutual understanding.

Such flashback scenes are exemplary of the structure of traumatic memory in that they are fragmentary and appear abruptly, often triggered by hardships or unkindness in the present time of the narrative. Fetish objects are used to symbolize trauma, such as the broken window which stands in for depiction of Utako's rape. This stylistic device clearly connects physical traumas of the past to emotional traumas in the present. Collapsing the past and present in this way articulates the sense of prolonged suffering and sacrifice unacknowledged and unrewarded which is common to both the *hahamono* genre and popular discourse on victimhood and postwar suffering in the early postwar period. For example, the adult children's unkindness in throwing Haruko out of Utako's room triggers a flashback in which Haruko runs from military police while foraging for food for the young family. As she tumbles into a ditch, her desperate expression fills a long close-up, while her ragged breathing dominates the soundtrack. The flashback constructs Haruko's understanding of her relationship to her children through her memory of her endurance of physical hardship on their behalf; however, the children's own flashbacks gradually build a picture of a family separated across generational lines by very different understandings of one another's traumatic experiences.

Kinoshita's bleak postwar revision of the suffering mother image is shaped by the star persona of Mochizuki Yūko, whom Satō and Yoshida cite as 'the number one star of realism *hahamono*', the postwar revision of the genre of which Kinoshita's

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film is exemplary (Satō and Yoshida 1975; 133). So popular was Mochizuki that she became known as '*Nippon no haha*' or 'the mother of Japan' (Desser 1988: 115).

> Both Mochizuki Yūko and Mimasu Aiko were popular actresses who showed the misery of middle-aged mothers. Although it may be rude to say so, neither of these actresses was a great beauty, and both of them lacked charm. They left an impression of women who had struggled. Their appeal was in their tragic visage, which showed that they had been sacrificing all their lives in order to rear their children… these melodramatic mother dramas draw sympathy from the typical Japanese mothers in the audience, who share the same feelings, and they make Japanese young people appreciate their own mothers' struggles… The image of a complaining mother became a typical one, an image of almost mythic proportions, through its frequent use in stories, plays and films. (Satō 1988a: 65, trans. Linda Erlich and Tonooka Naomi)

In her 'mythic proportions' the mother of the *hahamono* became a dominant archetypal structure to the extent that Suzuki Yūko argues that 'the image of the suffering mother is deeply embedded in Japanese consciousness' (1988: 81). Though this study attempts to avoid *nihonjinron*-style analysis, it is useful at this point to consider the signifying codes of the image of the mother in postwar Japan. Socio-political and historical context rather than an essentialist notion of the meaning of the image for an imagined Japanese viewer will inform this analysis.

The popular image of the mother in postwar Japan was influenced as much by the long shadow of the war as by the subsequent reforms directed at the Japanese family after defeat. Writing of the role of the female image in literature during

wartime, Horiguchi Noriko observes a link between the image of woman and concepts of the nation. The image of the mother played a large part in the organ-theory of the nation, which took the body as a metaphor for Japan itself. Organ-theory was foundational to the 1896 draft of the Civil Code, as 'the use of body as metaphor became a point of discussion among lawmakers and led to the re-creation of *kokutai* (the body of the nation-state)' (Horiguchi 2012: xix). During Japan's Imperial expansion, 'women were imagined in bodily metaphors ranging from the arms and legs to the womb of Japan' (Horiguchi 2012: vii). The wartime mother was positioned as the womb of the nation, producing soldiers for Japan's Imperial expansion. As discussed in chapter one, the wartime mother was expected to perform '*kokutai bosei*' or 'motherhood for the sake of the nation', remaining stoic in the face of her soldier-child's death and rejoicing in his service to his country. The '*gunkoku no haha*' or militarist mother 'who took pride in training her sons into stalwart military men and drew a paradoxical satisfaction from her son's all-but-inevitable deaths on the battlefield' (High 2003: 39) was the ideal mother image in wartime propaganda. The image of the mother is therefore central to the process of nationalist militarization;

> Women play a key role in this process by shaming boys and men who
> do not fit the masculine model and by embodying the "opposite"
> feminine model of the nurturing, emotional mother, lover or nurse.
> (Evangelista 2011: 6)

The long shadow of this wartime mother image problematized postwar reinterpretations of mothers as innocent victims of the military state. Repeated flashbacks in *The Tragedy of Japan* similarly problematize the generic *hahamono* depiction of the mother as innocent victim; Haruko's children are encouraged to

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question and suspect the wartime generation in the school scenes, while flashbacks to the immediate post-defeat period show Haruko trading on the black market and hiding rice from her neighbours.

The presumed innocence of contemporary understandings of the wartime mother image such as Yoneyama's (1999) is informed by its associations with nostalgia and childhood. The mother image was closely associated with the image of the hometown or *furusato*, connoting nostalgia (Robertson 1998). Long-held fears relating to the destruction of the *furusato* resurfaced in the postwar era as SCAP initiatives pressed for change in Japanese everyday life. Yoshimoto Takaaki connects anxieties about the dissolution of the *furusato* and loss of its primary role in national nostalgic memory to reoccurring motifs in imagery and folklore (1968: 80).

The association of the reoccurring image of the suffering mother with the *furusato* is heavily constructed and mutually-reinforcing, as Jennifer Robertson observes. This study takes Robertson's argument as foundational in understanding the archetypal image of the mother as a social construct;

> … the imagination of *furusato* as mother, and vice versa, is independent of the actual existence of either; both constructs gain cogency from the process of privileging patriarchy and nostalgia over complex and contradictory experiential and historical realities. (Robertson 1998: 124)

The image of the mother in *The Tragedy of Japan* subverts this construction, as flashbacks to the countryside do not depict a peaceful *furusato* but instead scenes charged with terror. Haruko returns to the family's real *furusato*, the burnt-out ruins of the city, where her children experience their childhood as hardship, foreclosing any nostalgia for their mother and origins.

By collapsing native place and mother, nostalgic men – from state

bureaucrats to movie directors – can proclaim the inclusion of precisely

that which they exclude from the process of nations-making today,

namely, female-identified subjectivity and self-representation.

(Robertson 1998: 125)

Kinoshita's refusal to productively associate the image of Haruko with that of the *furusato* questions the process of producing the nation through idealized female images. The film uses certain conventions of the *hahamono* genre, such as the endless suffering of the mother and her death at the close of the narrative, to emphasize the continuation of female suffering into the postwar period. This suggests that the emancipation of women upon which SCAP's claim to democracy was largely based in fact involved a similar process of investing the female image with idealized qualities to re-imagine the nation through the symbolic maternal body.

Ghassan Hage argues that 'conceptions of national mothering and homeliness are both rooted in the spatial images of the nation as container… an abstract projection of the imaginary womb' (2003: 34). Just as mothers were imagined as the womb of the nation during wartime, the nation as container can be interpreted as a womb nurturing the bodies within its boundaries. The reflexive nature of the mother/nation/womb metaphor is central to Robertson's argument that 'Female bodies, literally and figuratively, are the containers for male-identified "babies," from human infants to things such as values and ideologies' (1998: 124). The reflexive image of the female body as nation and nation as female body is self-perpetuating, in that the ideology of nationhood is figuratively housed within the female body; the female body comes to symbolize aspects of the nation such as virtue and vulnerability, qualities associated with the constructed image of the female gender. While Hage

imagines the nation as nurturing mother, Horiguchi imagines the mother as reproductive tool of the nation; both systems invoke the image of an empty container (or the '*ofukuro-san*' meaning 'mother' or literally 'bag-lady') which houses a vulnerable concept or body, and so must be protected.

Reading the image of Haruko's body as symbolic of Japan, we see it threatened by self-destructive impulses and by outside forces. Haruko's body as reproductive tool is depicted as flawed, as both children leave the family structure, one for adoption and the other in an elopement, leaving her effectively childless. At this point Haruko throws her body under a train, discarding the 'container' which is once again empty of both offspring and national ideology. In an earlier scene she commiserates with a group of travellers who shout "To hell with Japan!" and her self-destruction of the maternal body can be interpreted as a similar rejection of national ideology. If the image of the mother is associated with that of the nation, the maternal body on film presents an imagistic ground for the working out of competing nationalist discourses. Satō Shigeki argues that nations can be understood as 'fields of discursive contestation where various definitions of the nation compete for dominance' (1995: 106, trans. Doak 1997: 300). I suggest that the female image on film presents a visual 'field of discursive contestation' where national anxieties and agendas are hypothesized and negotiated.

Hage identifies two contrasting conceptualisations of the nation, one structured around the mother image and the other structured around the image of the father. Jan Jindy Pettman sees a similar division between concepts of state as opposed to concepts of the nation as 'the state is often gendered male and the nation female – the mother country' (1996: 49). While Tessa Morris-Suzuki warns that the 'distinction between male state and female nation is partly applicable to Japan, but not entirely'

(1998: 110), it is clear that the conflation of the female or mother image with the image of the nation hinges on concepts of space, whether the space of the container or womb or the geographically-defined space created by national boundaries. 'The biological fate that causes us to be the *site* of the species chains us to *space*, home, native soil, motherland' (Kristeva 1993: 33-34, trans. Roudiez). As the female body is often imagined as dangerously unbounded or porous (Kristeva 1982: 54, trans. Roudiez) the conflation of female image with national image reflects anxieties about borders.

In postwar Japan, borders presented an issue for the national image as the land annexed during Japan's Imperial expansion was returned, rolling the boundaries of Japan back to where they had been more than forty years before. In the conflict between her roles as mother and prostitute, Haruko's body reflects the confusion of the postwar nation imagined as both nurturing mother and compromised body in the presence of foreign troops on Japanese soil. 'Japan's subjugation to U.S. hegemony cast Japan in a feminized role' (Igarashi 2000: 14) during occupation, and so the problematized borders of the nation are reflected in the cultural association of the nation and the female image. Furthermore, while the fatherland is imagined as a stable paternal construct, the motherland is often imagined as an unstable emotional identification, producing a 'paranoid nationalism' which Hage describes as 'the product of a deterioration of the relationship between the national subject and the motherland' (2003: 39). Citizens in postwar Japan expressed the trauma of their deteriorating relationship with the nation through the 'victim complex' imagined on-screen in the *hahamono*.

The image of the mother was central to the formation of Japan's 'victim complex' which held that large portions of the Japanese public had been misled by

their wartime government into supporting the war, a discourse known as '*damasareteita*' (Uehara 1947: 41), or 'having been duped'. SCAP did not hesitate to make use of this popular belief; James Orr notes that 'U.S. propagandists were not concerned with impressing the average Japanese with their own personal responsibilities for the war' (2001: 17), but rather laid the blame on the armed forces and bureaucratic personnel who appeared at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials. Ōnuma Yasuaki describes the mood, in which 'the general Japanese public, who were never tried, observed the trials as a third party, so to speak, as people without guilt because they could not be punished' (1984: 74, trans. Orr 2001: 20). The mother image was useful to the construction of this understanding of war guilt, in which public outpouring of rage and grief directed at the wartime government and its ideologues was encouraged. In the early days of defeat, the most prolific and high-profile expressions of grief came from mothers;

> Now the war has come to an end with Japan's defeat and women are encouraged to speak up, those mothers who lost their sons in the war are able to say in public: "For what purpose did I have to let my son die, now I really wonder," and "We certainly have been deceived". (Ohara 1964: 20, trans. Tsurumi 1970: 259).

The *hahamono* genre took these sentiments to the silver screen to the acclaim of SCAP officials and viewers alike. Films such as *Tokyo Story* (*Tokyo monogatari*, Ozu Yasujirō, 1953) continued to refer elegiacally to dead sons and to the suffering of their mothers even after the prescriptions of SCAP's Civil Information and Education department (hereafter CIE) ended with the occupation in 1952.

Though SCAP eagerly embraced discourses of victimhood along with the renunciation of Japan's feudal history, Yoneyama observes a 'continuity of the pre-war and wartime maternal ideology with the enthusiastic valorization of motherhood in the postwar years' (1999: 209). This, she argues, culminates in 'maternal sublimation, through which mothers' grassroots activities have been uncritically linked to the officialized discourse on peace' (1999: 209). Grassroots activities such as localized anti-nuclear movements emphasized the involvement of mothers, who spoke for the nation as its protectors and as victims; 'Prominence given to women as symbolic victims of nuclear weapons provided a normative social framework for those of diverse political views to espouse antinuclear pacifism' (Orr 2001: 58). Tsurumi suggests that some postwar mothers also engaged with the question of war responsibility, albeit on a 'voluntary basis' (1970: 273). Nonetheless, the dominant image of motherhood in postwar Japanese politics was that of the vociferous campaigning mother who adopted a position of innocence from which to critique both wartime and postwar political agendas.

The postwar mother image suffered for her children, risking the black market or starvation attempting to keep her family alive, as male family members were slowly repatriated.

> It was predominantly women who were forced to take the place of men, to act as fathers as well as mothers to their children, sons as well as daughters to their parents and parents-in-law, elder brothers as well as elder sisters to their younger siblings, and to replace men as the economic supporters and protectors of their families. (Liddle and Nakajima 2000: 137)

Orr argues that the *hahamono* genre's depiction of 'fatherless families' served as 'metaphors for the "demasculinized" family state' (2001: 127). However, we can also read the suffering mother image 'against the grain' in that the role of breadwinner in which the postwar mother suffered can be understood from the returnees' perspective as having been usurped from male family members. Post-repatriation, many ex-soldiers found themselves unemployed and unable to provide for their families. Though the suffering mother image of the realist *hahamono* reflected the harsh conditions many women endured in the early postwar period, some viewers may have felt an element of resentment towards the newly powerful mother image, hence the popular reception of her never-ending suffering.

The suffering of the mother captured the popular imagination, particularly the suffering of mothers waiting for their sons to return to Japan. As late as 1954, the popular song *A Mother on the Wharf* (*Ganpeki no haha*) described a mother waiting for her son to return from the war; 'the Japanese media 'discovered' the regulars who kept returning there and portrayed them as heroic figures, silently enduring their suffering' (Igarashi 2005: 107). However, 'the vast majority of the returnees' personal accounts were forgotten as soon as they were published' (Igarashi 2005: 107), suggesting that the soldier was marginalized in favour of the mother image. The image of the soldier caused discomfort in its association with wartime ideology and Japan's defeat (Dower 1999: 59). In contrast, the association of the mother with suffering and therefore innocence lent her image a neutral aspect more comfortable for viewer identification.

The testimony of the suffering mother replaced that of the soldier in much the way that physical survival necessitated women's work replacing that of men in the early postwar period. However, the testimony of the mother also evacuated the voices

of postwar generations, who were too young to remember the war or born into the hardships and trauma of its aftermath. Marianne Hirsch has described the process of testimonial memory as competitive to the extent that 'the second generation – those who are deeply affected by events they themselves did not experience but whose memory they inherited' can develop 'postmemory' which competes with the traumatic memories of their elders (2002: 74).

> Postmemory is a powerful form of *memory* precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through *repetition* or *re-enactment* but through previous *representations* that themselves become the objects of projection and recreation. Postmemory is defined through an identification with the victim or witness of trauma, modulated by an admission of an unbridgeable distance separating the participant from the one born after. (Hirsch 2002: 76, italics in the original)

Postmemory in the generations born into the postwar period is created by the frequent re-articulation of their elders' war trauma in media narratives as well as familial narratives. Shoshana Felman argues that literary testimony can 'open up in that belated witness... the reader... the imaginative capacity of perceiving history - what is happening to others - in one's own body' (Felman and Laub 1992: 108); I suggest that the affective technologies of film allow the young postwar viewer a similar 'belated witnessing' of war trauma through the reoccurring image of the suffering mother.

There remains an 'unbridgeable gap' between the generation of witnesses and victims and the generations after. In presenting the mother of the *hahamono* as a sympathetic image, the genre can temporarily close this gap by allowing the younger

generation to share the suffering of their elders through the affective technologies of film. However, the generational gap is also re-articulated in the re-enactment of the mothers' suffering, to which the younger generation is reminded they have no personal right. The postwar generation are therefore ideologically trapped between the nationally felt desire to identify as victim, and a generational barrier to that identification.

Hirsch identifies visual media as a means to mediate trauma through the generations, as the visual provides;

> …a form of identification and projection that can include the
>
> transmission of the bodily memory of trauma without leading to the
>
> self-wounding and retraumatization that is rememory. (Hirsch 2002: 77)

Hirsch focuses on the potential for images to '*produce* affect in the viewer' (2002: 72, italics in the original); we can extrapolate an element of pleasure for the postwar viewer in the identifications made possible by transmission of the affect suffered by their parents' generation during wartime. Experiencing this affect allows the postwar viewer to lay claim to the position of victim espoused by popular discourse.

However, the anxiety and resentment produced by the replacement of memory and labour with 'feminized' forms as discussed above may also create another kind of viewer appreciation of the image of the suffering mother which has not been addressed in Japanese film scholarship to date. Satō Tadao claims that the popularity of the *hahamono* is partly based on a 'guilt consciousness induced in the young, having heard of their mothers' hardships often while growing up' (1987b: 10). I argue that this guilt consciousness carried an element of resentment for the wartime generation, expressed in the violence of the later *taiyōzoku* and New Wave genres, but

also present in the popular responses of younger viewers to the image of the suffering mother. Susannah Radstone describes stories and myths as 'institutions vested with authority' in the memorialisation of trauma and the (re)creation of traumatic memory (2005:145); I suggest that the 'authority' of the cinematic image could return the right to traumatic memory to those who identified as dispossessed by evacuating the suffering mother from the screen in her conventional death at the end of the *hahamono* narrative.

By the late 1950s, with repatriation mostly complete and male citizens moving back into the workplace, the mother image was transferred into the new American-styled nuclear family. She became a statement of economic prowess as the economy sped up, achieving full recovery from the war and moving into the boom years which would continue until 1975. Elise Tipton argues that 'this was also the period when motherly duties became more important than wifely ones in middle-class families' (2002: 173), however film production of the postwar does not reflect an imbalance in the importance of these roles, with mother and wife images both proliferating on screen. The image of the American-styled nuclear family was not unproblematic, as the stay-at-home mother and the younger generation of women whom they raised clashed ideologically at home and onscreen.

Edward Fowler interprets the juxtaposition of images of mothers and daughters as that of the traditional versus the modern woman. Fowler interprets this imagistic and characteristic contrast as a criticism of postwar individualism as selfishness in Ozu Yasujirō's *Record of a Tenement Gentleman* (*Nagaya shinshiroku*, 1947).

> Kikuko [the mother], dressed in kimono, offers gifts of food to Otane
> and the boy. Yukiko [the daughter], dressed in slacks, blouse, scarf and

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sunshades, has gained weight at other people's expense… a character assassination of the thoroughly "modern" and Westernized *après-guerre* figure. (Fowler 2001: 282)

Western clothing and the healthy, strong, 'Americanized' body of the daughter enhances the poverty of the mother's image and underlines the sense of her suffering, re-enforcing her daughter's resentment of her highly visible sacrifice. Utako's Western dress, English classes, and habit of eating publically and voraciously casts her as a similarly Westernized selfish young woman, while Haruko is repeatedly shown serving others.

Fig. 17; Utako's Western fashions and strong stance contrast with Haruko's kimono and kneeling position.

The Western fashions of the early postwar period contribute to the impression of the kimono-clad bodies of suffering mothers being pushed out by the strong postwar bodies of their daughters; the padding and cut of late 1940s and 1950s Western fashions emphasized strong shoulders and sharp silhouettes, while the gentle sloping of the kimono shoulders and the gait necessitated by the wrapping of the skirt reshapes the motherly body as fragile, stooping and tottering, thrust into the corner of the frame by the upward lines of her daughter's form. This imagistic polarisation keeps reminders of maternal suffering visually ever-present, leading me to hypothesize an element of resentment towards the ever-sacrificing mother image for younger viewers. Psychologist Robert J. Lifton observed an element of 'contagion anxiety' (1967: 171) in the families and friends of survivors of the war, who were 'torn by conflicting needs to merge with the survivor in total compassion, and to flee from him in a confused state of guilt and resentment' (1967: 518). The sub-plot of *The*

Tragedy of Japan in which Utako elopes with her English teacher may have had an element of wish-fulfilment for young viewers resentful of the unimpeachable position of innocence and victimhood occupied by the postwar mother, as Utako overcomes her 'conflicting needs' to flee from her survivor mother.

Thinking of the image of the suffering mother as object of resentment leads us to consider the negative aspects of the archetype, present throughout a sizeable portion of Japan's imagistic history (Yoshimoto 1968). The archetypal image of the mother is dualistic, with a positive nurturing side and a negative, threatening underside. Gregory Barrett identifies both in Kurosawa Akira's *Sansho The Bailiff* (*Sansho dayū*, 1954), which frames Tanaka Kinuyo as the 'Loving Mother' (1989: 151) and the aged female servant who tricks the family into slavery as the 'Terrible Mother'. While Barrett's interpretation of this character seems arbitrary given the brevity of her screen time, it points to a prevalent tendency to pair positive images of motherhood with negative ones.

Both Julia Kristeva (1982: 14) and Barbara Creed (1993: 1) have noted the attraction of the image of the threatening mother, attributing this uncanny fascination to the mother's reproductive power. The uncleanliness popularly associated with conception and birth in the Christian traditions from which Creed and Kristeva write is also present in Japanese Buddhist and Shintō doctrine.

> These associations of the female with the earthy, material and the
> archaic grotesque have suggested a positive and powerful figuration of
> culture and womanhood… This view valorizes traditional images of the
> earth mother, the crone, the witch, and the vampire and posits a natural
> connection between the female body (itself naturalized) and the "primal"
> elements, especially the earth. (Russo 1994: 1)

Eiga Geijutsu critic Nakano Shōichi valorizes the image of the earth mother (*hahanaru taishū*) in just this way, interpreting her archetypal image as 'the reflection [*tōei*] of our own true feelings [*shinjō*]' (1959: 76). The mother image of Japanese postwar film owes its popularity to its reflection of the desires of the audience, whether for the mother's happiness or removal. However, he suggests that 'embodied images of the abstract mother are few' (*chūshōteki haha o gutaikashita imēji wa sukoshi darō*) (1959: 76), arguing for film as particularly suited to the reflection of abstract or archetypal understandings of motherhood which do not regularly manifest in real life.

The earth mother archetype is often depicted as excessive, a theme prevalent in Kinoshita's film, which references the earlier *Tragedy of Japan* (*Nippon no higeki*, Kamei Fumio,1946) banned by Occupation censors only a few days after its release. Kinoshita's film echoes its namesake stylistically, as Kamei made up the greater part of his 39 minute documentary from shots of newspaper pages, still photographs, and scenes from newsreels and documentaries of the pre-war and wartime eras, some provided by Nichi-ei and others taken from American documentary films. Kamei's strident voiceover is replaced in Kinoshita's film with Haruko's ragged breathing, singing, or raucous laughter, often superimposed non-diegetically over particularly affective scenes. Kamei's denunciation of the generation that drove Japan to war is replaced by the uncontrolled outbursts of a middle-aged mother, reflecting the emotive language employed by the mother members of postwar protest groups. Yoneyama accuses these groups of displacing emotion for innocence, and perverting the order of war guilt
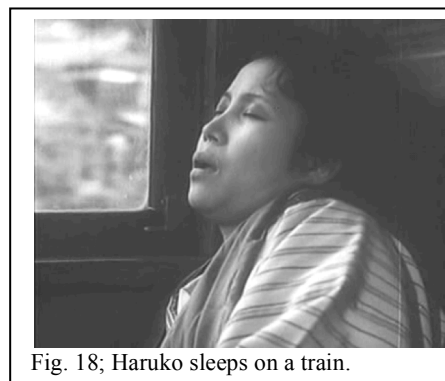
Fig. 18; Haruko sleeps on a train.

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and blame with their claims of a universal humanism in motherhood (1999: 196). Haruko's needy performances are similarly framed as sinister; Kinoshita employs the trope of the excessive, grotesque female body in Haruko's physical outbursts, channelling culturally coded disgust at the over-spilling of body boundaries as discussed by Russo and Bakhtin (1993: 76). A long close-up on Haruko's face as she sleeps on a train toward the conclusion of the narrative lingers unromantically on her open mouth, slack jaw and odd head movements, producing a feeling of pity mixed with disgust. The intimacy of the close-up is striking; however Haruko's closed eyes reduce her to the object of the spectatorial gaze rather than a subject able to return it. Such abject images of the suffering mother are explored in postwar film with fascinated repetition.

> A special truth seems to reside in traumatic or abject states, in diseased
> or damaged bodies…the violated body is often the evidentiary basis of
> important witnessings to truth, of necessary testimonials against power.
> (Foster 1996: 123)

The abject nature of the image of the suffering mother played a key part in its claim to innocence, as the abject cannot be an active subject, aligning the mother image with associations of wartime inactivity and victimhood. However, the abject is also repulsive, containing uncontrollable elements which must be expulsed in order for the subject to remain whole; 'the abject is what I must get rid of in order to be an 'I' at all' (Foster 1996: 114). The abject mother image is paradoxical; the maternal body as symbol of the nation opposes the maternal body as abject, the organized nation's polar opposite and structural threat. This may explain the extreme ambivalence of images of the mother in postwar Japanese film.

As observed in the previous chapter, many archetypal structures contain opposing poles which pull against one another and threaten the structure as a whole. The image of the mother underwent such a strain in the late 1950s and early 1960s, attributed to the rise of television and the New Wave genre. Satō Tadao suggests that mother and daughter images were structurally opposed in Japanese film and television of the period;

> The basic assumption of Japanese movies of that time was that a
> woman could be attractive until she was married, but after marriage, she
> had no choice but to pursue a life of incessant suffering. (Satō 1988a:
> 66, trans. Linda Erlich and Tonooka Naomi)

Satō observes a tendency to pit young female actresses against older women in the roles of suffering young wife and 'ill-tempered mother in law' (1988: 66). From the late 1950s onward, 'if a young actress and a middle-aged actress were featured together, and if one had to be given a villain's role, that role invariably fell to the middle-aged actress' (Satō 1988: 67). In the decade since Ozu's *Record of a Tenement Gentleman*, the mother image had been problematized by discourses of victimization and war guilt which cast the older generation in an unfavourable aspect. The mother image as a site of suffering and innocence was no longer dominant, as villain mother images appeared to reflect the postwar generation's troubled relationships with their elders.

Desser suggests a further change in the mother image in the early 1960s with the beginning of the New Wave, building on his argument for three distinct female archetypal structures within the work of Mizoguchi Kenji (1898-1956) as discussed in chapter one, to suggest that the New Wave combined the mother image with the

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sexualized female image to position the eroticized suffering mother as a new image of Japan with traditional, even archaic associations.

> The priestess archetype in the New Wave often took the form of the mother, as in the traditional use of the image, but to this was added the motif of incest. This woman was now the mother of invention as it were (the inspirer of men), but also the Mother of Japan, the essence of the Japanese spirit. The already eroticized image of the mother in Japanese culture was strengthened in the New Wave by further linking the prostitute archetype to this mother-figure… The collapsing together of the priestess and prostitute archetypes is therefore the conflation of the sacred and profane realms. (Desser 1988: 143)

The suffering mother image becomes an active desiring subject in the New Wave, reflecting a shift in generational relations from the fear and respect due ones parents under the *ie* system to recognition of the parental generation as flawed in the wake of popular discourses on war guilt.

I argue that this shift was not only occasioned by the development of the New Wave, but also by mounting public unease with the dominant image of the mother and her claim to innocence. As directors such as Ōshima Nagisa (1932-2013) began to explore issues of war guilt and generational discord, the mother image took on a dual and deceptive aspect. The noir, *taiyōzoku* and thriller genres of the late 1950s and 1960s presented the image of the mother as threatening in her dual nature. The mother of Ichikawa Kon's *The Key* is exemplary of this trend; pulled between her maternal obligations and her sexual desires, she is complicit in the seduction of her daughter's fiancé until, in a twist on Barrett's 'Terrible Mother', the household's elderly servant

poisons the whole family to end their poisonous behaviour towards one another. Tanaka Kinuyo had played a mother competing with her daughter for male affection in *The Woman in The Rumour* (*Uwasa no onna*, Mizoguchi Kenji, 1954) as did Yamada Isuzu in *Evening Stream* (*Yoru no nagare*, Kawashima Yūzō and Naruse Mikio, 1960), though Mizoguchi's film conforms to the feminine familial resolution through the theme of shared suffering common to the melodrama.

This trend could be explained in part by the activism of the mother image in the late 1950s and 1960s. While wartime mothers had cheered their sons off to battle, the postwar mother formed protest groups and marched in the streets. Ohinata Masami argues that the mother image holds a particular place in Japanese politics as well as in national discourse;

> A characteristic of governmental policy toward the family in Japan, however, has been that one function of the family – namely, "motherhood" – has always been targeted. Furthermore, the motherhood that has been emphasized has been of a particular kind: motherly love characterized by selfless devotion… [the mother is] a personification of 'devotion to children, parental affection, and self-sacrifice'. (Ohinata 1995: 205).

In the second half of the 1950s, protesting mothers attempted to utilize this image for political effect, forming activist and anti-nuclear groups based on the testimony of the wartime suffering of mothers. For postwar generations however, this may have seemed a highly suspect move to secure a position of innocence and suffering by women who had in fact been complicit in Japan's war effort (Horiguchi 2002: 168).

Sheldon Garon and Vera Mackie have noted the prevalence of action groups identifying as 'mothers', which tended to figure the rest of Japan as children in need of protection or discipline. Prostitution and nuclear issues were the most vociferous targets for these groups; 'Japanese women took to regarding themselves primarily as mothers, and women's groups attacked prostitution in terms of its ill effects on the sexual mores of daughters and sons' (Garon 1997: 200). The mother image not only allowed women greater voice as they adopted the modes of a pre-existing political demographic, but also cast protesting mothers in the role of protectors of the nation; 'As housewives and mothers, women gradually emerged as the state's primary intermediaries in managing society' (Garon 1997: 179). Tsurumi notes 'the existence among middle-aged women of enthusiasm in their search for new definitions of their roles as mothers and wives in the postwar period' (1970: 271). However, Yoneyama finds the image of the suffering mother at the heart of a 'feminized memory' of the war which, she argues, took a dangerous hold on the postwar period.

> Perhaps most crucial to feminized memory were the tropes of
> motherhood and assumptions about the maternal that came to prevail in
> peace and antinuclear discourses, producing memories of innocence,
> victimhood, and perseverance with regard to prewar or wartime women,
> Japanese and non-Japanese alike. (Yoneyama 1999: 193)

This feminized memory of war posited the mother as 'ideologically untainted' (Yoneyama 1999: 203), as opposed to Japanese men. However, it also reached out to the other nations in the world in its presentation of motherhood as 'a gendered manifestation of universal humanism' (Yoneyama 1999: 196).

The first meeting of the Mother's Convention (*Hahaoya Taikai*) was held in 1955, with 2000 attendees; the 1960 meeting hosted 13,000 attendees (Mackie 2003: 135), demonstrating the popularity of such organizations amongst women seeking 'new definitions' of their domestic roles. Meanwhile, mothers formed a vocal part of anti-nuclear movements, and were used imagistically to great extent in anti-war campaigns. James Orr suggests that 'women and children as representative A-bomb victims' were 'all the more persuasive as an argument against nuclear weapons' (2001: 56).

> As one student of Japanese war memories has observed, the "universal icon of love and life," the image of mother and infant, was "transposed into a symbol of the broken life bond" in photojournalistic and artistic images of *hibakusha* mothers trying to nurse dead babies or babies trying to nurse from their mother's corpse. (Orr 2001: 56)

The change in the image of the suffering mother on-screen hinged in part on this particular phenomenon, which demonstrated the political power the mother image could harness. While images of suffering positioned the mother as a symbol of humanism and innocence, I suggest that the public spectacle of these self-proclaimed mothers liberally exerting this power over the younger postwar generation as well as their wartime peers led to the image of the suffering mother becoming unviable in the late 1950s and 1960s. The resulting schism in the suffering mother image brought about the changes observed by Hayashi Fuyuki, who notes that the late 1960s saw 'figures such as Mochizuki Yūko's character in *Niguruma no uta* [*Song of Niguruma*, Yamamoto Satsuo, 1959] and Tanaka Kinuyo's character in *Ibokyōdai* [*Stepbrothers*, Ieki Miyoji, 1957] disappearing from the screen' (1988: 84).

Replacing the Mother Image: Postwar Housewives and the *Tsuma-mono*

While writers such as Satō and Desser focus on the mother image as the central female image of the early postwar period, others such as Donald Richie argue for the housewife archetype as a new subject in early postwar film. After an initial period in which the melodramas of the early 1950s explored the role and subjectivity of the housewife however, filmmakers began to collapse the mother image and the housewife-image into one, reflecting popular anxiety over the division of the two roles and the resultant division of obligations and loyalties within the home. The housewife/mother became the focus of suspicion in a series of noir films and thrillers which based their narrative denouements on her unreadable character. I argue that the mother image and the housewife image were not two separate and opposed archetypes in postwar Japanese cinema, but overlapped and intertwined to an extent not heretofore acknowledged. I suggest that the collapsing of the mother image into the wife-image reflected postwar national anxieties around SCAP's ideological removal of the mother from the centre of the Neo-Confucian Japanese family structure in favour of the American-styled housewife. The complex mother/wife characters discussed in the final part of this chapter illustrate and work through popular anxieties as to the role of the domestic woman in postwar Japan, polarized between the image of mother and wife.

Film critics and historians alike are divided as to the centrality of images of the mother and the wife in the post-defeat era; while Vera Mackie observes that 'it was only in the postwar period that the housewife became the archetypal figure of womanhood' (2003: 123), Kathleen Uno sees the end of the wartime *ryōsei kenbō* or 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine as a point when 'motherhood rather than wifehood became the dominant image of Japanese womanhood despite the fact that women

existed as full-time or nonworking mothers only among the upper ranks of the urban new middle class' (1993: 303). Uno's observation highlights the aspirational aspect of the image of the stay-at-home mother or housewife, reflected by the aspirational stars cast in mother and wife dramas.

By the 1950s the role of the wife had become central to postwar capitalist production.

> The family became the centre of consumer activity and a place for the
> reproduction of energy… the home had to be a place where [the family]
> could rest and regain the energy needed for the next day's work. It was
> a wife's role to make sure this happened. (Ohinata 1995: 203)

Ohinata also notes the importance of 'producing tomorrow's labour force' in the home however (1995: 203), indicating that motherhood was no less central to domestic female performance than wifehood. While wife and mother were often the same body, the role of the wife in preparing her family for participation in society is oddly disassociated from the mother's role in literally producing the labour force. Film scholarship on mothers and wives on screen has reflected this division.

The mother/ wife role dichotomy was in part a spatial issue according to Tsurumi, who suggests that 'among city women the role of a mother changes more rapidly and more decisively than that of a wife, whereas among agrarian women the role of a wife changes more rapidly than that of a mother' (1970: 299). Tsurumi sees 'the persistence of the structure of relationships of the traditional family among city women, despite the outward appearance of the size of the modern conjugal family', whereas in the country, the actual structure of relationships within agrarian families 'is closer to the conjugal type than it appears to be' (1970: 300). This problematizes

the dominant tendency to imagine a uni-directional shift from national interest in mothers during wartime to national discourse on housewives as representatives of the nuclear family and as a new capitalist market demographic. However, film texts of the post-defeat period tend to deal exclusively with one space and 'type' of family structure. For example, Naruse Mikio's studies of the role of the housewife in such films as *Repast* (*Meshi*, 1951), *Wife* (*Tsuma*, 1953), *Husband and Wife* (*Fūfu*, 1953), *Sound of the Mountain* (*Yama no oto*, 1954), *A Wife's Heart* (*Tsuma no kokoro*, 1956), *Daughters, Wives and Mothers* (*Musume tsuma haha*, 1960) and *A Wife, A Woman* (*Tsuma toshite onna toshite*, 1961) are all set in the suburbs of major cities and focus on modern housewife characters, while *Summer Clouds* (*Iwashigumo*, Naruse Mikio, 1958) deals with the effect of SCAP's postwar reforms on many generations of a farming family living in the countryside.

While the image of the mother was reflected and shaped in the popular *hahamono* genre, several scholars identify the development of a new genre in the postwar era to address the image of the wife;

> The *tsuma-mono*, or wife picture… is a post-war development and
> reflects a very real change of Japanese attitude… it's a concern for the
> wife as individual which animates the film. (Richie 1961: 103)

While many *tsuma-mono* such as Naruse's did exhibit a concern for the 'wife as individual', later films, particularly in the noir, *yakuza* and thriller genres appear to have been more concerned by the possibility of hidden threats within the housewife's identity. Melodramas of the early 1950s depicted modern wives struggling with romantic expectation and boredom, building to the noir films of the late 1950s and 1960s which approached the image of the wife from a more sinister angle, hinting at a

deep social unease with the newly-created role. Performances such as Wakao Ayako's (1933-) in *A Wife Confesses* (*Tsuma wa kokuhakusuru*, Masumura Yasuzō, 1961), Hidari Sachiko's (1930-2001) in *Intentions of Murder* (*Akai satsui*, Imamura Shōhei, 1964), or Kyō Machiko's (1924-) in *The Key* hinted at unknowable and unpredictable elements within the wife image, perhaps related to discomforted awareness of the continuation of patriarchal structures in 'democratic' postwar Japan. The gangster genre participated in this expose of the secret life of wives, producing a series of narratives which cast the (often widowed) wife of a comrade as the criminal mastermind behind sinister events; Suzuki Seijun's *Youth of the Beast* (*Yajū no seishun*, 1963) is an example of this theme. In the *jidaigeki* genre, wife-images became the site of complex discussions on fidelity and tradition centred on narrative themes of adultery in such popular films as *Night Drum* (*Yoru no tsuzume*, Imai Tadashi, 1958) and *The Prodigal Son* (*Onna goroshi abura jigoku*, Horikawa Hiromichi, 1957), an ultra-violent remake of an earlier hit (*Onna goroshi abura jigoku*, Nobuchi Chō, 1949).

The housewife archetype speaks most directly to anxieties around the transition of power between the genders in the early postwar era. Filmic response is split along genre lines; while melodrama represented the challenges in the everyday lives of women inhabiting the newly imagined role of the postwar housewife, and often mediated the anxieties of performing this new role for its largely female viewership, the noir, thriller and gangster genres exposed the wife's suspected frustration and desire for personal expression or revenge, exemplified in Naruse's *The Stranger Within a Woman* (*Onna no naka ni iru tanin*, 1966). The reoccurring theme of wifely frustration hints that while the new constitution's reforms may not have achieved gender equality, stirrings of unease related to the continuing subordinate

position of women had begun in the national psyche. Social reforms during the occupation produced anxieties that the Japanese woman was to be made over by the Western occupiers in their own image, exemplified by the housewife's uniform of white blouse, skirt and Western-style half-apron, in contrast to the wartime wife and mothers' kimono and full sleeved apron.

SCAP's social reforms had a legislative basis in Article 24 of the postwar Constitution, which specifically invokes the role of the wife in Japan's new gender equality. The language of the document clearly suggests that gender equality was imagined first at the level of the home;

> Marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and it shall be maintained through mutual cooperation with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis. With regard to choice of spouse, property rights, inheritance, choice of domicile, divorce and other matters pertaining to marriage and the family, laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes. (Article 24, Japanese Constitution, 1947)

Subsequent to the introduction of the Constitution in 1947 however, many women found that 'their social, political, and economic condition either did not improve or improved very slowly' (Hane 1996: 150).

The housewife characters of Naruse's early postwar melodramas struggle with this dissonance between widespread social perception of drastic change and a relative lack of change in the actual experiences of everyday life. In *Repast*, which won second place in *Kinema Junpō*'s Best Ten of 1951, this dissonance is reflected in the casting of Hara Setsuko, whose 'Western' glamour jarrs with her performance as a

dowdy housewife. Michiyo is confined to the kitchen in a submissive role directly opposed to that of the flamboyant Nasu Taeko whom Hara portrayed in Kurosawa's *The Idiot* (*Hakuchi*, 1951), released six months earlier. Michiyo is spatially removed from and positioned low in the frame relative to her husband and his young niece, the other regular inhabitants of the home; she is often shown cooking in the sunken space of the kitchen or cleaning the tatami mats on hands and knees. In many ways, *Repast* presents an alternative view of the housewife from that of popular discourse. She is neither fully emancipated nor glamorous; though she wears Western dress until the last scene of the film, her housewife uniform contrasts with the up-to-date Western clothing of flirtatious niece Satoko (Shimazaki Yukiko, 1931-). Hara's representation of the housewife image suggests a gap between the American-styled housewife of popular discourse and the suburban reality.

At the same time however, the modern family unit with its emancipated female members was visible on billboards, on screen, and in the flourishing public press. At the level of mass media censorship, the CIE's attempt to encourage romantic love placed the couple at the centre of the family in an effort to destabilize elements of the pre-occupation *ie* system perceived as 'feudal', particularly those which privileged parent-child relations over the relationship of husband and wife. Producers of films, books and magazines were encouraged to depict young men and women choosing their marriage partners freely, and forming modern American-style nuclear families. However, studies on actual conditions within the postwar Japanese family indicate that SCAP's reforms penetrated only so far. Investigating for UNESCO in 1961, Koyama Takeshi found that many young couples accepted arranged marriages, that relations between husband and wife within the home remained unequal, and that the tradition of male inheritance was upheld by many families, often by female

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members (Koyama 1961: 45; 54). Perhaps Hara's variations on the disappointed housewife theme were particularly resonant for their viewers in this context.

Eiga Bunko claimed in October 1947 that 'Stars have stopped using *omiai* for marriage' (1947:54), suggesting that SCAP's encouragement of love-marriages had been taken up by popular stars. However, the article continues; 'In the film world, such marriages can bear beautiful fruit, but you can't see them in the real world' (1947:54). The popularity of the unmarried Hara's depictions of modern housewives constricted

Fig. 19; Michiyo hides her disappointment from her husband.

by their domestic roles and relations just as their predecessors had been suggests that viewers found something cathartic in the juxtaposition of star and everyday disappointment which Naruse's housewife characters presented. Though Satō Tadao described the life of the 'ordinary' (*heibon*) couple of *Repast* as 'lonely' (*wabishisa*) and 'dispassionate' (*tantan*) (1973a: 250), the film was popular at the box office. *Kinema Junpō* judge Togawa Naoki likewise described the couple's life as 'shabby' (*misuborashii*) and tiresome, however attendance indicates that the film was popular with audiences (2003b: 32). Togawa claims that such relationships as *Repast* depicts were often forgotten in film, though he argues, 'one sees them regularly' (2003b: 32). Perhaps this element of realism accounts in part for the film's popularity despite its bleak outlook. Togawa's comments support my hypothesis that there was a large gap between many depictions of domestic female roles and their lived realities, leading to postwar fears of the end of a 'traditional' Japanese way of life reflected and exaggerated in the housewife archetype onscreen.

The image of the housewife may owe a part of its popularity to its realism, as Togawa suggests. On the other hand, the conventions of melodrama also bring an element of glamour to the depiction of the everyday. Tania Modleski has argued that soap opera and melodrama texts use close-up shots to create a feeling of closeness for the (female) viewer.[14] 'Often only the audience is privileged to witness the characters' expressions, which are complex and intricately coded' (Modleski 2008: 91). In *Repast*, Michiyo attempts to hide her dissatisfaction from other characters; the audience is 'privileged' to witness her expressions of frustration and disappointment in close-up shots and in her first-person voice-over narration. A further impediment to reading the emotional tone of many scenes is presented by Hara's famous non-committal smile, an 'intricate code' signifying bitterness, which provides an element of satisfaction for the fan or seasoned melodrama viewer in their ability to read the coded sign.

Considering the role of star persona in viewer response to Naruse's housewife characters, we find that the techniques of melodrama which make the audience feel closer to the character also make them feel closer to the star. The viewer's sense of closeness to the dowdy Michiyo is therefore also a sense of closeness to glamorous Hara Setsuko. Two levels of identification are active here; a 'real' identification in the similarities of Michiyo's everyday life to the viewer's own, and a 'fantasy' identification with the desirable Hara. This dual identification presents a pleasurable possibility for the viewer of Naruse's bleak images of the postwar housewife, in that her disappointments are nonetheless allied to glamorous stars such as Hara. The use of star persona in such narratives affects the 'cruel optimism' of attachment in the terms described by Lauren Berlant.

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[14] De Lauretis has suggested that the 'woman's story' always speaks to the viewer as female, regardless of their gender (1984), a point Wada-Marciano has related to Japanese melodrama (Wada-Marciano 2008: 101).

When we talk about an object of desire we are really talking about a

cluster of promises we want someone or something to make to us and

make possible for us... proximity to the object means proximity to the

cluster of things that the object promises, some of which may be clear

to us while others not so much. In other words, all attachments are

optimistic. (Berlant 2010: 93)

The techniques of melodrama create a sense of closeness to the housewife character, and to the star who plays her. This affect creates an attachment to the character and/or to the star. Such an attachment is optimistic in the melodrama's promise of the potential for a re-formation of the self.

Fig. 20; Kogure Michiyo gives marital advice in *Eiga Fan* vol. 9 no. 2 (February) 1949.

Lila Abu-Lughod argues that melodrama is 'a technique for producing new kinds of selves' (2002: 117). However, the genre's role in this process is not imagined as utopic, as 'melodramas play a key role in individualizing viewers to convert them into subjects of the nation-state' (Abu-Lughod 2002: 117). While love dramas 'interpellate the subject to come to terms with its desires... what is produced in this process of subjectivization is the ideal – self-centered and pleasure-seeking consumer' (Abu-Lughod 2002: 117). In this way, the image of the female body presented by the melodrama can express viewer anxiety, but ultimately moderates that anxiety by re-positioning the viewers' subjectivity within a seductive capitalist framework.

Similarly, Modleski suggests that the repetitive nature of melodrama works 'to reconcile the housewife to the repetitive nature of her life and work within the home' (Modleski 2008: 90). I argue that Hara's repetitions on the housewife role reconcile the postwar housewife viewer to her life and work through the pleasurable and optimistic identification with the star persona. Though surveys indicate that male viewers of melodrama were fewer in number (Terasawa 2010: 110), the casting of glamorous female stars and the exposition of the housewife character's thoughts and feelings in close-up and voice-over may also have worked to mediate anxieties of the unknowable nature of this new domestic model of womanhood for viewers who did not identify personally with the housewife image.

Resisting identification as a housewife after marriage was problematic for female viewers and stars alike. While a fascination with stars and romance contributed to popular acceptance of stars who rejected the *omiai* system, female stars were generally expected to retire to the domestic sphere once married. *Eiga Bunko* lists the actresses who did so in 1947, claiming;

> Actresses are also women, and so often when they get married it is easy
> to say goodbye to work and become a housewife [*katei fujin*], its natural;
> really not one in ten women would want to live a single life devoted to
> the film world. (*Eiga Bunko* 1947: 30)

Though some retirements, such as that of Takasugi Sanae (1918-1995) 'met with reluctance [*oshimareta*] from every quarter' (*Eiga Bunko* 1947: 30), working after marriage appears to have seriously damaged the popularity of certain female stars in this period. The same article notes that Kusajima Kyōko appeared in *Five Women Around Utamaro* (*Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna*, Mizoguchi Kenji, 1946) after

marrying director Takagi Koichi, 'but showed none of her old charm' (1947: 32). Conversely, Harada Noboru notes that Takamine Mieko experienced a boom in popularity after marriage (1947: 35). Kogure Michiyo's popularity increased after marriage to such an extent that she was given a column on marital advice in *Eiga Fan* (1949). *Eiga Bunko*'s writers conclude; 'From the examples listed here, we can see that, if an actress marries after all, she can become a happy housewife, staying in' (1947: 32). The more conservative aspects of the housewife discourse had its counterpart in the 'real life' of the film world as well as in film texts, though gossip magazines' intimate interviews with retiring actresses presented the postwar housewife as a SCAP-influenced Americanized glamour figure far removed from everyday experiences. The *tsuma-mono* explored the inner life of the housewife within the context of an industry which explicitly supported the creation of this new domestic role. Testimonies of actresses becoming full-time housewives, and the image of the housewife on screen (of necessity often performed by unmarried actresses such as Hara Setsuko) demonstrates how the film industry presents layers of potential identifications from which the viewer can choose. In the case of the housewife archetype, potentially traumatic in its novelty and Western associations, this may have mediated elements of threat and positioned the *tsuma-mono* as ground for 'working through' social change.

Donald Richie maintains that Hara was 'the most typical wife' (1961: 104) on the postwar screen. Her roles in Naruse's melodramas depicted wives struggling to find a place in postwar society, often unsure of the romantic expectations of marital relationships. Hara's wife characters are often childless, placing the husband and wife relationship at the heart of the drama. Horiguchi notes that these relationships are spatially defined in relation to the structure of the house.

According to Nakafuru Satoshi, the art director of many of Naruse's films, the kitchen in *Meshi* is "a privileged space for women" and "Michiyo's sacred area," containing "the god of the stove" (*kamado gami*). Considering that many male policy makers in modern Japan categorize women in diametrically opposed categories – as either sacred mothers and wives or filthy whores - this division defines and privileges the kitchen as a "sacred area". (Horiguchi 2012: 161)

The wife image was sanctified within this polarized structure through use of both space and costume, as Hara's reserved style contrasts with the flashy western dress of her rivals. However, the 'sacred' figure of the housewife portrayed by Hara had an underside; Yomota argues that her performances transmit the 'weariness' (*kentai*) of the recently married wife (2000: 182). This weariness highlights the gap between expectation and reality; marked as a novel import from America, the housewife was often depicted leading a luxurious and convenient life. Koyama observes that this was not always the case;

Since the last world war, the idea of 'democracy', which is penetrating gradually into home life, and technological changes in the form of modern appliances and conveniences, which are lightening housework, are being diffused and they have contributed to reduce women's burden in housework in both rural and urban areas. But it must not be forgotten that current economic conditions impose upon the housewife a much heavier financial burden that offsets the gains from technological inventions. (Koyama 1961: 62)

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Koyama conflates democracy, in this case the American-styled democracy of the occupation, with the technological changes which condition the lifestyle of the housewife. His reminder of the 'heavier financial burden' imposed upon the housewife in the early 1960s refers to the financial crisis postwar Japan was still mediating in 1961, and to the housewife's role as financial first line of defence for the family. Koyama's observation also serves to underline that reforms, both social and financial, often took time to filter throughout Japanese society. This would explain the repeated use of the term *kentai* or 'weariness' in reviews of Naruse's housewife dramas (Satō 1973b: 172; Satō 1973c: 227), and perhaps to an extent the popularity of such depressing fare which generated its frequent repetitions. The image of the weary housewife of Japanese melodrama may have provided the viewer with a more recognisable image of her reality than those of Hollywood or advertising, while associating the role with the glamour of the star persona; Horiguchi suggests that 'we can look at Naruse's postwar films as a complex response to the 'failed promise of democracy'' (2012: 165), but the films themselves continued to make affective promises to their viewers through the aspirational bodies of the stars.

Though critics articulate their appreciation for elements of realism in the *tsuma-mono*, frequently claiming to have seen such 'types' of women in their real lives (Togawa 2003b: 32; Kitagawa and Togawa 1993: 164), the housewife onscreen cannot be taken as a literal representation of everyday experiences. Liddle and Nakajima argue that the predominant image of the full-time 'professional housewife' is 'not supported by the evidence of women's participation in the employment field' (2000: 175), and so the realities of the everyday lives of postwar wives will have been very different from those depicted onscreen. However, the screen presence of the housewife is in itself of interest to this study, which questions why certain recurring

female images found popularity in the postwar period. If the screen housewife is not a reflection of actual experience, why was the *tsuma-mono* such a popular genre? In the November 1947 issue of *Kinema Junpō*, for example, three of the five films reviewed feature the word 'wife' (*tsuma)* in their titles, while the proliferation of articles in the gossip magazines dealing with star marriages and actresses' domestic roles indicate great popular interest in the wife archetype.

The prominence of the Housewives Association, known as *Shufuren*, in postwar political discourse perhaps suggested to the general public that the housewife demographic was larger than it actually was, both numerically and in terms of political influence. Members of the association took part in popular political debates on prostitution and war guilt, and like the figure of the mother, often sought to allay the image of the wife to that of wartime innocence; 'the issue of the war responsibility was raised by ordinary housewives, who themselves were led into it and suffered from it' (Tsurumi 1970: 273). The visibility of the housewife in the political arenas of the postwar coincided with the introduction of a darker side to the role on screen, demonstrated by the characterization of wives in many films within the noir, thriller and *yakuza* genres. Even in melodrama the image of the wife began to carry strange or suspicious associations.

As the housewife rose to political prominence, public opinion on family reform remained split; 'According to a survey by the *Asahi Shimbun* in April 1947, 57.9 per cent of respondents supported the family reform, 37.4 were opposed and 4.7 "did not know"' (Mackie 2003: 129). Meanwhile, divorce rates rose from 49,705 in 1943 to 79, 551 after the new Civil Code was passed in 1947 and on to 83,689 in 1950. The number of divorce suits instituted by women continued to increase, with 77.2 per cent of all divorce suits brought by wives in 1952 (Koyama 1961: 48), suggesting that

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in this instance at least, there was actual and drastic change occurring within the Japanese family. As reflected in Ozu's *The Flavour of Green Tea Over Rice* (*Ochazuke no aji*, 1952), many women were aware of their new rights to initiate divorce proceedings. Hane cautions that while the 'wife gained the rights to own property independently and to obtain a divorce on the same grounds that men could use… these legal changes, of course, did not bring about an immediate end to the old ways' (Hane 1996: 33) though the social and legal position of wives did change radically.

In the early days of Japan's recovery when surviving soldiers often returned to find their homes bombed, their families gone, partners remarried, or wives and children out working, this change was experienced as traumatic as it coincided with a total sense of loss of which the loss of the 'wife as property' was often perceived as a part. As many ex-soldiers struggled to find work in the economic depression of the post defeat era, female staff were required in the offices of the Allied personnel as secretaries, cleaners and domestic helpers, and so many women worked close to the new sources of power. The relative independence and earning capacity of women in postwar Japan did not originate in Allied social reforms alone, but were encouraged by necessity.

> While these legal changes were important in setting up a framework for the reorganization of gender relations after the war, they were only a reflection of changes in thought, outlook, behaviour and practices that Japanese women had already made themselves as a result of their wartime experiences… many Japanese women had already emerged into subject positioning, willingly or unwillingly, and had struggled to

take up and retain strategic empowerments which men had vacated.

(Liddle and Nakajima 2000: 149)

The hostile responses of returning soldiers to female employment were generated by a perception of female labourers as usurping masculine power. Anxiety as to their personal relevance in the changing context of postwar Japan also struck the returnees, and these twin crises were played out on screen in the image of the postwar wife.

Reviewing Ozu's *A Hen in The Wind* (*Kaze no naka no mendori*, 1948), which won seventh place in the *Kinema Junpō* Best Ten of 1948, Kitagawa Fuyuhiko and Togawa Naoki suggest that the domestic violence perpetrated by the returning soldier against his wife Tokiko (Tanaka Kinuyo) reveals his 'worried and angry state' (Kitagawa and Togawa 1993: 164). They suppose that it is unlikely that the soldier 'has not been close to another woman in all the four years at war', and so his criticism of his wife (who has engaged in a one-off prostitution transaction to pay for their son's hospital bill) is actually self-criticism (Kitagawa and Togawa 1993: 165). This suggests that the image of the wife on film may have been a convenient target for hostility re-directed from memories of wartime guilt.

Kitagawa and Togawa echo Hane's reservations as to the actual practical effect of SCAP's reforms on the family unit as they address other reviews, which find the depiction of the wife unsatisfactory in its representation of the female body as a commodity to be used for male convenience. Critics claimed to have seen 'such women' in real life; Yoshida Kijū similarly argued that the film 'starkly reflects urgent postwar
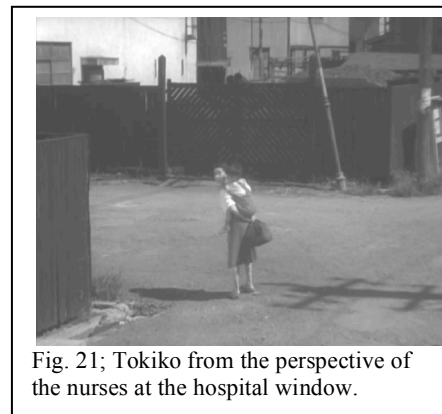
Fig. 21; Tokiko from the perspective of the nurses at the hospital window.

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conditions' (2003: 55), while Togawa called it 'realistic' (*haisen no genjitsu o mitsumeta*) (1973b: 71).

Tanaka Kinuyo's star persona, with its associations of suffering and stoic endurance, mediates the one-dimensional characterization of Tokiko to an extent; 'she delivers emotion and dynamism, even in the face of this psychology' (Kitagawa and Togawa 1993: 165). Critic Yasuda Sumio similarly responded to the film positively, claiming that it was 'eagerly awaited' (*shitanamezuri*) and that 'it's no exaggeration to say it's enjoyable to watch' (1948: 39). He comments on the inscrutability of the housewife however, observing that 'the female character's life is not understandable [*nomikomenai*]. Though we understand her actions, we don't know what is happening inside' (Yasuda 1948: 39). In contrast to the frequent close-ups and intimate framing of Hara Setsuko in Naruse's *Repast*, Tanaka is shot full-length carrying her son on her back, emphasizing the centrality of her role as a mother to her characterization. Several shots are high-angled and distant, filmed from the perspective of fellow inhabitants of the suburb who watch her from their windows, such as the nurses who watch Tokiko leave her son's hospital (fig. 21). Just as melodrama often casts the viewer as a mother, this framing casts the viewer as a fellow housewife, watching one's neighbours from the window.

The high angles and distance of the shots posit Tokiko as a helpless pawn in the developments of the narrative. In the climactic scene where her husband pushes her down a flight of stairs, Tokiko's body is shot from his perspective as he stands on the staircase insisting "You're alright!" As the landlady enters, the camera cuts to a full-length shot of Tokiko sitting upright, framed by the *shōji* screens in a manner which places the viewer in the position of the landlady, as an outsider.

Fig. 22; Tokiko addresses Chieko.

Fig. 23; A distraught Tokiko explains her adultery to a photograph of her husband.

In the first half of the film, Tokiko is presented in keeping with Tanaka's star persona as close and available to the viewer. Ozu's famous shot-reverse-shot technique is employed in Tokiko's frequent consultations with her friend Chieko; in these scenes, the viewer plays the part of Chieko as Tanaka gazes directly at the camera, creating a sense of closeness as she discusses her emotional and financial concerns (fig. 22). However, the viewer is also cast as Tokiko's absent husband in the scenes before his return in shot-reverse-shot sequences in which Tanaka apologizes to a photograph of her husband. In the scenes before his return, Tokiko is presented as a mother; the viewer is encouraged to understand and sympathize with her motives in several scenes in which we are drawn into a feeling of closeness with her while she explains her situation in monologue or conversation. However when her husband returns, the re-positioning of Tokiko as wife causes a disruption in our identification as her feelings and motives are now hidden from both her husband and the viewer.

Two emotionally charged scenes demonstrate this shift. In the first, Tokiko confesses her work as a prostitute to her friend; in the second, her husband flings her down the stairs. In the first scene, the camera breaks the sequence of matched shot-reverse-shots to focus a long shot on Tanaka as she bursts into tears. While previous close-ups
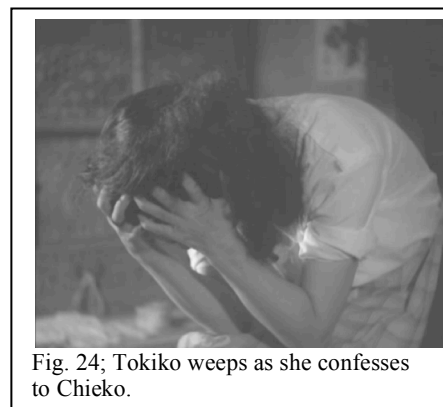
Fig. 24; Tokiko weeps as she confesses to Chieko.

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Fig. 25; Tokiko seen from Shuichi's perspective after the fall.

Fig. 26; Tokiko rises, seen from seated level in the corridor.

Fig. 27; Tokiko rising, seen from the hallway.

framed both women from the waist up, the camera zooms in to a tighter shot of Tanaka's head and shoulders, giving the viewer a close-up of her distress (fig. 24). The second scene is comprised of a succession of three short shots, the first of the full length of Tanaka's body from Shuichi's perspective on the stairs (fig. 25), then a full-length shot of Tanaka dragging her body to a seated position (fig. 26), and finally a shot of her rising to greet the landlady, from the perspective of an onlooker in the hall (fig. 27). This scene actively distances the viewer from Tokiko's emotional response, creating a sense of the wife archetype as unknowable. David Bordwell has observed that the film is really two halves, one centred on the wife and the 'second', which starts over again revisiting the locales of the first, centred on the husband (1988: 303). Though mother-Tokiko had been an image of closeness and identification in the first section of the film, this structure creates a distance between the viewer and wife-Tokiko.

Ozu's presentation of Tokiko is an early example of the trend I wish to discuss in the last part of this chapter, which highlights the conflicting elements of the dual roles of mother and wife occupied by many postwar women. Tokiko's duty as a mother directly contradicts her obligations as a wife, in that her prostitution supports her child financially but transgresses the conditions of her marriage. The depiction of

mother/wife images in postwar film often highlight the inability of the female image to sustain the obligations of both roles, reflecting the negative impact of the splitting of mother and wife roles in SCAP propaganda. Ten years after Ozu's film, Ichikawa Kon's *The Key* took up the same issue in the thriller genre. Based on a popular novel by Tanizaki Junichirō, the film presents a devious patriarch who conspires to bring about an affair between his young wife and his doctor, though the doctor is already romantically involved with the daughter of the family. All characters are presented as thoroughly unsympathetic, and the *mise-en-scène* is deliberately bleak. Kyō Machiko as Ikuko struggles with the competing obligations of her roles as wife and mother;

while her husband pushes her to increasingly risqué sexual display with the young doctor, her daughter's relationship to the man problematizes her motherly role. Unlike the sympathetic depiction of Tokiko in *A Hen in the Wind*, in the

Fig. 28; Ikuko glances at the camera.

thriller genre the contested wife/mother image is sinister; Kyō is made up to a waxy pallor with oddly angular eyebrows, reminiscent of her famous performance in *Tales of Ugetsu* (*Ugetsu monogatari*, Mizoguchi Kenji, 1953) as the ghostly seductive noblewoman Lady Wakasa. Ikuko's characterization is similarly constructed, in that several characters comment on her upper-class background as the daughter of a priest and Kyō is often shot moving slowly in sinister tight close-ups reminiscent of the visual codes of the horror genre. In a scene in which she causes her husband to have a fatal stroke by undressing in front of him, this technique is used to cast her wifely compliance in a sinister light as she glances towards the camera. Wifely sexuality is depicted as suspect by the inclusion of several shots of large aggressive cats, a symbol of female sexuality in Japanese art history.

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Though *The Key* won the jury prize at Cannes film festival in 1959 and ninth

place in *Kinema Junpō*'s Best Ten of the same year, domestic audiences received the

threatening image of the wife/mother as comedic rather than troubling. Reviewing the

film for *Eiga Geijutsu* in September 1959, Uryū Tadao reports that the audience

laughed out loud at several points, notably during the scenes in which Nakadai

Tatsuya (1932-) as the young doctor is shown pictures of the naked Ikuko, and again

as she is driven home unconscious and naked after a fainting fit (1959: 62). This could

perhaps be explained by Nakadai's comedic expressions, however many reviews

describe the film as 'intensely sexual' (*hageshiku seiteki*) (Uryū 1959: 63). Uryū

argues that the film 'can make one feel the sexual intercourse directly' (*seikō o

chokugo ni kanjisaseru koto ga dekiru*) however, he reports that members of the

audience near him commented 'Isn't it strange' (*kawatte iru ne*) (1959: 63),

suggesting popular reception tended towards scandalized curiosity rather than serious

consideration. Nonetheless, images such as that of the strange and devious Ikuko were

repeated often throughout the next decade of noir and thriller productions, suggesting

that the deceptive wife trope was popular enough to be revisited frequently. I argue

that the reoccurrence of images of the threatening wife on film were occasioned by

popular struggles with the new identity of the housewife in postwar Japan, and its

affect on the role and responsibilities of the mother.

In the early 1960s, a new genre of sophisticated melodrama written and

directed by filmmakers of the avant-garde movement began to experiment with ways

to reconcile the domestic roles of mother and wife in a sympathetic character. This

was often achieved by producing nostalgic affect and subverting certain codes of

melodrama. Matsuyama Zenzo's *The Happiness of Us Alone*, which took sixth place

in *Kinema Junpō*'s Best Ten for 1961, stars Takamine Hideko as the wife and mother

of a young family facing poverty and many other challenges, a role she had repeated many times in Naruse's melodramas of the mid 1950s. In this reworking of the trope however, Takamine's character is deaf, and her husband is deaf and mute. The two come together having suffered discrimination and cruelty at the hands of the rest of the community, including her own family and the family of her first husband.

In the first stages of the narrative, Takamine's Akiko is presented as a failed mother; her first child, adopted during an air raid, is taken away, while her second dies after a fall. The third child survives but initially proves difficult; ashamed of his mother's deafness he dissuades her from taking a public role in his life. A subversion of the codes of the *hahamono* is used to improve the mother/child relationship; speaking up as she cannot, the son petitions his mother's employer for a fairer wage for her work. This is a reversal of the motif common to the traditional *hahamono* in which the mother sacrifices for her children without their acknowledgement or return. In this re-imagining of parent-child responsibilities, the son discovers respect for his mother. Her re-instatement as a successful maternal figure is confirmed by the return of the boy whom she adopted in wartime. However, their reunion is foreclosed by her sudden death, reasserting the conventions of the *hahamono* genre.

Frequent close-ups on Takamine's expressive face tie viewer sympathy to her character and keep the audience invested throughout her suffering; critic Kusakabe
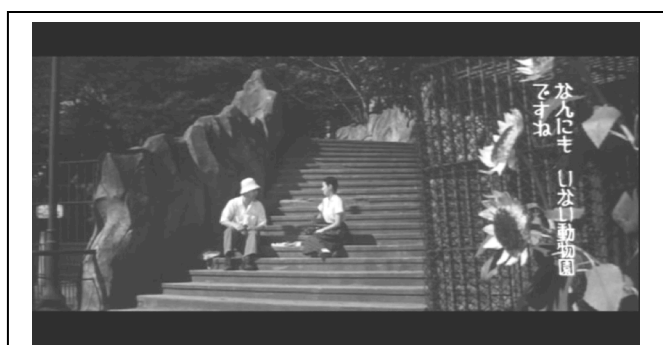
Fig. 29; A long shot of the deaf couple's courtship is subtitled for the sign language dialogue.

Kyūshirō described the film as 'moving' (*kandō*) (1973: 187). The couple's disability invokes gentle nostalgia in the courtship segment of the narrative and in the conjugal relationship

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throughout the film. As the couple communicate in subtitled sign language, the camera often mirrors the aesthetics of early silent film, framing the actors in long shots, positioned some distance apart. The soundtrack is romantically nostalgic, and soft-focus tightly framed close-ups on the couple's faces as they interact produce a sense of old-world screen glamour. The performances are expressive, calling to mind the mannered acting style of earlier cinema and referencing Takamine's star persona which encompassed lively facial expressions and gestures.

Disability is re-articulated as strength in the context of the challenging postwar era, as the couple's business wins an exclusive contract for the local US army base thanks to their ability to communicate non-linguistically. Their deafness is also depicted as strength in their marital relationship; when Akiko tries to leave the marriage, ashamed of the hardship her family cause her husband, he pursues her and boards the wrong train carriage. They discuss the problem by signing through their respective carriage windows as he articulates their marriage in terms of postwar gender equality; "We are married; why must you suffer alone?" She counters in the language of the pre-war *ie* system; "I have brought you nothing but trouble", but she is persuaded by his insistence that they work together as a couple to overcome their disability and hardship.

Though the film situates the family within the postwar context in terms of poverty and the presence of Allied forces, the narrative construct of their deafness also allows for frequent close-ups on the couple's gestures and facial

Fig. 30; Close-up of Takamine Hideko in *The Happiness of Us Alone.*

expressions, creating the sense of intimacy common to the melodrama genre. In the scene on the train, both are framed by their respective windows, shutting out the crowds in the packed carriages. Takamine is shot in soft focus, her hand pressed against the window recalling the famous kiss through a window pane in *Until the Day We Meet Again* (*Mata au hi made*, Imai Tadashi, 1950). In the romantic scenarios afforded by introducing disability into the narrative, the film can synchronize the roles of wife and mother by presenting the harsh conditions of the *hahamono* and the soft focus of the romance genre simultaneously.

As Akiko is deaf while her husband is deaf and mute, she has an equal or leading role in the family which reflects the expectations of the role of an emancipated woman in postwar Japan without disrupting accepted pre-war family arrangements too radically. Her abilities are greater than her husband's, which allows her character to present a progressive housewife-image, but lesser than her non-deaf child's, allowing him greater autonomy within the family and circumventing the autocratic parental trope problematic in the context of postwar generational conflict. Shindō Kaneto applied similar strategies in *Mother,* which took eighth place in the *Kinema Junpō* Best Ten of 1963. Nostalgia and disadvantage are invoked to circumvent problematic conventions of the *hahamono* and present a sympathetic yet successful mother image.

Fig. 31; Tamiko suffers in front of the Hiroshima Dome.
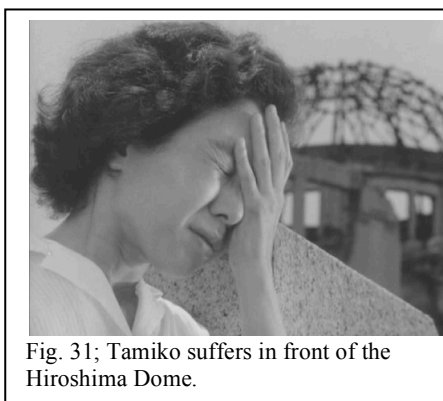
Star persona is also central to Otowa Nobuko's representation of the struggling Tamiko, whose son requires expensive treatment for a brain tumour. The film is set in Hiroshima, enabling Shindō to reprise his earlier presentation of Otowa as an image of female

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innocence and suffering in *Children of the Bomb* (*Genbaku no ko*, Shindō Kaneto, 1952) by positioning her in several shots which show the devastation of the atomic bombing, such as the Hiroshima Dome. Satō Takeshi observes that 'family' 'love' and 'children' were keywords in the portrayal of Hiroshima and Nagasaki onscreen, aimed at engaging the sympathy of viewers (2009: 223), while the narrative trope of a sick child's hospital bill requiring a marriage is typical of the conventions of the *hahamono*. However Tamiko's new husband is Korean, giving her a stronger position in their marriage as a native Japanese citizen who is not subject to the same discrimination. The child dies, but Tamiko's commitment to her wifely role, expressed in her determination to provide her husband with sexual satisfaction, results in a pregnancy at the end of the narrative which re-positions her as a successful mother and wife.

Hirai Akira emphasizes the sexual aspect of Tamiko's characterization, suggesting that the image of the sexualized mother could mediate the residual trauma of Japan's defeat and wartime suffering; 'Director Shindō Kaneto shows that even against the background of bomb-destroyed Hiroshima, inside woman still lingers the image of sex and love' (*kōhaishita genbaku no machi Hiroshima o haikei ni, onna no naiou ni hisomu sekkusu to ai o egaki*) (1973: 217). Tamiko's body is sexualized in extreme close-ups of her feet, her body under light clothing, and sweat on the surface of her skin. However, her voice-over, which articulates her determination to express gratitude for her new husband's financial care of her child by embracing the sexual aspect of her role as wife positions her sexualization as both wifely and motherly. Juxtaposition of the images of wife and mother in the context of nostalgia and handicap 'purify' the sexualized mother image of the New Wave to allow for the development of a hybrid *haha/tsuma-mono* genre. Shindō and Matsuyama use

nostalgic imagery and themes of disability and disadvantage to create mother/wife images which are successfully synchronized to present the domestic female body in accord with SCAP's postwar reforms without challenging the patriarchal status quo.

Mothers, Wives, and War Memory

> At least within the domain of representation, Japanese women as gendered and nationalized subjects, fully enfranchised by postwar reforms, became officially sanctioned and visible political actors and thereby enacted the dramatic metamorphosis of the nation's character. At the same time, the amnes(t)ic remembering of the nation's past has been closely linked to the production of memories of women and mothers as victims of the patriarchal and military regime prior to the war's end, and as postwar victims of the U.S. nuclear and military domination. (Yoneyama 1999: 34)

Yoneyama's observation suggests that mother and housewife archetypes may have problematized postwar Japanese film's potential to express and mediate national anxieties, as both archetypes are split along the lines of memory. While housewives and mothers strove to re-imagine Japan's wartime past as one in which they played no part, their ability to help form a postwar Japan was compromised. Japanese citizens must have felt deeply ambivalent about this; I suggest that the postwar filmic representations of mothers and wives express this ambivalence.

At the same time, the film texts examined here attempt to mediate the troubled and troubling presence of these archetypal structures by placing the viewer themselves in the contested position of innocence. That these characters were both attractive and repulsive to viewers suggests that we can read the female image as an

image of trauma in itself; 'a trauma draws one to it even as it demands acknowledgement that one can never comprehend what happened there' (Roth 1995: 94). The postwar wife and mother demanded that the viewer recognize her innocence while insisting on unknowable depths of suffering; the filmic images of the period express and mediate this contradiction through film style, star persona and nostalgic affect.

The next chapter moves the discussion on from suffering and war memory to the forward-looking 'new life' discourse of the postwar period, embodied in images of female youth. While the mother image struggled and merged with the wife archetype on screen, daughters and schoolgirls carved out a path for a new female image in postwar Japan.

CHAPTER 3

Public Bodies

Images of women in popular culture have served on the one hand to re-

inscribe traditional roles into post-war Japanese society and, on the

other, to offer visions of escape from them. (Napier 1998: 91)

Postwar emancipation of women led to a proliferation of female bodies in the

workplace and on the street, positing the female body as a public image in a period of

constant change. While chapter two argued for the domestic female image on film as

reflective and mediative of emotionally-charged discourses on war guilt and

victimhood, this chapter addresses a group of images collectivized as 'public bodies'

which demonstrate how the youthful female image, initially received as a symbol of

innocence in the early postwar period, became problematized and subverted in the late

1950s and 1960s, leading to the development of modern female archetypes which

were simultaneously aspirational and scapegoat figures.

I suggest that the young female image was central to the negotiation of the

'traumatic effects' (Hansen 2000b: 341) of Japan's rapid modernization and

Westernization during the occupation period (1945-1952) and its aftermath. Analysis

of the image of the public female body presented in depictions of female youth in

postwar Japan reveals the occupation forces' social reforms 'reflected, rejected or

disavowed, transmuted or negotiated' (Hansen 2000b: 342), as were national anxieties

relating to Japan's wartime defeat and war guilt.

The first part of this chapter analyses the reoccurring archetypes of the filial daughter and schoolgirl and the self-sacrificing schoolteacher or nurse. These images are cathartic expressions of postwar trauma in their focus on loss and victimhood, which forecloses discussion of Japan's war guilt. The 'new life' aspect to characters such as Nakakita Chieko's (1926-2005) nurse and Kuga Yoshiko's (1931-) tubercular schoolgirl in Kurosawa Akira's (1910-1998) *Drunken Angel* (*Yoidore tenshi*, 1948) contributes to popular understanding of the postwar as a time of brave rebuilding, imagined through the image of the young female body in the public sphere.

This 'new life' aspect developed in the mid-1950s into a new type of young female character; the second part of this chapter posits this image as a new 'modern girl', similar in dress and attitude to that of the pre-war modern girl or '*moga*', but with a hard edge and self-reliance which the earlier *moga* lacks. Ōshima Nagisa's (1932-2013) heroines, particularly the hardened Hanako of *The Sun's Burial* (*Taiyō no hakaba*, 1960), and Imamura Shōhei's (1926-2006) victim-heroines, such as Haruko of *Pigs and Battleships* (*Buta to gunkan*, 1961), are examples of this trend. This archetype is concomitantly developed in the work of *avant-garde* directors such as Ōshima and Imamura and in popular B-movie productions of the same period. In the B-movie *yakuza* genre Mihara Yōko (1933-) repeatedly starred as a *moga*-influenced gangsters' moll throughout Iishi Teruo's (1924-2005) *Line* series; *White Line* (*Shirosen himitsu chitai*, 1958), *Black Line* (*Kurosen chitai*, 1960), *Yellow Line* (*Ōsen chitai*, 1960), *Sexy Line* (*Sekushii chitai*, 1961), and *Fire Line* (*Kasen chitai*, 1961), written by Teruo Ishii and directed by Takebe Hiromichi. Widespread re-occurrence of the modern girl image suggests that social anxieties similar to those of the pre-war persist in the postwar, such as popular perception of Westernization and modernization as corrupting forces, particularly for young women. While this thesis

argues for the reoccurring female image on film as a reflection and mediation of national trauma in the context of Japan's wartime defeat, this trauma often took forms similar to those of national anxieties of other periods.

The increase in physical violence perpetrated on the new *moga* indicates that the image is also a foil for new and pressing anxieties related to the abrupt social changes brought about by the end of the Imperial war effort and the emancipation of women. Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano argues that the pre-war *moga* image allowed the viewer to feel at one with the changing times, and at the same time provided cathartic affect in her final destruction and the narrative return to the status quo (2008: 87). That the new *moga* serves a similar function in postwar film is particularly evident in the modern girl characterizations of the *taiyōzoku* genre, who are repeatedly killed off at the end of the film. In the *avant-garde* genres and in many B movies released in the late 1950s and the early 1960s however, the postwar modern girl is allowed to live past the end of the narrative, repeatedly walking off into the camera to start a new life with or without the male hero and love interest.

As in previous chapters, the films selected as case studies here are those which have generated most discussion and critical response in the popular film magazines of the period. However, the films singled out for critical appraisal in the print media of this period tend towards the high-brow 'tendency film' (*keikō eiga*), the humanist epic, or the high-quality end of the romance and melodrama genre. The second part of this chapter will begin from analysis of these texts to argue for the development of a new type of modern girl image, broadening the research focus to include popular 'B movie' series. These films are considered too 'low brow' for the attentions of *Eiga Hyōron*, *Eiga Geijutsu* and *Kinema Junpō* critics, and outside the interests of the readership of gossip magazines such as *Eiga Fan, Eiga Romansu* and *Eiga Bunko*, which focused

on news of romance and female stars' personal lives. The B movies discussed here are of the *yakuza* genre popularly considered to be outside the 'serious' interests of the cinephile and the 'feminine' interests of the gossip magazine reader. Though there is little coverage of B movies in the contemporary popular press, box office figures and the high incidence of sequels, remakes and repetition in casting and characterization indicate their popularity. Films such as the *Line* series are therefore central to the investigative aims of this thesis, for which a film's popularity is indication of its strong affect on audiences. My analysis of these texts is grounded in iconographic analysis of filmic imagery, contextualized by the popular themes articulated by critics in the period around their distribution.

New Life Discourses and Images of Youth

In the first years of the occupation, the offices of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (hereafter SCAP) were proactive in encouraging the production of films which reflected the occupiers' democratic agenda. The Motion Picture division of the Civil Information and Education department (hereafter CIE) approached film as a tool for the re-education of the Japanese people in creating an American-styled democracy, as discussed in chapters one and two. There are substantial indications that films were popularly consumed according to this rhetoric, at least by critics who contributed to popular film journals. *Eiga Hyōron*, *Eiga Geijutsu* and *Kinema Junpō*, and gossip magazines *Eiga Fan, Eiga Romansu* and *Eiga Bunko* all refer repeatedly to the films of the late 1940s and early 1950s as products of Japan's 'soul searching' (*hansei*) in the aftermath of defeat (Mizumachi 1945: 13) and the nation's eventual 'rebuilding' (*kensetsu*) (Uehara 1947: 41) and 'recovery' (*kaifuku*) (Kitagawa 1946: 46). Uehara Ichirō argues that 'Japanese film is instrumental in explaining democracy

[*minshushugi*] to the people, though understanding of democracy is still insufficient'

(1947: 39). Uehara suggests that this insufficiency is apparent in the contribution of

many films to the '*damasareteita*' or victim complex (1947: 41), a recurring theme in

films which took a young female character as protagonist. This chapter argues that the

dual themes of postwar democracy and victim consciousness are embodied in the

image of female youth in the early postwar period.

Uehara separates postwar film into 'two main types'; 'exposé films' (*bakuro*

eiga) and political satire films (*seijifūshi eiga*) (1947: 39). 'Exposé films seek to

uncover the inequalities and manipulations within wartime and postwar society from a

humanist perspective, exposing 'the bad deeds of the past' (*kako no aku*) (Uehara

1947: 41), while satire films do the same from a comedic angle. Images of youth were

instrumental to the political agendas of these 'types' of film as early postwar

storylines often structured their narratives around the revelation of the harsh realities

of life to a protagonist on the verge of adulthood. While Uehara believes such

narratives were productive in the development of democracy, he argues that the

satirical humanist genre film often suffers from a 'crude immaturity' (*seikō mijuku*) in

dealing with these themes (Uehara 1947: 41). This may explain why the exposé film

was the more popular genre at the box office and with contemporary critics.

Uehara identifies films such as Kurosawa's *No Regrets for Our Youth* (*Waga*

seishun ni kuinashi, 1946) as 'rebuilding' films (*kensetsu*) which use 'emotional

labour' (*jōrō*) to secure audiences' affective investment in the narrative and in the

fates of the characters (Uehara 1947: 41). I suggest that this 'emotional labour' is

particularly affecting when embodied by a young female character, as teenage

protagonists are popularly characterized as sites of excess emotion due to the

hormonal changes occurring in the adolescent body.[15] Such characterizations also play on 'the cultural association of the female body with a more emphatic, wilder expressivity [which] makes this body a particularly productive site for the emergence of the affective-performative' (del Río 2008: 31).

Uehara argues that such 'rebuilding' films do not display 'clear tendencies' (*meiryōna keikō*), but use 'positivity' (*sekkyokuteki*) and uplifting sentiment to 'move audiences emotionally' (Uehara 1947: 41). As images of youth are often coded with positivity and lightness, the youthful female image can mediate the adverse tendencies of the 'rebuilding' genre. Uehara suggests that 'if you fail to take great care, ideas [based on concepts and theories not supported by practice, or without any regard to reality] tend to be over-theoretical' (*ukkari suru to kannen dake ga sakibashitta mono to narigachina no de aru*) in many 'rebuilding' films, and that such adverse tendencies render the depiction of rebuilding Japanese society particularly difficult (*muzukashii*) in the early postwar period (Uehara 1947: 41). Such difficulties are evident in the popular reception of *No Regrets for Our Youth*, as critics and viewers complained of the overwhelming forcefulness of protagonist Yukie's characterization. However, Uehara argues that such 'idea films' can ultimately 'amend attitudes one step at a time' (*zenshi kono keikō wa shūseiserare*) (Uehara 1947: 42). He describes 'idea films' such as *No Regrets for Our Youth* as 'open, unconcealed, and frank' (*rokotsu*); we can also see these desirable qualities in the characterizations of the daughters and schoolgirls which proliferate in the tendency and idea films of the late 1940s.

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[15] This is also true of many male teenage characters in the popular films of the 1940s and early 1950s, particularly those played by Ishihama Akira (1935-). Haruhiko of *Youth of the Son* (*Musuko no seishun*, Kobayashi Masaki, 1952) and Hiroshi of *A Sincere Heart* (*Magokoro*, Kobayashi Masaki, 1953), both played by Ishihama, are repeatedly shot weeping dramatically in tight close-ups and indulging in romantic day dreams.

Humanist (*hyūmanisuto*) films such as *No Regrets for Our Youth* and *Drunken Angel*, Yoshimura Kōzaburō's (1911-2000) *Ball at the Anjō House* (*Anjō ke no butōkai*, 1947), and Imai Tadashi's (1912-1991) *Blue Mountains* (*Aoi sanmyaku*, 1949) all depict daughters and schoolgirls teaching their elders the meaning of postwar democracy. The image of the schoolgirl reflected many aspects of SCAP's social reforms such as the development of new attitudes towards sex and gender relations. This theme is central to the narrative of Naruse Mikio's (1905-1969) *Spring Awakens* (*Haru no mezame*, 1947), in which a group of schoolgirls experience their first loves and sexual desires. Recent scholarship has highlighted the importance of *shōjo* or 'girl' culture in *anime* and *manga* (Napier 1998; Kinsella 2000; 2007; Galbraith 2009; 2012), however film scholarship has yet to analyse the impact of the image of the girl in early postwar Japanese film. Using a hybrid of iconographic analysis and archival research from the popular journals of the period, this chapter attempts to address this gap.

Becoming Women in Public: The *Shōjo* Sets the Scene for a Nation's Rebirth

In the history of *shōjo* culture, the image of the girl is presented as ambivalent, liminal and transient, often described using an onomatopoetic word for fluttering (*hirahira*) (Honda 1982: 135–202). Aoyama Tomoko interprets Honda Masako's description of *hirahira* as encapsulating 'not only the aestheticized ephemerality of the girl and her culture in wide-ranging forms and genres from late Meiji to the present day, but also her subversiveness against the patriarchal norms' (Aoyama 2008: 208). The girls of *No Regrets for Our Youth* and *Ball at the Anjō House* challenge the patriarchal norms of wartime and pre-war Japanese society, applying the lightness of the *shōjo*'s *hirahira* qualities to the weighty topic of postwar reform. This renders the

subject cinematic and entertaining rather than painful and undesirable to watch. Light-hearted images of female youth have long been understood as a major attraction in Japanese cinema; Shōchiku head Kido Shirō's (1893-1977) awareness of this phenomenon instigated the studio's pre-war search for young actresses. Kido stipulated that girl stars were to be 'sprightly, brave, optimistic and forward-looking' (High 2003: 13), qualities which were re-invoked in the postwar image of the girl, and developed to espouse American-style democracy.

Hara Setsuko's (1920-) performance as Yukie in *No Regrets for Our Youth* is the earliest example of a trend dominant throughout the occupation which married SCAP's re-education agenda to the qualities of the pre-war girl star. Yukie conforms to Kido's ideal in that she is 'sprightly, brave, optimistic and forward-looking', however the character was not well received by contemporary audiences, although the film was successful at the box office and ranked second in *Kinema Junpō*'s Best Ten of 1946. While specific criticisms of Hara's performance can be found in chapter one, it is notable that negative criticism of Yukie's characterization is focused on the character's later life after marriage. There is little negative criticism of the portrayal of Yukie's early years, though Togawa Naoki argues that her 'serious character flaws' (*seikaku hatansha*) are evident from the start of the film (1947: 31). The opening

sequences which show Yukie running through a forest with a group of male university students are understood by several critics as emblematic of her 'childlike' (*kodomokusai*) nature (Togawa 1947: 30), reflecting the position of the *shōjo*, who occupied 'a certain kind of liminal identity between child and adult'

Fig. 32; Yukie is set apart by her light blouse.

(Aoyama 2008: 208).

Match-on action shots of Yukie running through the forest give an impression of speed, emphasizing her physical strength. This is supported by her place in the middle of a pack of male students; rather than lagging behind, she is physically strong enough to hold a place in the centre of the group. Aoyama notes that the etymology of *shōjo* according to the *Kōjien* is 'the female equivalent of *shōtei*, young men of 17–20' (2008: 318), and Yukie is similarly presented as the equivalent to her male companions in her active nature and physical capabilities. However, she is also set apart, first by her light blouse which marks her out among the black university uniforms, and later by her hesitation in crossing the river, which results in physical assistance from her suitors. Aoyama reminds us that 'the etymology of *shōjo* does not indicate lack in femininity' (2008: 318) but rather emphasizes gender equality in the definition of *shōjo* and *shōtei* primarily by age rather than gender. The gender reforms implemented by SCAP in the early postwar period were reflected and glamorized by the image of the *shōjo* on film.

Hara's portrayal of the self-interested schoolgirl excited by Japan's rise to militarism was reviewed as a 'model of brightness' (*shūsaikata*) (*Kinema Junpō* 1946: 11), while adult Yukie's commitment to the anti-war movement and to postwar rebuilding efforts in the countryside were badly received. The strength of will and 'strong ego' (*jika no tsuyoi josei*) (Kitagawa 1946: 46) of the adult woman appears to have posed problems for critics, implying that strong will in a girl character is less problematic than the same in a married or middle-aged female character. Kurosawa's response to these criticisms supports this hypothesis; 'Those who criticized and hated her [Yukie] would have approved if the heroine had been a man' (quoted in Hirano 1992: 195). While strength of will and passion are unobjectionable in the schoolgirl

image, and requisite in Kido's 'sprightly, brave, optimistic and forward-looking' girl stars (High 2003: 13), Yukie's unchanging nature during the course of the narrative transforms her female image with qualities culturally coded as 'masculine'. Early postwar girls' magazines regularly blended 'perceived masculine and feminine norms in their image of the romantic yet strong and forthright *shōjo* ideal', suggesting that readers 'did not see femininity and masculinity as comprising mutually exclusive characteristics of a ''healthy'' individual' (Bae 2008: 348). However the incorporation of perceived masculine norms within adult female characterizations appears to have been unpopular and even disturbing to viewers and critics. Like the literary *shōjo*, I argue that the image of the schoolgirl on-screen contains greater potential for expression of qualities perceived as 'masculine' than the image of the wife or mother.

The girl image is defined and made meaningful through her relation to male characters. In contemporary criticism, Yukie's character is repeatedly articulated as the daughter of a famous teacher and 'the daughter of a liberal family' (*jiyūshugi no katei ni sodatta musume*) (Togawa 1947: 31), inscribing her firmly into the masculine-centred familial economy. In the first scene of the film, Yukie calls to her father using the honorific speech form ("*Otōsama!*") which casts her as a dutiful daughter despite her famed independence. However, when Yukie's familial identity shifts from that of her famous father's daughter to activist's wife, the physical absence of her husband on his imprisonment and death renders her a problematic female image within the normative gender constructs of the golden era Japanese film narrative. Yomota Inuhiko similarly articulates Hara's lack of male relations as a transgression of the norm in his appraisal of her star persona; 'If she had had an older brother, she would have seemed cute, but as it was she seemed proud, Western and

presumptuous' (2000: 9). The presence of a male family member within the girl's sphere renders her 'cute' rather than 'presumptuous', 'proud', and 'Western'; the 'negative' qualities which separated the pre-war modern girl from her counterpart, the dutiful daughter.

In the humanist melodrama of the early post-defeat years, the image of the schoolgirl is incorporated within the family structure in her simultaneous articulation as daughter and sister in such films as Naruse's *Spring Awakening*. Schoolgirl protagonist Kumiko is sandwiched between an elder married sister and a younger sister, visually underlining her position between child- and adulthood. Her family are described by other characters as 'old fashioned', furthering the impression of Kumiko as a character liminally positioned between two worlds, the old world of her conservative family and the new world of her friend Kyoko's home, in which male and female students socialise together. The image of the girl as a reflection of the liminal position occupied by post-defeat Japan is ground for the mapping and testing of the newly imagined postwar family structure. While the liminal is often negatively associated with transition, carrying connotations of danger (Douglas 1966: 97), the sympathetic presentation of the schoolgirl image as symbol of the nation's liminal state replaces these negative associations with the hope and lightness inherent to the image of the girl.

SCAP's social reforms had great impact on the Japanese family after defeat, as discussed in chapter two. These reforms affected junior female family members in several respects. The daughter's legal position in the family was re-positioned within the structures of Articles 14 and 24 of the new constitution, which outlawed discrimination on the grounds of sex and mandated gender equality in 'matters pertaining to marriage and the family' respectively. Daughters now shared equal

standing with sons and were legally no longer subject to their parents' will in choosing a marriage partner. 'Primogeniture was abolished, and daughters were given the right to inherit the same share of family property as sons' (Hane 1996: 33), bringing an end to the servitude of daughters and daughters-in-law common in the pre-war *ie* familial system, in legal terms if not in practice.

While women benefitted socially and economically from these social reforms, the 1947 Constitution is often described as a traumatic event in itself; editor of the Tokyo *Nippon Times* Kawai Kazuo argued that the Constitution 'suffers from the fatal stigma of being an alien-imposed document' which ' arbitrarily changes the fundamental nature of the Japanese state' (Kawai 1960: 51). Furthermore, gender equality was guaranteed on paper rather than in practice, as legal changes 'did not bring about an immediate end to the old ways' (Hane 1996: 33). At the public rather than familial level, practical changes such as co-education, the increase in the length of mandatory education to nine years and the opening of national universities to women students did change the everyday life of the Japanese daughter and schoolgirl dramatically. Popular campaigns against the legal status of prostitution, culminating in an eventual ban in 1956 also theoretically reduced the number of daughters sold into sex work to raise money for the family, though of course the age-old practice continued illegally. The daughter was re-imagined within the context of new discourses of democracy and women's rights as a youthful hope for the nation's future ideologically suited for the transmission of SCAP's democratic agenda.

In thinking of the postwar daughter as a new image of womanhood we must be wary of essentialising her role, particularly across class divisions. Writing on the liberalization of Japanese women in the 1920's and 30's, Peter B. High observes that the phenomenon was mostly 'confined to young city girls and the daughters and

matrons of upper class families' (2003: 254). The same was true during wartime when factory and working girls were imagined quite differently to the daughters of the bourgeois middle classes (Brandt 2009: 124; Molony 1991: 229; Tamanoi 1999: 284). Daughters explicitly articulated as such on-screen were largely those of the bourgeoisie; daughters sold into prostitution were articulated as prostitutes rather than family members within most film narratives of the period. These exclusive identifications run counter to those of the mother image, which as discussed in chapter two can maintain a dual identity as family member and sex worker, though not unproblematically. This distinction is apparent in *Spring Awakens* in the differences between the bourgeois daughter Kumiko and the maid, who is sent away from the family home because she is rumoured to have a romantic relationship with a local black-marketer. In this way the working class woman is sacrificed to maintain the 'purity' of the bourgeois daughter despite postwar gender reforms.

Yoshimura's *Ball at the Anjō House* presents the same theme, this time

Fig. 33; Atsuko stands over her father.

Fig. 34; '*Hantai de gozaimasu*!' Atsuko opposes the planned ball.

structured as a love triangle. While the young master of the family pursues a sexual relationship with a housemaid, the liaison is kept secret from the three bourgeois daughters of the film, his fiancée and his two sisters. Yoshimura subverts the theme of love doomed by class division in two key scenes; in the first, the maid saves the fiancée from rape by the young master, while in the second, the central protagonist tries to persuade her brother to marry the maid he has seduced.

Atsuko, the youngest daughter of the Anjō

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family, is presented as the voice of reason, persuading her family members to embrace the loss of their noble status in the postwar destruction of Japan's peerage system. Played by the broad-shouldered Hara Setsuko, her strength is emphasized in several scenes which show her leaning over chairs occupied by the frail bodies of the weaker members of her family. She stands while others sit, and negotiates with her uncle and their wealthy family friend as an equal. Like Yukie, she is a girl heroine with a strong will; the film opens with a medium close-up on her face as she turns towards the camera and declares her opposition to the planned ball ("*Atsuko hantai de gozaimasu!*"). She is physically active, running through the house and launching herself at her father to prevent his suicide attempt. These scenes are shot from high angles, with skewed alignments that often make Atsuko seem excessive or caricatured. However, her explicit positioning as devoted sister and daughter excuse her outbursts on the grounds that they occur on behalf of her family. The repeated re-inscription of the *shōjo* into the roles of dutiful daughter and sister mediate the more alarming aspects of her independence for the viewer, in a motif Kurosawa's Yukie directly contravened.

In the early postwar years Hara Setsuko's star persona was strongly aligned with the image of the bourgeois daughter; Yomota recalls that she 'gives the impression of an impoverished aristocrat's daughter', reflecting the public's 'nostalgia for the luxury of the pre-war' (Yomota 2000: 155). Satō Tadao describes her image as 'giving the impression of a daughter from a good family' (1987b: 6), a quality he argues is attractive to the viewer in its associations with tragedy and class aspiration.

> Besides Fujiko Yamamoto and Setsuko Hara, Keiko Kishi, Shiho
> Fujimura, Yoshiko Kuga, Kyoko Kagawa, and many other successful
> actresses have absorbed this air of bourgeois anguish, and consequently

radiate an austere beauty – the result of unwavering endurance of

misfortune… favourites of young Japanese intellectuals from not very

affluent homes. They were probably dreaming of rescuing such a brave,

gallant girl from the inevitable downfall of her upper-class family. (Satō

1982: 89, trans. Gregory Barrett)

Such viewer fantasies reflected SCAP-motivated discourses of social mobility

through the image of the bourgeois daughter on-screen. As attractive as this image

may have been to some viewers however, an opposing reaction is noted by a male

interviewee in *Eiga Fan*, who complains 'it's hard to get any feeling' from Hara's

repeated incarnations of the bourgeois daughter character (*Eiga Fan* 1949: 9). While

this image may have been attractive to the poor student or struggling intellectual,

there were clearly viewers whose class-identifications prohibited such fantasies of

social mobility.

Class division is central to the narrative of *Ball at the Anjō House*, which took

first place in the *Kinema Junpō* Best Ten of 1947. In the face of postwar

democratization which forced the upper-classes to give up their titles and stately

homes, bourgeois daughter Atsuko mediates the relationship between her sister and

the newly wealthy ex-chauffeur to the family. The role of the daughter in this often

repeated narrative is to introduce American-style democratic mores into the Japanese

family using the familiar codes of the girl star. *Eiga Bunko* links the narrative to the

theme of dreams, opening their review with the claim that 'a new era has arrived, and

with it, our illusions [or fictions which we used to believe] became mere ludicrous

dreams' (*atarashii jidai no tōrai, to tomo ni ippen no yume to shōmetsushi*) (*Eiga

Bunko* 1947: 38). References to 'dreams' of the future are often linked to narratives

centred around young women, such as Kurosawa's *One Wonderful Sunday*

(*Subarashiki nichiyōbi*, 1947), which I will discuss in detail later.

While Atsuko is depicted as a strong force of change, the more 'traditional' aspects of her performance of femininity are instrumental to her popular reception; contemporary critics remark on her 'modest character' (*tsutsumashiyakana onna*) (*Eiga Bunko* 1947: 38), in contrast to that of her

Fig. 35; The Anjō sisters' costumes contrast at the ball.

elder sister Akiko. Akiko refuses change, as suggested by her kimono which contrasts

with Atsuko's Western dress. In the opening scene, Akiko explicitly articulates her

defiant insistence on retaining her pre-war status; "I'm still nobility in my heart!"

However, the standard oppositional values which posit the traditional as the modest

and virtuous, in opposition to the modern, new or Western as amoral is subverted in

the characterization and costuming of the two sisters. In her shapeless dress, Atsuko

appears the more modest of the two sisters at the ball, while Akiko wears a revealing

vampish costume. Akiko has left a failed marriage, while Atsuko abstains from all

romance throughout the narrative. The innocence and purity of the *shōjo* are firmly

located in the characterization of Atsuko, while Akiko represents the confusion and

desperation of those who considered themselves past the point of change at the onset

of the occupation. The sisters' costuming and characterization are directly at odds;

this confusion of conventional modern/traditional codes suggests the possibility for a

superficial transformation of postwar Japan in which the nation could adopt a

Westernized exterior while remaining 'traditionally' Japanese underneath.

Revisiting the film in 1959, Togawa remembers the 'disappointment' (*shitsui*)

experienced by the young members of the family and the 'hysteric' (*hisuterikku*)

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characterizations of the daughters (1959: 32). He draws attention to the 'difference

between history [*rekishi*] and personal experience [*jikkan*]' (Togawa 1959: 32),

suggesting that the official historical account of Japan's early post-defeat response as

popularly accepted in the late 1950s may clash with Togawa's own memories of the

time, epitomized in his re-reading of *Ball at the Anjō House*. However, Togawa's re-

appraisal of the film may also be related to changes which had occurred in the image

of the daughter in the intervening period; by the late 1950s the daughter archetype had

shifted from the moral centre of the family to an image of generational conflict.

Richie argues that the 'majority of daughters' were 'in revolt' by the early 1960s;

'often the modernity of the daughter is measured by her outspoken disobedience'

(Richie 1961: 104). These outspoken daughters will be analysed in the second part of

this chapter addressing the new female images of the 1950s and early 1960s.

The use of daughter and schoolgirl images to re-educate the Japanese

population in American democratic mores was practiced off-screen as well as on-

screen, most notably in the case of the 'Hiroshima maidens' or *Hiroshima otome*,

twenty five young women scarred by the atom bombing and subsequently sponsored

to travel to New York in 1955 to receive extensive plastic surgery. Robert Jacobs

writes of this scheme as a process of 'Reconstructing the perpetrators' soul by

reconstructing the victim's body' (2010: unpaginated) noting that the women were so

scarred 'as to make marriage impossible, and had caused many of them to live their

lives in hiding for fear of name-calling or being stared at' (Jacobs 2010: unpaginated).

This aspect of the Hiroshima maidens' suffering highlights the importance of

appearance in the girl image, which generally presents the purity and lightness

associated with youth and femininity visually. However, the desire to disguise the

scars of war on the part of Japanese and Americans alike indicates a desire to hide the

consequences of wartime actions beneath a veneer of youth and hope.

> Body parts were metaphorically sutured together to regain the nation's
>
> organic unity and to overcome its trauma; yet the suture left on the
>
> discursive body's surface served as a constant reminder of the trauma.
>
> Japan's loss was concealed and simultaneously inscribed as a visible
>
> sign on the body's surface. (Igarashi 2000: 14)

While such anti-nuclear films as *Children of the Bomb* (*Genbaku no ko*, Shindō

Kaneto, 1952) break radically with the convention of suturing over such imagery with

repeated images of scarring and disfigurement, the rhetoric of purity of mind and

body was dominant in images of female youth throughout postwar film production.

Yoneyama argues that the unmarried status of all the 'Hiroshima maidens' reinforced

the impression of the women as 'pure, virgin daughters' (1999: 202); though the

women were in their early twenties at the time of their travel to the U.S., the popular

press repeatedly described how many had been injured on their way to school,

emphasizing that they had been schoolgirls at the time of the atomic blast.

Though the Allied occupation of Japan ended formally in 1952, Yoneyama

interprets the articulation of the 1955 Hiroshima maidens as daughters and schoolgirls

as reflective of popular understandings of relations between America and Japan.

Pictures of the women 'constituted a specular image of the Oedipal relation between

Japan and the United States' and 'loyally figured the nation in its relation to the

paternalized America, at least in popular discourse' (Yoneyama 1999: 202). I suggest

that the girl image on-screen during the occupation era was used to similar effect, re-

imagining America as a paternal figure and re-thinking the American social and

political values demonized by the wartime government by re-presenting these values within the 'pure' image of the girl.

Discourse on the schoolgirl and the atomic bomb involves themes of suffering and victimhood similar to those common to the mother image discussed in chapter two. Multiple schoolgirl victims of the atomic bomb suffered on-screen in such anti-war texts as Shindō Kaneto's (1912-2012) *Children of the Bomb* and Kinoshita Keisuke's (1912-1998) *Twenty Four Eyes* (*Nijūshi no hitomi*, 1954). The image of the schoolgirl, invested with connotations of purity, innocence and hope for the future, was used to add pathos to political critiques of war and nuclear attack. Flashback scenes scattered throughout *Children of the Bomb* depict teacher Miss Ishikawa's memory of the day of the bombing in a narrative structure reminiscent of the disruptions common to traumatic memory. These flashback scenes are intercut with documentary-style footage of groups affected by the bomb as multiple clocks tick down to the event. The longest sequence in this montage depicts

Fig. 36; Schoolgirls line up in Shindō Kaneto's *Children of The Bomb* before the atomic bomb is dropped on Hiroshima.

Fig. 37; The schoolgirls are amongst the victims depicted in the following sequence, along with mothers and young children.

Fig. 38; Images of schoolgirls mourning dead friends close the flashback sequence.

schoolgirls standing in rows as the bomb strikes (fig. 36); they reappear nude and bleeding in a later shot (fig. 38). The camera lingers on their massed youthful bodies, drawing the full potential pathos from the images of wastage and destruction.

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The suffering schoolgirl was not only an image of pathos, but also of instruction; Maya Todeschini argues that much popular discourse on the atomic bomb and its victims interprets the bomb as 'a form of 'spiritual education' which contributes to the heroines' 'spiritual growth' in cultivating the 'necessary "womanly" qualities of selflessness, forbearance, self control and responsibility' (Todeschini 1996: 240). These 'womanly' qualities were channelled into discourses of forgiveness, also articulated through the image of the suffering schoolgirl.

> The idea that the Japanese women 'forgave' the United States for the
> use of the atomic bomb was a commonly repeated theme… A news
> report about the *hibakusha* returning to Japan shows the women happily
> waving to friends and supporters from an airport tarmac as narrator Ed
> Herlihy informs: 'they say now that their sacrifice was worth it if only
> the atom is never used again in war'. (Jacobs 2010: unpaginated)

The 'new life' aspect of the girl image was used to mediate the trauma of war memory and the legacy of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as 'Through the bomb, the United States, gendered as male, rescued and converted Japan, figured as a desperate woman' (Igarashi 2000: 20).

'New life' themes did not only pertain to rebuilding the nation after the war, but also to the potential fertility of the female body reaching pubescence. The girl image on film became a site for domestic discourses on sexual mores in response to gender reforms included in the 1947 Constitution. As co-education was introduced at school and university levels, male and female children shared an educational space for the first time in modern Japan. At the same time, young women were encouraged to meet their marital partners independently at university or at work and thus avoid the

omiai system of which SCAP was critical. These changes were reflected on screen in an increase in romance and demonstrative affectionate behaviour, most notably the 'kissing scenes' which David Conde, head of the Motion Picture unit of SCAP, strongly encouraged Japanese filmmakers to include. Interviewing fans of imported Hollywood film, Kanako Terasawa has recorded the recollections of many women who remember feeling 'shocked' by kissing scenes and sexualized imagery in the early postwar era (2010: 223; 277). In domestic productions, the image of the schoolgirl was often employed to allow Japanese filmmakers to include such material without fear of shocking or alienating the audience, couching the imagery of heterosexual romance within the 'innocent' spaces of childhood such as the schoolroom. Kuga Yoshiko's portrayal of a pubescent schoolgirl realising her nascent sexuality in *Spring Awakens* is an example of one such use of the schoolgirl image.

Kuga's innocent teenage character is juxtaposed with the more worldly girls in her class, as well as her elder married sister, while her younger sister serves as a reminder of her recent childhood. While Kumiko is set apart from her school friends by her innocence, her family's traditional values, and her child-like buttoned-up clothing, which contrasts with the bright modern wear of the other girls, images related to female sexuality nonetheless pepper the *mise-en-scène*. In the opening scene, Kumiko mimics the behaviour of a neighbourhood cat; the symbolic value of cats as images of female sexuality, consistent throughout Japanese popular imagery from early Edo-period *ukiyo-e*, foreshadows the subject matter of the film. Kumiko's childlike scream on discovering a caterpillar immediately afterwards contrasts with the adult, almost vampish aspects of her cat pose, and posits the world as a place of childish curiosity and teeming fertility. In contrast to the abundant fertility of the natural world, Kumiko's school is a place of order and control, both of bodies and of

sexual expression. During a physical examination, the schoolgirls' bodies are presented as uniform and controlled, however in the following scene, images of the female body spill out into the classroom as a classmate draws sketches of her fellow students' breasts on the blackboard and later a 'suggestive drawing' is found outside the classroom. The female body escaping control is linked to the female body as image in these motifs.

The school scenes are followed by a street scene which opens with shots of the front covers of magazines showing images of the female body, seen through the eyes of Akiko, the schoolgirl who skips the physical exam and later falls pregnant. With her older lover and pregnancy, Akiko represents adult female

Fig. 39; The camera presents the female images available in popular media of the early postwar period from Akiko's perspective as she browses magazines.

sexuality, emphasized by her visual alignment with commercial images of the female body. Walking home after their physical exam, the other schoolgirls find her leafing through fashion magazines in a nearby shop; she is set apart from their group by her summer kimono which contrasts with their school uniforms. After the rumours of her pregnancy, a matching scene opens with a shot of the front-cover of the magazine Akiko is reading, this time an image of a woman with a baby. Akiko's exposure to mass-produced images of the female body is aligned with her pregnancy, suggesting that her consumption of such imagery is somehow responsible for her predicament. In contrast, the more 'innocent' schoolgirls engage with romantic imagery only through poetry, expressing disgust at the male students' intention to include a nude female image in their literary journal. This division marks the commercialization of the image of the female body as a subject of unease in the early postwar. Such anxieties

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would later find explicit form in the overtly commercialized body of the postwar modern girl, an image for consumption as much as an avid consumer. The link between commercialization and a loss of 'traditional' Japanese modesty and morals pervades postwar film and popular discourse alike.

Commercialization and sexuality are linked in the postwar imagination by the sale of sex; however Naruse's film places the budding sexuality of the schoolgirls within the natural space of the countryside, in which Kumiko's first kiss is depicted as both natural and terrifying.
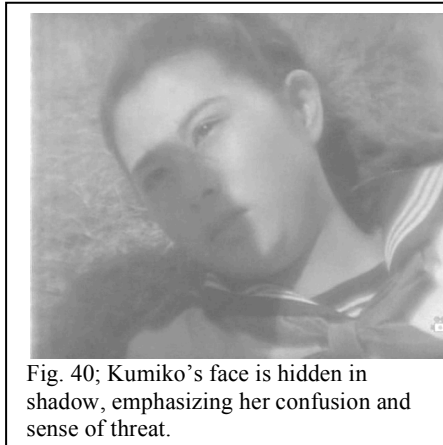
Fig. 40; Kumiko's face is hidden in shadow, emphasizing her confusion and sense of threat.

While the beautiful scenery creates a mood of calm, Kumiko's fear and uncertainty are evident in the film style. Kumiko is shot from her suitor's perspective, lying beneath the camera which frames her face in close-up, emphasizing her vulnerability. This shot is anchored to her suitor's perspective with a reverse shot close-up of his face. The camera cuts back to Kumiko as his shadow moves over her, creating a sinister atmosphere. As Kumiko jumps up, we see her confusion as though from her suitor's perspective, as she looks down at him into the camera. This low-angle shot reasserts the physical strength of the girl image; however this strength is conflicted by Kumiko's initiation into adult sexuality. The vulnerability of the adult female image begins to seep into her representation from this point.

Susan Napier argues that the *shōjo* is 'characterized by a supposedly innocent eroticism based on sexual immaturity' (2005:148); frequent close-up shots of Kumiko's face exaggerate her large eyes and emphasize the non-sexual elements of her child-like physicality. At the same time, she is also a body out of control,

symbolized by her exaggerated and out of place emotional outbursts; laughter after a confrontation with her mother is followed by a shot of Kumiko weeping violently. The sense of the female body as out of control is re-enforced by repeated references, both verbal and visual, to bodily effects of pubescence such as growth and menstruation, which is articulated as a defect in the euphemism 'sickness' (*gobyōki*) (Russell 2008: 190). Watching a physical education class, Kumiko hears her classmates complain about the injustice of missing classes due to menstruation. This is explicitly connected to postwar gender reforms, as one girl complains "I wish I was a boy!" Another girl counters that in postwar Japan, "Girls can become big shots too." Though the schoolgirls of *Spring Awakens* are presented as forces of 'new life', this is largely interpreted in physical and emotional terms rather than in terms of a new awareness of female capabilities in the public sphere.

The schoolgirls of Naruse's film have 'hearts which feel easily' (*kanojō no kanji yasui kokoro*) (Iida 1948: 26), ascribing much of their romantic curiosity to the 'purity' of their youth. As in many reviews of *No Regrets for Our Youth*, the schoolgirls of *Spring Awakens* are situated firmly within the familial context by film critics; 'their story shows the changes in parental attitudes occurring in the contemporary Japanese family' (*gendai Nihon no kazoku ni okeru oyatachi no kokorogamae*) (Iida 1948: 26). Iida argues that Kuga Yoshiko's performance is especially 'meaningful' (*imi no aru enjiru*) (Iida 1948: 26); I suggest that this is in part due to Kuga's highly public debut as one of Tōhō's 'New Faces' (*Kinema Junpō* 1947: 28). Star persona also borrowed from the 'new life' and 'new hope' themes of the girl image, and so budding stars often came ready-invested with these values by virtue of their very newness. Kuga followed *Spring Awakens* with a small part in *Drunken Angel* as a tubercular schoolgirl whose determination to recover allegorizes

the desire for 'new life' in the early post-defeat period. Kuga's character overcomes her illness in the final stages of the narrative, while both male 'heroes' fail to overcome their own tuberculosis and alcoholism respectively. The 'drunken angel' of the title, Doctor Sanada, advocates Kuga's schoolgirl as an example of fortitude and resilience for Mifune Toshirō's (1920-1997) ailing gangster, clearly articulating the image of youth as a model for postwar Japan's rebirth.

While scholarship in both Japanese and English has largely restricted discussion of the girl and schoolgirl images on the Japanese screen to recent productions, historical writing on early postwar Japan has identified the girl as a central image in discourses on the democratization of the nation. Bae observes a conflict in popular understanding of the image of the girl youth in postwar girls' magazines similar to that perceptible on-screen (2008: 342). While 'many girls were eager to reclaim the prewar ideals and aesthetic code of the *jogakusei* [school girl] world that had been developed around *ryōsai kenbo* [the "good wife, wise mother" doctrine] and homosocial sentimentality', girls also 'felt the need to bring the "new democracy" into their daily lives' by 'blending masculine and feminine character traits' (2008: 342). The schoolgirl of *Drunken Angel* is consistently described as 'the sailor-suited girl' (*sērā fu no shōjo*) (Imamura 1948: 23; *Eiga Goraku* 1948: 38) by critics, highlighting her androgynous uniform and institutional affiliation. This girl-image does not even have a name, indicating that her function is to represent the 'typical' schoolgirl image rather than an individual character. Bae suggests that girls' media utilized the role models available on-screen, particularly in Hollywood films to mediate the conflict of identities inherent to the performance of androgyny and budding sexuality in the girl image.

> For the first time since the War, Hollywood actresses who personified
> romance and passion became household names in Japan, and at the
> same time, women's sexuality outside reproduction also entered
> mainstream consciousness via consumerist discourses. (Bae 2008: 343)

The body was central to postwar understanding of the girl as the site of new gender relations, as educators and producers of media aimed at girls 'sought to regulate heterosocialisation by deploying both social taboos and medical understandings of adolescence as an "uneven" development between the body and mind on the one hand, and between boys and girls on the other' (Bae 2008: 347). At the same time, there was a popular desire to 'reconcile prewar ideals of *shōjo* purity with optimism about a more 'democratic' relationship between boys and girls' (Bae 2008: 349).

While the image of the girl was coded with themes of democratic awareness and rebirth, it was also the subject of fear as Japan's status as a nation was re-imagined in the 'feminized' terms of defeat and occupation (Igarashi 2000: 14; Koikari 2008: 14; Orbaugh 2007; 390). Gender equality in depictions of 'democratic' relationships between boys and girls, such as those shown in *No Regrets for Our Youth* and *Spring Awakening*, mediated the humiliation of Japan's identification as 'feminized' nation to America's 'masculinity' by setting the two genders on equal footing. However, the schoolgirl was a problematic image in the context of an early postwar moral crisis which arose from a surge in juvenile crime. Reports from 1946–1950 depict a 160 per cent increase in juvenile crime compared to 1936–1940 (Lunden 1953: 430). As Carol Gluck has observed 'enunciations of crisis displace the spectre of unsettling change onto socially marginal groups' (1995: 42). In this case, schoolgirls and young women were imagined as lawless as popular anxieties arose

over the removal of the strict discipline of the wartime state and its replacement with an unfamiliar governmental style controlled by SCAP.

'The woman-in-development (i.e. the adolescent *shōjo*) was defined by adults as an anxiety-provoking subject' (Bae 2008: 352); the very developmental state of the girl produced anxieties around the 'correct' way to initiate the *shōjo* into democratic heterosexual mores, anxieties which were heightened by the very novelty and unfamiliarity of the heterosocialisation advocated by SCAP.

> The *shōjo*, sexually defined to the extent that she was emphasized as a
>
> pre-sexual subject, needed special attention, cultivation and discipline
>
> in the era of new freedoms. (Bae 2008: 352)

While films aimed at young girls could provide this 'cultivation', an overwhelming number of productions in the late 1940s and early 1950s focus on the threatening aspects of the *shōjo*'s initiation into heterosexual economies. Kumiko's abrupt introduction to sexuality in *Spring Awakens* is depicted as a negative development by the film style, which figures her male partner as a predator, and reminds the viewer of the dangers of sexual experimentation in the pregnancy sub-plot.

Sexual awareness as threatening to the social order was not a new theme in Japanese discourse; the vulnerability coded in the image of the young girl had been used rhetorically throughout Japan's militarization and wartime and particularly in the first months of defeat as a scare tactic to indoctrinate the public against the incoming occupiers. Yoshimi Yoshiaki emphasizes that 'widespread rumours as to the violence Allied troops would visit on Japanese women post-surrender' were articulated in terms of the 'women and girls' at risk (2000: 179). This fear perhaps held an element of early-onset war guilt, as 'behind the spread of confusion and fears of this nature

was the memory of countless rapes committed by Japanese troops in every occupied area of Asia and the Pacific islands' (Yoshimi 2000: 179, trans. O'Brien). Women and girls were encouraged to avoid the public sphere entirely in the immediate post-defeat period; many workplaces such as Kanagawa prefectural government offices evacuated their female employees, while an army officer in Fukuoka city advised that women and children should flee to avoid rape by the Allies (Kovner 2012: 49). An intelligence report by the Metropolitan Police Board dated August 20, 1945 records that 'the greatest worry of Tokyo residents was "the fear of the violent rape of women and girls"' (Yoshimi 2000: 179, trans. O'Brien). The sexual innocence and physical vulnerability of the girl-image expressed national anxieties of invasion as the body of the girl was imagined as the body of the nation.

The image of the girl was also invoked in domestic political issues such as the debate on licensed prostitution which began with the government's creation of 'recreation spaces' for the Allied soldiers, staffed with Japanese women. The first brothel run by the Special Comfort Facility Association (*Tokushu Ian Shisetsu Kyōkai*), also known as the Recreation and Amusement Association (hereafter RAA) opened on 27 August, 1945; 21 similar institutes operated until 27 March, 1946 employing between 55,000 and 70,000 women (Mackie 2003: 136). These spaces were described as a safety measure for the women and girls of Japan in their provision of a designated sexualized space designed to prevent widespread rape and assault by the Allied forces. However, the 'female floodwall' (*onna no bōhatei*) (Molasky 1999: 105) intended to defend these 'women and girls' was made up by the bodies of women and

Fig. 41; Carmen and Maya's bright clothing contrasts with the villagers'.

girls themselves. Prostitution that 'protects ordinary girls' (Garon 1997: 198) was a popular trope in postwar discourse, though the girls to be protected were the daughters of the bourgeoisie rather than their working-class counterparts who formed the 'floodwall'. Chapter four deals more extensively with the image of the prostitute in postwar film; this chapter investigates the liminal position of the girl in early postwar discourse, articulated between ideals of purity and 'new life' and the imagined dangers of sexual awareness as allegory for 'contamination' by the occupiers' social and political agendas.

Ideological Conflict in Images of Female Youth: Working Women and Modern Girls

This conflict within the image of female youth is depicted in Japan's first colour film, Kinoshita Keisuke's *Carmen Comes Home* (*Karumen kokyō ni kaeru*, 1951). Carmen (Takamine Hideko) and her fellow erotic dancer Maya (Kobayashi Toshiko) are visually presented as full of youthful vigour; their bright dresses contrast with the drab attire of the villagers as they descend from the train (fig. 41), a point the camera emphasizes with a long pan up and down the brown train carriage. The women are aligned with the image of the pre-war *moga* as many of their costumes reference 1920s fashions. Like the *moga*, they use masculine, slightly childish speech forms, and perform impulsive childlike gestures such as breaking into song or dance, playing on schoolyard equipment, pouting, and abruptly throwing themselves to the ground in fits of pique at the villagers' censure. Satō argues that the characters are 'symptomatic of a postwar confusion of values' (1987b: 8) in the difficulties and misunderstandings which arise from their introduction of 'city ways' into the rural environment; the city

symbolizing modernity and Westernization, and the rural symbolizing a pre-occupation Japan.

Carmen and Maya are archetypal characterizations of the girl-image as it was in the early 1950s, shifting from the purity and humanism invested in such characters in the late 1940s to a hybrid of childishness and adult sexuality which is both comic and dangerous. Carmen introduces the modern girl as ground for re-working and re-imagining a new postwar Japan; 'Carmen's body becomes the contested terrain where the social dislocations of rapid socioeconomic change, brought about by defeat and occupation, are played out' (Standish 2005: 168). The male elders of the village argue that the women represent a danger to its morals "Not only to men, but also to children". The two are perceived as polluting, defective, and even criminal. Carmen's father insistently repeats the tale of a childhood accident in which Carmen was kicked in the head by a cow, and later asks the school principal if she is wanted for theft.

The modern bodies of the two girls are initially presented as static; the villagers watch appreciatively as they pose in silhouette on a distant hill and photograph one another around the village. When the image becomes spectacle however, they are accused of criminal activity and madness; Standish suggests that Carmen's control of her 'image as spectacle' emasculates the male characters in the narrative (2005: 169), reflecting the emasculation perceived by many Japanese male citizens throughout the occupation period. However, Standish argues that the film was 'structured to appeal to the censors and a female audience' (2005: 170), suggesting a pleasure for the female viewer in this very subversion of the conventions of display of the eroticized female body to emasculate rather than uphold patriarchal norms.

Though invested with the 'new life' rhetoric of purity and national rebirth, the public bodies of young women were simultaneously scrutinized with a rigour

approaching paranoia for signs of 'contamination', particularly from foreign influence and sexualization. After the RAA brothels were closed in 1946, the Japanese government instigated a city-wide crackdown on streetwalkers and prostitutes operating outside designated areas; 17,871 suspected prostitutes were arrested during the first five months of 1947 alone. Though measures to regulate prostitution were supported by 70 per cent of respondents in a national Public Survey Office poll in 1949, many of whom cited the need to protect 'ordinary girls' as a motivating concern (Garon 1997: 199), Garon notes that 'False arrests of young working women occurred frequently' (1997: 198). The public female body, particularly university students or office workers, was viewed with suspicion in the light of widespread epidemics of venereal disease in the early postwar period (popularly believed to be the major motivation for the Allied forces' insistence on the closure of the RAA brothels). The Central Council for Women's Welfare recommended new police powers in 1946 which allowed officers to 'arrest suspected prostitutes and take them to specially designated hospitals for compulsory examination, at which Occupation forces were often present' (Garon 1997: 201). Public anger at the treatment of innocent young women bundled into police vans and subjected to such treatment is reflected in such films as Mizoguchi Kenji's *Women of the Night* (*Yoru no onnatachi*, 1948), in which young women suspected of prostitution and consigned to such hospitals protest their innocence. Similarly, the female protagonist of Kurosawa's *One Wonderful Sunday* is painfully aware that passers-by observe her with suspicion while in the company of her fiancé in public spaces; the search for a space which the couple can inhabit unproblematically constitutes the narrative of the film.

While the depiction of the public female body as potential danger carried pre-war patriarchal and class-based standards into the postwar, the interpretation of the

public female body as immoral, diseased and dangerous also destabilized the status quo, as Japanese middle- and working class women 'forged a cross-class alliance in critiquing the "undemocratic" treatment of Japanese women in the occupiers' venereal disease control' (Koikari 2008: 17). Unlike the image of the girl which entrenched class division in its exclusion of female bodies outside the middle and upper classes, the image of the young working or student woman at the centre of popular discourse on venereal disease control forged boundaries across class divisions. However, protest at the treatment of the public female body by the occupiers simultaneously entrenched pre-war and wartime nationalist concepts, as venereal disease inspection round-ups were interpreted as violating the 'sexually and racially pure Japanese women (i.e. middle- and upper-class women) who embodied the national respectability' (Koikari 2008: 171). Public protest was primarily directed at the Japanese government and only referred to the occupation authorities 'in a more subdued way' (Koikari 2008: 173). The rhetorical use of the affective image of the young woman as vulnerable and in need of protection from Allied soldiers by Japanese citizens was highly effective, as demonstrated by the Rally to Protect Women held on December 15, 1946 which attracted 2000 participants and cross-party participation.

However, young working women such as those involved in SCAP's round-ups presented a potentially threatening type of public body in their adoption of new roles in the public rather than domestic sphere, challenging pre-war and wartime ideals. As in pre-war film, the image of the postwar working girl was often aligned with that of the *moga*; the office lady or modern girl's polar opposites were the images of the nurse and the teacher, used prolifically in humanist, anti-war and victim narratives in postwar film. Kurosawa's early post-defeat humanist films present the public female body as a symbol of rebuilding, both in *No Regrets for Our Youth* and *Drunken Angel*.

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Dr Sanada of *Drunken Angel* employs ex-delinquent Miyo as a trainee nurse; though

Miyo is a potentially problematic figure in that she has been infected with venereal

disease, critics sympathize with her 'sad past' and 'reckless youth' (*Eiga Romansu*

1948: 12). As her past is revealed, a close-up on Miyo's face shows it chequered by

shadows from the venetian blind in the window. Her vulnerability to delinquent

tendencies is articulated in terms of her gender; when the doctor advises her not to

meet with her *yakuza* ex-partner, she protests "But as a woman…" Her potentially

unsympathetic characterization as a 'contaminated' woman is mediated by references

to the vulnerability of her gendered position, while her 'making good' on the doctor's

act of faith 'characterises the building of a new life' (McDonald 2006: 36). The

chequered markings on her face allow for potential good as well as bad.

The image of the young nurse is instrumental to the 'new life' discourses of

the late 1940s. Keiko McDonald reads nursing as a metaphor for 'the mending of a

broken society' in postwar film (2006: 36); the public bodies of nurses in the early

postwar era can be read as uplifting and even aspirational. Standish argues that this

image is assisted by 'the associations of the nurse's white uniform symbolizing *eigyō*

(a vocation), *junshin* (pure-heartedness), *otome* (virginity), *seiso* (neatness) and

seiketsu (cleanliness) (2005: 54). Along with the difficult exams and extended period

of study required to qualify as a nurse, these connotations gave the profession a 'high

esteem' (Standish 2005: 54). Miyo's characterization is an allegory for reform, while

her past provides occasion to explicitly articulate the gender reforms of the early

postwar; the doctor lectures her ex-partner, "Your feudalistic ways won't fly now...

Ever heard of equality?"

By the early 1960s however, the image of the nurse onscreen had become

problematic, perhaps due to the backlash against the 'victim complex' incited by

social commentators and political activists such as director Ōshima Nagisa. In *The Human Condition* trilogy (*Ningen no jōken*, Kobayashi Masaki, 1959; 1959; 1961), the two hospital nurses present 'contrasting female stereotypes'; the younger representing 'feminine softness' while the older is 'the female version of the insensitive military authority figure' (Hauser 1991: 310). While nurses in the film texts of the 1960s are associated with soldiers and the war-retro genre, in the early post-defeat period nurses are closely aligned with children, combining the purity symbolized by the white apron with the implied purity and innocence of youth. The innocence and softness symbolized by female youth is directly linked to avoidance of issues of war guilt and the identification of Japan as a victim nation.

The image of the female teacher in early postwar film was similarly closely associated with youth, femininity, innocence and children. This motif proved popular with postwar critics, as Imai Tadashi's *Blue Mountains*, which stars Hara Setsuko as a postwar schoolteacher took first place in the *Kinema Junpō* Best Ten of 1947. Shindō Kaneto's *Children of the Bomb* and Kinoshita Keisuke's *Twenty Four Eyes* repeat this motif, following two postwar school teachers, played by Otowa Nobuko (1925-1994) and Takamine Hideko (1924-2010) respectively, through narratives encompassing war, defeat and reconstruction. Children are central to the pathos and victim consciousness which pervades both films; Shindō's depiction of the atomic blasts and Otowa's Miss Ishikawa's visit to a schoolgirl dying of radiation sickness emphasize the tragic waste of young lives. Kinoshita's film contains a similar scene in which Takamine's Miss Ōishi visits a schoolgirl dying of tuberculosis. These scenes of schoolgirl suffering predate the true story of Sasaki Sadako (1943-1955), a schoolgirl who died of leukaemia after exposure to radiation in Hiroshima. Sadako's story captured the imagination of the nation in her determination to fold one thousand

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origami paper cranes in accordance with a popular myth which held that this would realise one's wish, in Sadako's case, the wish to live. Though Sadako died on October 25, 1955, after the release of both films, I suggest that the extensive media coverage and rapid immortalisation of Sadako's story in Japan's postwar anti-nuclear mythology was in part due to the association of schoolgirl purity with victimhood, cemented by popular texts such as Kinoshita and Shindō's films.

The role of the teacher is central to the cinematic development of the motif of schoolgirl suffering, as the teacher character functions as a guide for the viewer, using voiceover to provide explanations and analyses more sophisticated than the understanding of school-age children would allow. Miss Ōishi of *Twenty Four Eyes* is a newcomer to the village in which she first meets the twelve pupils of the title, and as her first impressions of their pre-war society are related in an extended voiceover sequence the viewer is aligned with her position as outsider and recipient of new information. McDonald suggests that 'variations of contrasting moods align our sympathies with Ōishi' throughout the film (1983: 233), however, the teacher image is also problematic in the postwar context, as many educators working in the militarization and wartime periods were accused of passing down the nationalist ideology which had led the nation into an impossible war. Imai, Kinoshita and Shindō emphasize their female protagonists' youth, invoking their implied innocence to avoid the negative connotations of the wartime educator image. Instead, the teachers are all presented within the codes of the youthful female image; Miss Shimazaki of *Blue Mountains* is 'lively' (*pichipichishita jokyōshi*) (Isoyama 1973: 24), while Miss Ōishi is endowed with the capacity to move the audience; 'a lone female teacher with unwavering belief [*yuruginai shinnen*] is very powerful [*chikara tsuyoi*]' (Togawa

2003a: 50). Izawa Jun similarly links the youthfulness of the teacher (*wakai sensei*) to the 'heart-warming' (*kokoro atatamaru*) nature of the film (Izawa 1973a: 191).

Fig. 42; Miss Ōishi on her bicycle.

Fig. 43; Miss Ishikawa wears Western dress.

Though Kinoshita conforms to convention in having Miss Ōishi retire after marriage, teachers are more often presented as modern young women in early postwar film. Miss Ōishi is mocked for riding a bicycle and wearing Western-style suits, while Otowa's Miss Ishikawa also wears Western dress, most often the tailored white blouse and skirt of the office lady. Terasawa has written of the uniform of the young working woman as inspired by Hollywood, citing interviewees who remember having such outfits made after seeing Hollywood stars wearing similar costumes onscreen (2010: 250). In costume as well as ideology, such characters reflected the way in which 'the female body served as a metonym for Japanese society, which was liberated from the wartime regime but immediately reenveloped by the victor's political order' (Igarashi 2000: 58). These outfits symbolize the female characters' Westernization, mediated by their youth and modernity, and their readiness for action, in contrast to the constricting kimono. At the close of Kinoshita's film, which is saturated with elegiac sadness, Miss Ōishi is presented in the dark kimono of an older woman, foreclosing any sense of hope for the future. Though several writers have criticized the film as overly sentimental and apolitical (Yomota 2010: 136; Orr 2001: 116), reading the final image of Miss Ōishi against the popular image of the bright young female teacher reveals the film's refusal to present a hopeful palliative future for Japan. This

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refusal reflects the desires of many in postwar Japan who 'sought to produce a new national identity that could encompass the memories of loss and devastation through the realm of everyday culture' (Igarashi 2000: 12-13).

Miss Ōishi is nonetheless explicitly constructed as modern, forward-thinking and unconventional in her attitudes towards gender and Imperialism; in this sense she is a postwar humanistic construction. These attitudes are articulated through her relationships with her

Fig. 44; Miss Ōishi shows her ambivalence towards the war effort.

pupils, particularly her female students. Her horror at the news that a pupil has been adopted out of her family to work, visually transmitted by Takamine's highly expressive countenance, and her later emotional encounter with the same student working in a restaurant reflects a postwar understanding of the importance of education for women commensurate with SCAP reforms. Miss Ōishi's struggle to keep her female students in education against the pull of the home and its duties reflects the postwar increase of the minimum school term to nine years, and associates learning with gender equality and democracy. While one female student in Miss Ōishi's classroom writes "Women should have regular jobs. It's hard for a woman without work", another is forced to leave school because "it's my turn to stay at home and cook". She writes that she wishes she'd been born a boy and could continue her education.

The varied fates of the students forshadow the uneven implementation of postwar democratization and gender reform; the youthfulness of Takamine's outspoken star persona is put to great use here as she repeatedly contorts her face in her attempts to hold back her opinions against the gendered division of home-based

labour. However, she refuses to remain silent when the war begins, protesting in an emotional close-up "But I do not want my students to be killed!" Her discomfort with the Imperial agenda is depicted in a long shot in which her expression displays extreme distress as she participates in a farewell rally held for the village soldiers (fig. 44). Mirroring Tanaka Kinuyo's (1909-1977) famous performance in *Army* (*Rikugun*, Kinoshita Keisuke, 1944) discussed in chapter one, Takamine wears a white apron and awkwardly holds a small Japanese flag. Unlike Tanaka, who subverted the pro-Imperial mandate of Kinoshita's earlier film in a dynamic closing scene depicting her running to catch a glimpse of her soldier son, Takamine is fixed in place, unable to protest, though her expression registers her desire to do so. While Shindō's *Children of the Bomb* associates the image of the young female body with themes of hope and strength, Kinoshita's *Twenty Four Eyes* is closer to Uehara's description of the *bakuro eiga* or exposé film which identifies the bad deeds (*kako no aku*) of Japan's wartime past (Uehara 1947: 41). Kinoshita refuses to invoke the pathos common to the postwar schoolteacher character, emphasizing instead the extremely restrictive nature of life under Imperial governance. Despite the emotional affect of many scenes of the film, Takamine is always shot facing away from the camera when weeping; the only close-up shot of her tearful face is during her visit with a dying schoolgirl. Kinoshita links emotion and pathos to the image of the schoolgirl, while the young female teacher symbolizes stoicism in the face of disappointment and defeat.

Otowa Nobuko's youthful Miss Ishikawa also visits a dying schoolgirl in a scene which is shot almost identically to Kinoshita's, with just a few restrained close-ups of Miss Ishikawa's sympathetic expression. The girl is dying of leukaemia years after Miss Ishikawa's kindergarten class were caught within the blast of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. *Children of the Bomb* is both anti-war and anti-nuclear in its

depiction of the devastation wrought by the bomb; in order to fully portray the extent of the survivors' losses, Miss Ishikawa is presented as a daughter and a sister as well as a teacher in a flashback scene which recalls her memory of leaving her family home on the day of the bombing, and in repeated mentions of the graves of her parents and sister. By the close of the narrative she has also become a mother, adopting the grandson of a family friend who has been orphaned by the bomb. In this way the characterization of Miss Ishikawa addresses the trauma of war in multiple female-gendered lifestyles and roles.

The traumatic after-effects of the bombing are fully explored as Miss Ishikawa guides the viewer through Hiroshima, positioned as a teacher to the viewer as well as to her pupils. The film itself had a similar function as it was shown in schools across the country to educate the nation's youth about Japan's wartime suffering. Just as Takamine's Miss Ōishi is the recipient of new information in her position as outsider, Shindō's film follows Miss Ishikawa on her first trip back to Hiroshima after the bombing. Locals who remained in the city explain its

Fig. 45; The gaze of the dead.

current state to her, and through her, to the viewer, as in a scene in which Miss Ishikawa visits a local orphanage and receives statistical information about the lives of orphaned children in Hiroshima. While this device aligns viewer sympathies and identifications with the teachers, it also creates a disturbingly direct mode of insight into the trauma experienced by survivors of the war and particularly of the atomic bombings. In the opening sequence of the film, the twenty four eyes of Kinoshita's title stare at Miss Ōishi; the children stare directly into the camera and through it, at the viewer, though the shot is anchored to Miss Ōishi's perspective with a reverse
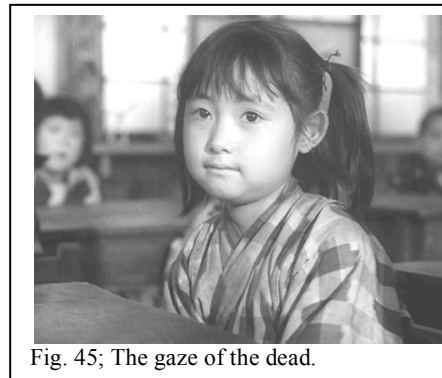
shot of her returning gaze. When Miss Ōishi hears of students killed during the war, shots from this opening sequence are re-presented without the accompanying reverse shot, framing the children's stares as the 'gaze of the dead' which Lifton suggests invokes a sense of guilt (1967: 496). A similar gaze is directed at Miss Ishikawa by the *hibakusha* she sees in Hiroshima, again transmitted directly to the viewer as though we were in her place.

The viewer's discomfort at becoming the object of this 'gaze of the dead' is mediated by the positive representation of the youthful teachers, whose emotional
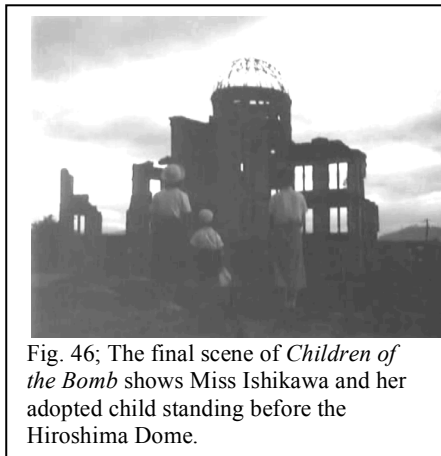
Fig. 46; The final scene of *Children of the Bomb* shows Miss Ishikawa and her adopted child standing before the Hiroshima Dome.

strength is linked to the physical strength of youth, as in the opening scenes of *Children of the Bomb*, in which Miss Ishikawa leads the children in their daily exercise routine. Both teachers are often shot from below, emphasizing their stature and casting the viewer in the position of a pupil. Both are presented as physically active, playing with the children and riding bicycles; their Western dress emphasizes the sharp lines of their figures, combining padded shoulders with a trim waist in a silhouette which fuses physical power with femininity.

Miss Ishikawa wears the same costume at the end of the film; a low-angle shot shows her holding the hand of her adopted child, their white clothing glowing against the background of the burned out Hiroshima Dome, clearly evoking themes of 'new life' and rebirth from the ashes of the city. In contrast, Miss Ōishi is depicted in a black kimono at the end of *Twenty Four Eyes*, seated in a tatami room in a posture which emphasizes her sloping shoulders and ageing body, surrounded by the few surviving ex-pupils, now adults who show the physical scars of wartime participation.

The contrast between the last scenes of these two films emphasize the range of the teacher-image in postwar film, in that its associations with hope can be depicted positively or negatively depending on the tone of the film text. While Shindō's film inspires hope for a non-nuclear future, Kinoshita's film expresses regret for Japan's past.

The atomic bomb itself is aligned with the image of women and children, as noted in chapter two. Images of female youth present a particularly affective mode in which to convey the tragedy and wastage of the bombing using the image of the youthful female body. Miss Ishikawa has glass embedded in her arm from the blast which she keeps as a *memento mori*, while a series of young women throughout the narrative suffer physical traumas including leukaemia, infertility, lameness and physical deformity. However, all exhibit the 'new life' exuberance and determination common to the young woman of the humanist anti-war film; an ex-colleague rendered infertile by radiation becomes a midwife to help others give birth; a young woman who has given up hope of marriage
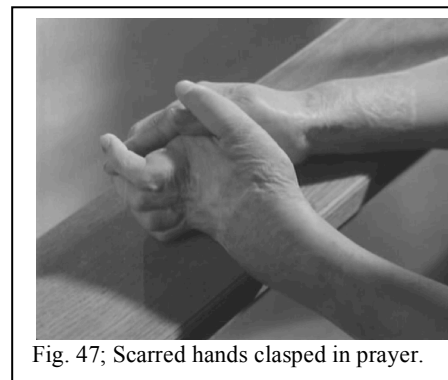
Fig. 47; Scarred hands clasped in prayer.

after being disabled in the bombing marries her pre-war sweetheart. There are repeated shots of women with keloid scars and a constant emphasis on the potential threat of radiation, as in a scene in which Miss Ishikawa visits a young women's Christian facility to meet a dying schoolgirl. As she leaves, the camera lingers on the deformed and scarred hands of a young woman clasped in prayer. In this way, the image of the young female teacher marries the trauma of wartime, symbolized by images of suffering women and children, to the forward-looking 'new life' rhetoric of the early postwar. The teacher-image instructs the viewer in anti-war doctrine while

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simultaneously invoking pleasurable images of Japan's modernized, Westernized future in the stylistic tropes shared by the youthful teacher and the early incarnations of the office lady, from their matching white blouses to their dynamic physicality and glow of youthful health.

The Affect of the Modern: The *Moga* Image as Threat and Promise

Analysis of the image of the Westernized young woman at work in the public spheres of postwar Japan leads us to the modern girl archetype, which has its roots in the pre-militarization era of Japan's rapid modernization at the beginning of the twentieth century. While images of office ladies and young unmarried women fill the backgrounds of melodrama, romance and humanist films in the early postwar era, the image of the young working woman is not a singular archetype in itself. If there is an archetypal image of the young public woman in postwar Japanese film, I would argue that it is a revision of the earlier archetypal construct of the pre-war modern girl. Before the peak of this motif in the late 1950s and early 1960s however, many images of the public female body onscreen contributed to the development of the postwar modern girl archetype by harnessing the innocence and affective qualities associated with children to the frustrations and pathos of the independent young woman. The popular Masako of Kurosawa's *One Wonderful Sunday* (1947) is an example of this post-childhood, pre-wife state of public female embodiment.

The film directly engages with the postwar context, with English language signs in the background of several shots (directly contravening SCAP censorship) and references to film-going as a 'cheap date' for the impoverished central couple. Masako, played by Nakakita Chieko, combines childlike qualities with painful awareness of the responsibilities of a postwar adult woman; the opening shot shows

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her pressed up against a train window, signalling the film's realistic representation of post-defeat life and the departure of her characterization from previous feminine models based on poise and elegance. Critics commented on Nakakita's lack of traditional beauty; however her moving performance distracts attention from perceived 'defects' in her physical appearance. 'In a natural performance, she expresses love' (*shizenna engi no naka ni aijō o hyōgenshiyō*) which seems 'warm and pure' (*aijō wa atatakasa kiyorakasa*), and so 'one doesn't think of her physical limitations' (*kanojo no yōshi no genkai to iu koto o kangaenenarane*) (Ōtsuka 1947: 27).

Like the pre-war modern girl, Masako wears Western clothing and sports a permanent wave; however her dress is used to underscore her poverty rather than to create a sense of glamour. Masako's trench coat is bedraggled and pitifully insufficient for the winter weather, while her hair is repeatedly soaked by the rain. Nonetheless, she is an active heroine with a tomboyish, childlike vitality. Low angle shots show her throwing a baseball for neighbourhood children, emphasizing her physical health and power. Her strong throw contrasts with her fiancé's abortive attempts to join the baseball game in a comic visual reference to the re-balancing of power between the genders in the early postwar period.

In the first half of the film Masako is presented as stronger than her fiancé

Fig. 48; Masako is shot over Yuzo's shoulder, emphasizing the predatory nature of the scene.

Yuzo, both physically and mentally. His tall thin frame contrasts with her stockiness, her strength in the baseball scene, and her relentlessly upbeat nature. This is the childlike section of the narrative, where the two play with local children, eat cut-price buns and try to forget their poverty.

Sex is notably absent; Masako playfully dodges away when her fiancé tries to kiss her. However, the tone turns darker after their encounter with a starving child from the *yakeato* (burnt out) slum area. Yuzo tries to cheer Masako as she walks in the shaded part of the street, his sunlit path visually contrasting her shadowy side. He suggests, "We can be like children and forget all the bad stuff" however the light mood is gone, and at the same time, sex enters the narrative.

As a heavy rain starts, Yuzo tries to persuade Masako to come to his apartment. Her visual discomfort reminds the viewer of the conflicted position in which the unmarried woman found herself in public in the early postwar period; ideally free to roam the streets alone and associate publically with the opposite sex, she nonetheless faced suspicion and censure when she did so. In several scenes, Masako is shot over Yuzo's shoulder, emphasizing the predatory aspect of his attempts to initiate sexual contact, and the danger of public censure she faces in acquiescing (fig. 48). Close-up shots of a small toy bear which Masako carries in her handbag are intercut throughout scenes in which Yuzo attempts sexual advances. His final attempt, close to rape in its forcefulness, aligns political and economic disempowerment with the desire for power over the female body, a motif repeated in relation to the image of the modern girl in the later postwar period. However, the sight of the toy bear re-asserts Masako's childlike innocence and is instrumental to Yuzo's eventual resolve not to force himself upon her.

The couple's 'shabby' (*uraburcta*) appearance (Izawa 1973c: 144) is emphasized in repeated shots of their feet in broken, leaking, school-style shoes which reinforce Masako's lack of glamour. Poverty translates to a distance between the couple, as in the first shot of the two together in which they lean against two away-facing walls on a street corner. The brightness of postwar youth turns tragic in poverty,

setting the tone for the frustration and violence of male-female relations in later films which deal with disempowered and impoverished youth. The two are further separated by his association with 'reality' and her association with 'dreams'; this is linked to his wartime service, as Masako observes "You used to have dreams too, before the war". Her association with childhood allows her continued identification as a dreamer which touches on the gendered resentments common in war memory in which ex-soldiers articulate non-participant civilians, particularly woman, as having their 'innocence' safeguarded by soldiers' sacrifice in war (Standish 2005: 194).

Kurosawa's film ends on a positive note however, as childlike innocence is restored to the couple and by extension to the audience in the final scene, set in a deserted outdoor auditorium. The couple attempt to collectively imagine an orchestra playing the symphony they have been unable to attend, however their ability to conjure up the fantasy is uncertain. Masako provides support to Yuzo's crazed conductor, and for the first time is visually presented as the weaker of the two, standing lower or sitting several steps beneath him, looking up. High angle shots emphasize the couple's vulnerability in the freezing auditorium as their first attempts fail. Masako's assumption of a 'feminine' supporting role represents a decision to move from childhood into adult female subjectivity; this development was popular with critics, who noted her 'supportive' (*sasaeru*) (Ōtsuka 1947: 27) qualities over other aspects of her characterization.

Masako ascends the stage and speaks directly to the camera, pleading with the audience to join their fantasy and make it 'real' in a scene representative of 'the poignant reality' (*surudoi genjitsu*) of the times (Iida 1947: 30).

Fig. 49; Masako addresses the audience.

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As the camera zooms in sharply for maximum affect, she pleads tearfully, "Help us dream beautiful dreams. Do it for young lovers everywhere". The extra-diegetic appeal to the spectator breaks the fourth wall, strongly affecting the viewer in its unexpected deviation from the dominant realist style of the rest of the film; 'affect proper coincides with the actor and the film's openness to often anomalous, unexpected, and always expansive expressions of emotions' (del Río 2008: 10). Masako and Yuzo's plea to be recognized as 'real' embodied beings mirrors the spectator's recognition of themselves in their image; an impoverished viewer on a 'cheap date' at the cinema could not but be moved by Masako's appeal to the universal aspects of their condition, as were critics. The reflection of everyday postwar hardship combined with childlike innocence in Masako's characterization achieves the 'great emotion' (*ōkina kandō*) which she is said to incite in the audience (*Kinema Junpō* 1947: 21). In many ways, this scene is allegorical of the function of post-defeat film for its viewers, in that its 'sense of fantasy' (*gensōaji*) is 'beautiful' (*fantashii no utsukushisa*) (Iida 1947: 30) though the reality it represents is harsh. The viewer or critic willingly identifies with the couple despite their lack of glamour because they are presented in a 'touching' (*ijirashii*) manner (Togawa 2003d: 14) which is charged with affect.

Masako's image references many of the codes of the pre-war modern girl to create a cinematic reflection of the young Japanese woman caught between the ideals of childhood and adult responsibilities during a period of great social change. While the *moga* was an object of celebration for some in the pre-war era, symbolizing modernity, high capitalist modes of consumption and new levels of freedom, the prevailing media discourse on the *moga* was censorious, approaching the level of moral panic. The *moga* was interpreted as symbolic of encroaching Westernization

and the deterioration of a Japanese 'tradition' and moral code. Modern girls and communism were 'lumped together' as examples of the damaging effects of outside influence on Japan (Ginoza 2006: 31); War Minister Araki Sadao accused the *moga* and her counterpart, the 'modern boy' or *mobo*, of being 'soft and degenerate' in his film *Crisis-Time Japan* (*Hijōji Nihon,* 1933) (High 2003: 46). The *moga* symbolized a perceived 'feminization of culture' (*joseika*) in Araki's film, particularly evident in the leisure-class women and their Western-dressed daughters depicted strolling in the Ginza shopping district. The 'aggressive' nature of the modern girl was accused of weakening the nation and impeding its progress, however 'the intended negative image was received as refined, bright and attractive, rather than critical' (Ginoza 2006: 32) by many female consumers. This suggests that positive qualities associated with youth, such as the 'brightness' (*akarui*) film critics found in the schoolgirl image (*Eiga Goraku* 1948: 38) may have mediated the threatening aspects of Westernization in the *moga* image.

Popular female film stars were also spotted walking on the Ginza, living out the epitome of *moga* style as 'representatives, or models for female manners and customs' (Murayama 1991: 97). However, this modern gender performance was 'equated with Americanism' and was a subject of censure in conservative circles (Murayama 1991: 99). This was also the case for the postwar *moga*, who was associated not only with Americanized dress, manners and speech, but also with fraternization with Allied personnel. Relationships with the American men (and women; see Koikari 2008) of SCAP's offices placed the postwar *moga* outside the control of the Japanese patriarchal structure, just as the most threatening aspect of the *moga* image in the years of Japan's rapid modernization was not her foreignness per se, but rather anxieties stemming from 'the inability of intellectuals to "control" the

moga image' (Sato 2003: 40). Barbara Sato connects the possibilities for change embodied by the interwar *moga* with the actual drastic change which took place after Japan's defeat (2003: 77); I argue that the postwar *moga* was perceived to pose the same threat of uncontrollable potential. Postwar social change engendered a reincarnation of the *moga* in the mid-1950s and early 1960s, in a context very similar to the 'feminization of culture' perceived in 'the prevalence of women in the workplace and on the street' in the interwar years (Russell 2008: 54).

Before analysing selected examples of the postwar *moga* onscreen, I will consider the affect of the *moga* image on pre-war audiences in order to extrapolate this affect for viewers in 1950s and 1960s Japan. Russell discerns 'contradictions' surrounding the image of the interwar *moga* which suggest conflicting desires on the part of her audiences (2008: 47). She highlights the 'convenient consumer package' created for the *moga* by the media (2005: 8), implying that there was an element of safety in viewing the image of the *moga* onscreen rather than on the streets of the Ginza. Russell notes the varied receptions of the image of the *moga*, at once 'a caricature of modern Japan, a convenient target of ridicule and a perpetrator of tragedy' to argue that the *moga* image 'points to the profound changes occurring within the gendered public sphere' (2005: 8). The body of the *moga* is at once 'a national defence against the incursions of Western consumer culture and the embodiment of its new forms of experience' (2005: 9). However, Donald Kirihara finds a bleaker affect in the *moga*'s representation;

> What distinguished the modern girl - and her negative image - was the
> weak position from which she hoped to challenge the patriarchy… the
> term *moga* had "the ring of cynicism and contempt" in its associations

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with frivolity and dissipation, but at the same time it could be turned

around to bring out the tragic side of modernization. (Kirihara 1992: 36)

The 'tragic side of modernization' is similarly visible in the postwar

reincarnation of the *moga*, often the subject of extreme violence and narrative failure.

Though Standish suggests that the modern girl presented a positive view of feminine

potential in that her 'proclivity for Western-style fashions and behaviour extended her

symbolic meaning as a challenge, not only to traditional feminine stereotypes of the

"good wife, wise mother", but also to questions of cultural difference' (2005: 57), she

also notes that the point of view or omniscient narration of many films centred on the

moga contain her novel performance of femininity within a masculine frame (2005:

57). In the interwar film, the *modan gāru* and traditional women were 'social types

representing competing social values' (Standish 2005: 61). However, the social values

of patriarchy often triumphed in the end, as the *moga* repeatedly lost to her virtuous

domestic counterpart, dying at the end of the pre-war film. The postwar *moga* is

similarly positioned in opposition to 'virtuous' family-based female characters, such

as the sister of the hero's friend, who outlives Mihara Yōko's modern girl in *Fire Line*

to win the heart of the hero at the end of the film. Just as often however, the postwar

moga outlives the male heroes to survive past the end of the narrative, as in the rest of

the *Line* series, as well as in *Kinema Junpō* Best Ten hits such as *Burial of the Sun*

and *Pigs and Battleships*.

Historians and film scholars alike agree that the *moga* was an ambivalent

figure; Wada-Marciano suggests that the *moga* was confined within representational

frameworks and 'controlled within the frame of consumerism – thus mitigating the

threat of an emerging female subjectivity' (2008: 14). Instead, the imagined female

subjectivities of the *moga* provided 'a visible re-enactment of Japanese anxiety over

the transformative aspects of modernity' (Wada-Marciano 2008: 14). In her Westernized aspect, the *moga* could express popular ambivalence towards modernization and Westernization;

> …the modern girl was used to symbolize the assimilation of
> Westernness and the Japanese mastery over the encounter. Whether she
> was used as an affirmation or a mockery of the Japanese embrace of the
> West, the image always served to refigure and re-establish Japanese
> national identity; in either case, the external depiction of Westernness in
> the modern girl's materiality left the modern subject seemingly intact
> and safe from the profound interior transformations of the encounter.
> (Wada-Marciano 2008: 87).

The postwar *moga* provided a similar imagistic ground for the battle between Westernization and 'traditional' Japanese culture. In the context of the Allied/ American occupation and its aftermath, it was clear that Westernization could not be rejected entirely. The implied or explicit violence to which the postwar *moga* is subject can be read as a fantasy of punishment for her defection from 'traditional' codes of Japaneseness; however, her survival at the end of the narrative underscores the inability of postwar Japan to close off outside influence. This theme is discernible in the common motif in which the *moga* walks off into the future at the end of the film. While modern girls such as Haruko of *Pigs and Battleships* walk off across the screen and out of the frame, others mirror the ending of Mizoguchi's *Osaka Elegy* (*Naniwa erejī*, 1936) in which *moga* Ayako walks towards the camera, exceeding the frame of the shot and blacking out her image by her very excess of presence. The postwar modern girl is an uncontainable image in that she literally exceeds the frame of the

shot, reflecting popular perception of postwar Americanization as uncontainable and unstoppable.

Particularly disturbing to cinematic and social norms was the 'projection of female sexual and economic autonomy in the modern girl figure' (Wada-Marciano 2008: 88) which reoccurs in the depiction of the postwar *moga* as a means of re-imagining and re-working gender relations in the wake of SCAP's social reforms. Wada-Marciano writes of the *moga* as 'symbols of discontent within society' (2005: 27); I wish to focus on this particular aspect in examining the construction of a new *moga* image in postwar film. The violent treatment of the body of the *moga* in films such as *Woman of Tokyo* (*Tokyo no onna*, Ozu Yasujirō, 1933) provided a cathartic resolution of the ambivalent sentiments she aroused (Wada-Marciano 2005: 37). The body of the screen *moga* as potential victim reoccurs in postwar reincarnations of the archetype as the violence and explicit sexual expression which began to appear in youth film, the *taiyōzoku* genre and in much of Nikkatsu's output after the end of the occupation was also focused on a female body marked as 'modern' and 'Western'. Miriam Silverberg argues that this violent reoccurrence was in part a backlash against the dominant humanist films and melodramas of the first decade of defeat, which engendered the 'legacy of this denial' in the 'disembodied violent representations of dominated women' years later (Silverberg 1998: 225). I argue for the image of the female body subjected to violence as abject, or a 'body of excess' in chapter four, however for the purposes of this chapter I will confine my analyses to the image of the modern girl, her treatment onscreen, and its potential affect.

In the interwar period and in postwar years, the *moga* was an excessive body in her display of Westernization, consumer capital, and new performances of gender. As Silverberg observes, 'the Modern Girl's bold gestures crossed gender

boundaries'(1991: 244); the brash manners and masculine speech of the interwar

modern girl are evident in her later reincarnations, such as the characters played by

Mihara Yōko (1933-) for Teruo Ishii's 'hit' *Line* series (Osabe 1987: 366). Mihara's

characters, which combine innocence with vampish qualities, are minor variations on

the same original; their repetition throughout the series indicates that they were

popular enough to constitute box-office reliability. I argue that the popularity of such

representations as Mihara's suggests that the image of the postwar modern girl

reflected and mediated socio-political anxieties in postwar Japan.

Fig. 50; Mihara Yōko's *moga* costume.

Fig. 51; An isolated shot of Mihara's feet fetishizes her body.

The costuming of Mihara's characterizations throughout the *Line* series recalls the *moga* image in references to 1920s and '30s fashions such as pillbox-style hats and short haircuts. Her characters are a blend of the child and the vamp, reflected in costumes which range from the sophisticated, such as her 1930s

style suit and fur in *Black Line* to the childish, in the loose shirt and cropped trouser

outfit of *Sexy Line*.[16] Her mannerisms are childlike and impulsive; she repeatedly

sticks out her tongue, screws up her face and throws her feet up on tables. However,

she is also fetishized by the camera, which emphasizes her adult female sexuality. In

the opening sequence of *Black Line,* the camera moves slowly up her body, clothed in

American-style tight trousers, isolating first her feet and then her legs in individual

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[16] The suit is a version of Joan Crawford's in *Queen Bee* (Ranald MacDougall, 1955); similar versions were worn by Kim Novak and Marilyn Monroe on publicity tours. Mihara starred in Ishii's *Queen Bee and the School for Dragons* (*Joōhachi to daigaku no ryū*, 1960), part of the *Queen Bee* series at Shin-Tōhō, (*Queen Bee/ Joōhachi*, Taguchi Satoshi, 1958; *Queen Bee's Anger/ Joōhachi no ikari,* Ishii Teruo, 1958) which began with a remake of the Daiei film of the same name (*Queen Bee/ Joōhachi*, Tanaka Shigeo, 1952). This suggests a substantial Hollywood influence in both Ishii's work and Mihara's costuming and the shaping of her star persona, as well as an enduring popularity of the 'queen bee' archetype, a powerful and impulsive female characterization.

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shots. Fetishized shots of legs became Mihara's trademark in later films, often

narratively occasioned by her repeated roles as cabaret dancers; this motif is parodied

in the opening credit sequence of *Sexy Line*, the background of which is composed of

magazine cut outs and fragments of the bodies of pin-up images.

Imamura parodies the same convention in *Pigs and Battleships*, in which a

shot isolating Haruko's bare legs enhanced by

glamorous dance shoes is mirrored in a post-coital

scene in which the camera traces seductively from

the same shoe up an outstretched leg only to find

that it belongs to her boyfriend. The highly self-

aware relationship between the camera and the

postwar modern girl creates a dialectic in which

the female body is presented as an object for visual

Fig. 52; An isolated shot of Haruko's feet.

Fig. 53; Haruko's feet are replaced by a shot of her boyfriend's feet in her shoes.

consumption while the film style satirizes this very process. Maureen Turim addresses

this issue in the representation of Hanako in *Burial of the Sun*, arguing that she is

'both an image to be exploited by the film and a self-conscious critique of female

positioning in Japanese society; profligate, her complete lack of ethics is

contextualised not simply as a "fault" of her gender but as a rebellion against her

treatment' (Turim 1998: 48). The postwar *moga* may appeal to dual audience

demographics in the multiple affects she produces, providing both the visual titillation

for the male gaze common to classic studio-era narrative cinema (Mulvey 1992) and a

cathartic sense of protest for the viewer supportive of the postwar gender-equal

democratic agenda.

Reoccurring scenes showing Mihara scantily clad before, during and after

cabaret performances articulate her body as an object for consumption, however she is

also depicted as an active consumer, browsing street stalls and frequenting department stores as a pickpocket in *Sexy Line*. Her aggressive appetites are signalled in a variety of scenes which show her biting into an apple, recalling the famous long-shot of Kichi aggressively biting an apple in Ōshima's *Cruel Story of Youth* (*Seishun zankoku monogatari*, 1960). Mihara's *moga* image encompasses 'masculine'-associated imagery as well as imagery associated with the child and the vamp; assisting in the investigation of a prostitution ring in *Sexy Line*, she stuffs money down the front of a call girl's shift, affecting a masculine brusqueness. Her physical strength and health are emphasized by low angle shots reminiscent of the framing of the girl image in Kurosawa and Yoshimura's early postwar humanist films. Fast-paced editing and quick-panning shots give the impression of speed and power, particularly in the reoccurring chase sequences in which Mihara leads the hero to safety. While Mihara became the queen of pink film in the late 1960s and 1970s, her performances in the *Line* series fuse the image of the young girl with that of the vamp or the 'masculine' modern woman, packaging threatening themes within the familiar and entertaining visual codes of the interwar *moga*.

The characteristics of the interwar *moga* were outlined in the January 1928 issue of *Shinchō*, in which a discussion panel agreed that 'the Modern Girl; was not hysterical; used direct language; was aggressive sexually; did not practice chastity; could be poor; was an anarchist; had freedom of expression' (quoted in Silverberg 1991: 250). These qualities, as well as the Western dress and gender-ambiguous language and gestures attributed to the interwar *moga* are also apparent in her postwar counterpart. While 'office ladies' proliferate in genres as wide ranging as the melodrama, the gangster film, and the *kaijū eiga* or monster film, the postwar *moga* not only works outside the home, but is often positioned on the fringes of illicit or

criminal activity, similar to the Hollywood noir gangster's moll. Unlike her Hollywood counterpart however, the *moga* is rarely seductive, channelling instead the youthful vigour of the tomboy.

The new modern girl of the 1950s and 1960s was infantilized as well as slightly masculine in her mannerisms. However, she was also sexualized to a degree which the images of the daughter and schoolgirl were not, as indicated by the switch in her articulation from '*musume*' or 'daughter' to '*onē-chan*' or 'elder sister'.

> These girls were no innocents. The familiar *nei-chan* [*onē-chan*]
>
> suggests bars and hotel rooms, not the ice-cream parlour and school
>
> rooms brought to mind by *musume*. (Richie 1961: 106)

Richie sees the *onē-chan* as a direct development from the *musume-tachi*, who were often organized into three 'types' of modern female youth in a structure which came to be known as the 'three girl' film. Though the innocent daughters of the 'three girl' film enjoyed brief popularity, Takase Yoshio observes that a new kind of youth image was required 'in order to appeal to young people… This is the generation without an "emperor complex", exemplified by the *taiyōzoku* and "rockabillies"' (*rokabiri*) (Takase 1959: 39).

Just as the interwar *moga* was the focus of the viewers' look ' that was half yearning and half jealous' (Iwamoto 1991: 50), so the capricious modern girls of the gangster and *taiyōzoku* genres presented a desirable liberated femininity, however, they were also the subjects of unrestrained violence. Standish argues that post-defeat films often had a 'masculine-defined and ultimately misogynistic subjectivity' (2005: 223) based on the narrative trope which saw active desiring heroines 'disavowed by their deaths at the end of the film' (Standish 2005: 224). Standish contextualizes this

violent backlash within the gender norms of the period, as the new power of women

to choose their marriage partners altered the woman's role from clearly defined object

of exchange to that of 'a fetish to be exchanged between men', evident in the

taiyōzoku genre (Standish 2005: 228).

> From the mid-1950s and the *taiyōzoku* films on, these same
>
> misogynistic themes and anxieties were allayed through physical
>
> violence, rape, coerced abortion and the often violent deaths of the
>
> heroine. (Standish 2005: 257)

The new modern girl of the postwar era served a similar function to that of her pre-

war counterpart, in that her image became a scapegoat for anxieties around the

reorganization of gender hierarchies. If we place the beginnings of the reincarnation

of the postwar modern girl at Kurosawa's *One Wonderful Sunday*, we can see that this

figure allays anxieties related not only to the new power of women, but also to the

perception of physical and economic inferiority experienced by many men throughout

the occupation. Revisiting Yuzo's attempts to force himself upon Masako, we may

suggest that the excesses of violence visited upon the modern female body post-

occupation stem from social anxieties which were not permissibly expressed during

the occupation due to SCAP censorship, and so find vent in post-occupation youth

films.

While the public bodies of teachers and nurses were sanctified by their

proximity to children and their associations with youth, purity, and hope for new life,

the public aspect of the *moga*'s performance was interpreted by many as 'her real

transgression' (Silverberg 1991: 246). The *moga* identity was posited on freedom of

movement, in itself an unsettling development in a nation which had long identified

'virtuous' women as those bound to the home. Standish argues that middle-class women working outside the home in the interwar period precipitated 'a masculine backlash that manifested itself in a media-generated image of what came to be known as the *modan gāru*… she became the corporeal expression of the destabilization of traditional ideologies of gender' (2005: 53). Writing in the popular journal *Kaiteisō*, journalist Kitamura Kaneko similarly drew associations between the working woman and freedom of movement; 'working women, in their system of thought, are nomadic people'. This touches on the source of the pre-war media moral panic around the working young woman, as 'Nomadic people have neither laws nor national borders' (Kitamura 131, quoted in Silverberg 1991: 247).

Issues around national borders are reflected in the physical boundaries of the modern girl's body, open to foreign influence in terms of dress and in themes of miscegenation and sexual activity between Japanese women and non-Japanese men. The modern girl was often physically located near the edges of the nation, as Wada-Marciano observes of a series of films produced by Shōchiku Kamata studios in the interwar period in which the image of the modern girl is closely connected to the harbour areas of Tokyo, particularly Yokohama. She argues that these 'outlaw spaces show a more complex dynamic view of social space, one that allows for greater autonomy and fluidity in race and gender roles' (168: 2001).

The modern girls of the *Line* series are also located at the harbour; call girls are smuggled onto a boat in *Sexy Line*, while Mihara takes the hero of *Black Line* to Yokohama to hide out, and later sashays along the pier to hand herself over to the police. However, the harbour does not always present opportunities for 'greater autonomy' in gender roles, as Mihara dies beside the harbour in the arms of the hero of *Fire Line*, while in the final seaside shoot out of *Yellow Line*, the modern girl

heroine adopts a traditional pose, placing her body between her lover and his opponent. Wada-Marciano identifies Yokohama as 'simultaneously inclusive in terms of race and gender roles, yet excluded as a criminal space from the rest of the city' (2001: 169). While the *moga* may perform a non-traditional interpretation of femininity by the harbour, the very criminality of the space often leads to her death or incarceration. Though the *moga* are 'allowed to assert their own needs and desires' in the harbour spaces (Wada-Marciano 2008: 40) their desires are not always fulfilled as the postwar harbour more often represents shattered dreams and disappointment. The many prostitutes and call girls of the *Line* series regularly meet their deaths in the seas by the ports, while just as many are tricked onto boats which take them away from Japan to fictitious 'respectable' jobs inevitably revealed to be human trafficking operations.

Her positioning at the edges of Japan in spaces penetrable by outside influence clearly links the image of the *moga* to concerns about national boundaries and borders. As discussed in chapter two, the association of the female body with the nation reflected postwar anxieties around national boundaries exacerbated by the return of annexed lands. I suggest that the lack of boundaries which is a condition of the modern girl's embodiment was anxiety-producing in positioning the *moga* body outside governmental control. The image of the *moga* also referred to the potential for young people to leave the nation state, abandoning Japan for a life overseas and taking with them the hope for new life embodied by the image of postwar youth. In the postwar youth film, the theme of fleeing Japan is prevalent throughout the late 1950s and 1960s in such films as *Alone Across the Pacific* (*Taiheiyō hitoribocchi*, Ichikawa Kon, 1963) and *Escape from Japan* (*Nihon dasshutsu*, Yoshida Yoshishige, 1964). Throughout the narrative of *Pigs and Battleships*, modern girl Haruko

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repeatedly articulates her desire to leave her home by the sea; the final scene shows her walking towards the train station and out of the frame of the shot.

As in previous chapters, the images under discussion here are read as imaginative possibilities rather than reflections of real life change. Silverberg notes that the *moga* of the 1920s and 30s presented the same grounds for imaginative re-working of social conditions; 'the discourse on the Modern Girl was more about imagining a new Japanese woman than about documenting social change' (1991: 250). While the image of the modern girl was productive, in the Foucaultian sense, in providing a body on which potential futures of the nation could be imagined, the *moga* image was simultaneously constricting, as the interwar *moga* was imagined as apolitical or anarchist. Silverberg observes that this 'obsessive contouring of the Modern Girl as promiscuous and apolitical (and later, as apolitical and non-working) begins to emerge as a means of displacing the very real militancy of Japanese women' (1991: 260). The postwar modern girls portrayed by Mihara were similarly constricting in their amoral attitudes, which refuse to differentiate between 'good' and 'bad' characterizations in the roles around their own,

Fig. 54; Honō Kayako/Hanako's dress is modern, Americanized and often masculine.

Fig. 55; She is presented as sexualized in her dress and active in her mannerisms and expressions.

Fig. 56; Hanako's sexualized costuming references American trends.

and similarly distance the image of the public young woman from the political

activism of Japanese youth during the later postwar period. At the end of the 1950s, when student protests against the re-signing of the Anpo treaty provided daily images of the activist female body, the apolitical bias of the postwar *moga* on screen was a means to soothe popular anxiety. Turim observes that Hanako of *Burial of the Sun* 'might also be seen as an echo in the present of the precedent set by the Moga' (1998: 250); Hanako is posited in opposition to student radicalism and activism in her dismissive attitudes to the student protests (Turim 1998: 251), news of which pepper the dialogue.

Hanako is an 'echo' of the modern girl in her American fashions, independent lifestyle, 'masculine' speech and mannerisms, and associations with the criminal underworld. In her involvement in the black market, Hanako recalls the characterization of the interwar modern girl as 'a symbolic figure of the city, which is both modern and degenerate' (Standish 2005: 60). A 'daring female entrepreneur' and an 'aggressively self-enterprising woman' (Turim 1998: 48), Hanako is linked to the socio-political context of the early 1960s, in that her characterization and physical appearance 'announces a modern, Westernized woman whose figure, clothing, demeanour, and attitude break with the traditional Japanese ideal of demure, self-sacrificing, and self-effacing purity' (Turim 1998: 246). She represents the 'symbolic reconfiguration of class, gender and identification' (Turim 1998: 247) occurring in postwar Japanese society, just as the interwar *moga* reflected the same concerns in the 1920s and '30s.

Like Mihara's characters, Hanako's sexuality is highlighted extra-textually as well as within the film by Ōshima, who published his recollections of the actress, Honō Kayoko becoming 'clearly aroused' during the filming of a sex scene (Ōshima 1992: 154, trans. Lawson). He emphasizes this aspect of her star persona, repeating an

anecdote about her attempted double suicide with a lover who was scandalously younger than herself. Honō's star persona is constructed by such extra-textual material to fit the risqué image of the *taiyōzoku* genre and of Ōshima's own auteur persona. This representation of the modern girl's sexuality as unpredictable, aggressive and destructive is echoed in the camera's treatment of Hanako, as close-up shots of her eyes and mouth emphasize her active desiring subjectivity. Turim argues that *moga* expressions of female sexuality differ from the use of such imagery in previous films, in that they 'complicate the male notions of sexual liberation of desire that are assigned an energetic function of releasing the Japanese subject from the oppression of a group identity' (1998: 249). The male characters of *Burial of the Sun* express desire for Hanako, but all explicitly articulate their desire to subject her to violence also; sexual expression heightens rather than releases the oppression of both male and female subjectivities under the group identity of 'postwar Japanese'.

Sex, for the new *moga*, is not depicted as an unproblematic area of free expression and pleasure, as in *Pigs and Battleships*, where Haruko is gang-raped by American sailors. Like Hanako, Haruko is presented as modern in her dress, rough language and physical difference from her kimono-clad mother, who symbolizes 'traditional Japan' in both her costuming and in her attempts to sell Hanako to support the family, criticized by several characters as 'feudal'. Though the last scene depicts Haruko striding off to begin a new life, her physical treatment throughout the film is violent; the vulnerability of her liminal state as harbour-based *moga* is reflected in her rape. Throughout this disturbing scene, the viewer is aligned with Hanako's point of view by a series of shots which depict the men from her vulnerable position, intercut with aerial shots of the room spinning dementedly, transmitting her panic and confusion. Screaming is heard non-diegetically over the spinning scene, contrasted by

sudden silence in a sharp cut to a shot of Haruko's face as she regains consciousness after the rape. This is an example of the excessive violence meted out on the body of the postwar *moga*; Haruko's ordeal begins with her stating her intention to "find an American" to "have some fun with" in protest at the behaviour of her Japanese boyfriend. As the encounter spirals out of control, the tough façade of the postwar modern girl is shattered and she is revealed as vulnerable body.

The punishment of the transgressive *moga* body has limited effect as the final scene shows Haruko marching toward the train station to begin a new life. In a long panning

Fig. 57; Haruko strides towards the camera as she leaves the harbour town to begin a new life.

shot, she walks past the battleships at the port and defiantly out of the frame. David Desser argues that Haruko's survival hinges on 'remaining true to her essential Japanese self' (1988: 123), suggesting that the Westernized body of the new modern girl can be read as symbolic of 'essential' ideas of Japaneseness in its very proximity to and difference from Western bodies. Haruko leaves dressed in the American style clothing in which she spends most of the film, except for a brief scene in summer kimono during the idyllic phase of her relationship with her Japanese partner. However, her determination to move deeper into Japan, away from the harbour area, and the indestructible quality she shares with so many of Imamura's heroines may constitute the 'essential Japanese self' Desser reads underneath the superficialities of her postwar *moga* presentation.

From the 'new life' themes of the image of the schoolgirl in the early postwar period to the challenging bodies of the modern girls of the 1960s, this chapter has investigated the role of images of female youth in Japanese postwar film in expressing and mediating national crisis. In the socio-historical context of the occupation and its

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aftermath, the female body in the public sphere was a highly charged image in its relation to SCAP-mandated social reforms. The public female body on-screen reflected and mediated popular anxieties in its affect on postwar audiences. Just as 'Japanese women were constantly stepping in and out of the dominant apparatus of power, sometimes reinforcing and at other times undermining an emerging structure of hegemony' during the occupation (Koikari 2008: 6), the image of the female youth was often used reflexively to challenge and to re-entrench pre-war attitudes to gender. The next chapter will explore a set of images defined as 'excessive bodies' which attempt to operate outside such patriarchal social structures entirely.

CHAPTER 4

Bodies of Excess; The Return (and Repetition) of the Repressed

Soko ni igyō no supekutakuru toshite no geinō no motsu chitsujo fukusei

ya hankenisei o mite toranai kagiri, eiga kenkyū wa taisei no uchigawa

de no chiteki sōsa ni owatteshimau darō.

If we don't grasp the subversive and anti-authoritarian elements capable

of overthrowing order which performance art as a grotesque spectacle

can have, then film scholarship will be no more than an intellectual

exercise operating within the status quo. (Yomota 2009: 8)

The previous chapters have addressed the role of the female image on film in

expressing and mediating national anxieties by focusing on images of the female body

which negotiate postwar Japan's future by presenting national possibilities, or which

reinterpret the nation's wartime past by creating a sense of national nostalgia. The

mother image was reflective of the postwar 'victim complex' (*higaisha ishiki*) in her

association with wartime loss, while the youthful female image presented the

possibility of postwar rebirth and 'new life'. Nostalgia and hope are self-evidently

pleasurable affects; in contrast this chapter seeks to understand the appeal of

seemingly unpleasurable imagery for the postwar film viewer. Recalling Linda

Williams' reminder that shock can be 'a key component of pleasure' for audiences

(2001: unpaginated), this chapter investigates the popularity of the shocking female

body on film, suggested by the repetition of disturbing and dystopic female images.

'Bodies of excess' refers to images which resist containment; while the youthful images of chapter three pushed against social and cultural boundaries in their associations with budding sexuality, the images discussed in chapter four exceed social and physical boundaries, reflecting unformed or quasi-formed fears and anxieties. Sharalyn Orbaugh discerns 'a territorial displacement in the world of gender' in the 'remapping of the masculine in postwar discourse' which, she argues, results in a new phenomenon depicting the 'absolute mindlessness, inhumanity, and grotesque physicality of the female' in popular literature of the early postwar era (Orbaugh 2007: 468). This chapter argues for a similar development on film.

During the occupation (1945-1952), wide-reaching pre- and post-production censorship practiced by the Civil Information and Education department (hereafter the CIE) and the Civil Censorship Department (hereafter CCD) of the offices of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (hereafter SCAP), including a ban on *jidaigeki* period dramas, resulted in an increase in the representation of modern bodies on film. By the early 1950s however, heroines of history and myth returned to the screen as grotesque demons and witches from Japanese folklore; we can interpret this theme as a backlash against the occupation's imagistic legacy in which the 'grotesque returns as the repressed of the political unconscious' (Russo 1994: 8). While the mythic female image tends toward the grotesque or excessive due to its disproportionate use in the genres of fantasy and horror, the image of the modern female body on film is often similarly presented as a body of excess; the image of the postwar prostitute is one example. The first part of this chapter explores reoccurring themes in the representation of prostitution which threaten and problematize body boundaries, understood as symbolic of national boundaries. The challenge to body

boundaries narratively occasioned by prostitute characterizations positions the image of the prostitute as a body of excess.

Like the prostitute, the mythic female characters of the *jidaigeki* and *avant-garde* genres often display problematic or threatened body boundaries. While the image of the prostitute, particularly the street walking *panpan*, articulates fears relevant to postwar Japan's new state of openness and occupation, mythic female characters are often reflexive images used to express and elicit positive or negative reactions toward concepts of tradition. Virtuous heroines such as Tanaka Kinuyo (1909-1977) as Miyagi in *Tales of Ugetsu* (*Ugetsu monogatari*, Mizoguchi Kenji, 1953), or Kyō Machiko (1924-) as Lady Kesa in *Gates of Hell* (*Jigokumon*, Kinugasa Teinosuke, 1953) contrast with villains such as Kyō's Lady Wakasa, also of *Tales of Ugetsu*, or Yamaguchi Yoshiko (1920-) as the snake monster Lady White in *The Legend of the White Serpent* (*Byaku fujin no yōren/ Bai she chuan shuō/ The Legend of the White Serpent*, Toyoda Shirō, 1956). These characters posit the mythic female image as an ambivalent symbol of extreme power, whether a paragon of virtue or a threat to the very nature of society. The ambivalence of this image suggests that the excessive female body on film provided a platform upon which the postwar battle over concepts of tradition and memory was fought. Yoshimoto Takaaki argues that the shape-shifting female images of snake and fox demons (*kitsune*), as well as otherworldly depictions of the virtuous shrine maiden archetype, are exemplary of the communal fantasies through which Japan as a nation understood itself (1968: 99). This chapter considers the affect of the mythic female villain, shape-shifter or demon on film to understand the appeal of the reoccurring image of the excessive body, often characterized by an excess of size, shape, or sexuality.

This chapter is structured around three archetypal imagistic constructs which reoccur frequently throughout early postwar film production; the image of the prostitute, the mythic female image and the excessive female body. As bodies of excess however, their categorizations are wont to bleed together, and so the structure of this final chapter is more organic than those of the preceding chapters. Excessive female bodily images bring us back to the starting point of this thesis; the hypothesis that reoccurring female images on film are coded to express the inexpressible, reflecting deep seated anxieties difficult to verbalize for the everyday subject of national crisis.

> In addition, given the propensity of MacArthur and other Allied officials to use the pronoun "she" when talking about Japan, particularly when emphasizing "her" new abject status, formerly epistemically central Japanese men found themselves to be newly "gendered" – as feminine – in terms of national identity. (Orbaugh 2007: 390)

In reading the image of the abject female body as reflective of the nation, I am returning to arguments made in chapters two and three which make a case for the female body on film as representative of the nation based on Japan's long history of articulating national concerns through the imagery of the female body in popular art and film as well as in legal documentation and literature. This chapter argues that the excessive and abject female body on film reflects and mediates the trauma of an abject national identity using the affective language of narrative cinema.

Abject Bodies and National Identities: Postwar Japan as an Abject Nation

> Who, I ask you, would agree to call himself abject, subject of or subject
>
> to abjection? (Kristeva 1982: 1, trans. Roudiez)

In their problematized boundaries or lack thereof, bodies of excess are abject, neither subject nor object but problematic liminal entities in between. Julia Kristeva describes abjection as a state to which no active subject would or should voluntarily submit. However, many writers have pointed to a cathartic use for abject terminology and imagery in the expression of trauma. Judith Butler identifies 'abject zones' which are liminal and marginalized, outside the identificatory spaces of the majority (Butler 1993: 186). The abject body situated in these discursive zones occupies a position in which its testimony is beyond question. This position not only reflects the subjugated state of the abject body, but also reveals much about the contexts that position that body. As briefly discussed in chapter two, Hal Foster has argued for the abject body as the locus of a 'special truth' as 'the violated body is often the evidentiary basis of important witnessings to truth, of necessary testimonials against power' (1996: 123). In postwar Japan during and after occupation, abject imagery was used as a testimonial to the brutality of war, particularly atomic warfare, and in protests against the state and the occupying forces.

Kristeva defines the abject as 'beyond the scope of the possible, the tolerable, the thinkable' (1982: 1, trans. Roudiez); as such, abject imagery was well suited to discussion and representation of the unthinkable, whether the unthinkable social transitions demanded of the Japanese nation in the wake of defeat and occupation or the intolerable memories of Japan's war crimes and responsibilities. Japan's defeat was unthinkable and intolerable for many Imperial Japanese subjects (High 2003:

502), while the capitulation of the Imperial nation and Emperor Hirohito's subsequent 'Human Being Declaration' (*Ningen Sengen*) issued on January 1, 1946 were unimaginable to citizens indoctrinated by the wartime state. Historians have argued that reports of mass confusion and dismay following and the Emperor's public rejection of his divine status have been over-exaggerated (Morris-Suzuki 1984: 196). However, it is not difficult to imagine the 'oozing, seeping, bleeding, abjection of much that was assumed sacrosanct' (Waddell 2006: 168) as a condition of postwar life considering the drastic changes brought by defeat, occupation and the 1947 Constitution. The language of abjection runs consistently throughout accounts of life in postwar Japan as the nation's shock at having been invaded is expressed in language and imagery similar to that used by Kristeva.

Abjection 'does not respect borders' (Kristeva 1982: 4, trans. Roudiez) and is occasioned by 'the inability to assume with sufficient strength the imperative act of excluding' (Bataille 1970: 217). The occupied Japanese nation state suffered a breach of boundaries and total inability to expulse the ensuing Allied occupation forces.

> In Japanese eyes, the inescapable impression of September 2, 1945, was
> that the West – which meant, essentially the United States – was
> extraordinarily rich and powerful, and Japan unbelievably weak and
> vulnerable. (Dower 1999: 138)

Abject language and imagery provided a vocabulary for the expression of such national anxieties in a country invaded and occupied. At the same time however, exclusion and expulsion was practiced amongst and against diverse groups of Japanese by their countrymen, turning these groups into abject figures. The military had become 'objects of public disgust' (Dower 1999: 59) and soldiers often returned

to find that postwar society had no place for them. Many found their wives remarried, families moved, and houses and land gone; some soldiers even discovered that they had been declared dead in their absence. These *ikite iru eirei*, or living war dead are literal manifestations of Kristeva's example of the most abject of bodies, the corpse. Just as 'corpses *show me* what I permanently thrust aside in order to live' (Kristeva 1982: 3, trans. Roudiez), the living war dead and their fellow soldiers were reminders of the 'unspeakable acts' (Dower 1999: 60) of war which had to be 'thrust aside' to construct a new postwar Japanese self. For their part, returning soldiers found both Buddhist traditions of compassion and the Confucian ideal of 'reciprocal obligation' (Dower 1999: 61) ignored as far as they were concerned. In response, many performed rites of self-abjection, dressing in distinctive white clothes and 'flaunt[ing] their disabilities – more accurately their pain and hardship' (Dower 1999: 61), disregarding social taboos by begging publicly. Survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, particularly those directly exposed to the atomic bombs, known as *hibakusha*, were likewise popularly imagined as 'polluted' (Dower 1999: 61), as were the battle-shocked and the mentally ill. Psychologist Robert Lifton observed that the *hibakusha* were treated as 'death-tainted… a threat, an enemy, and finally, an inferior breed' (1967: 171); there was a sense in which the nation as a whole identified in these terms in relation to the occupiers and to the wider world. Repelling the *hibakusha* therefore presented a means to repel the worst of oneself.

In thinking of the rejection which returnees and *hibakusha* suffered, we must observe the distinction between 'to *be* abject' and 'to abject'. To be abject or in a state of abjection is by Kristeva's definition to be neither subject nor object, but to be pre- or post-subjecthood, as in the state of the infant or corpse; the abject state connotes powerlessness and inability to act as a subject. '"One hundred million people in a

state of trauma" (*ichi-oku sō-kyodatsu*) was the phrase that the Japanese press coined to describe those [post-defeat] days' (Morris-Suzuki 1984: 196); *kyodatsu*, a paralysing state of physical and mental fatigue, dejection and disorientation, parallels the state of the abject body. This abject state is enacted by many female characters on the early postwar Japanese screen, such as the prostitutes, shape-shifting monsters and excessive bodies discussed in this chapter. *Stray Dog* (*Nora inu*, Kurosawa Akira, 1949) features a wall of female bodies in just such a state in a scene in which the protagonist visits a slum occupied by drugged prostitutes. As the camera pans slowly around the room, the many female bodies slumped against the walls are displayed. The slow-motion pan of the camera evokes a dreamlike horror which transmits the protagonist's shock at the abject sight; the women, on the other hand, are presented as listless and near-lifeless, incapable of shock themselves.

On the other hand, the verb 'to abject' refers to the action of exclusion or condemning which sentences another body to a state of abjection in order to reinforce the security of the subject by contrast. The scene described above cements the subjectivity of the protagonist, who has become manic in his desperate search for a thief. The immobile state of the abject women in the slum brothel reinforces the protagonist's agency and subjectivity by contrast, while his disgust provides the narrative propulsion toward his decisive actions which bring the plot to a resolution; 'the abject is what I must get rid of in order to be an 'I' at all' (Foster 1996: 114). *Hibakusha* and soldiers returning from war were similarly abjected by civilian society in an attempt to reconstruct the invaded and occupied Japanese nation as whole and securely bounded. 'The operation to abject is fundamental to the maintenance of subjectivity and society, while the condition to be abject is subversive of both formations' (Foster 1996: 114). The image of the female body, culturally coded as

unbounded and unpredictable, expresses the abject state of Japan in the early post-defeat years.

The exclusion of these abject bodies from the narrative cements the male protagonist's bounded subjectivity and mirrors the exclusion of abject citizens from the Japanese national self-image. The abjection and expulsion of female bodies of excess in postwar film similarly constitutes a subjective identity for the viewer. Bodies of excess are cathartically cast out of the imagined national and literal community; the prostitutes of *Women of the Night* (*Yoru no onnatachi*, Mizoguchi Kenji, 1948), *Street of Shame* (*Akasen chitai*, Mizoguchi Kenji, 1954) and *Gates of Flesh* (*Nikutai no mon*, Suzuki Seijun, 1964) occupy the bombed ruins or designated prostitution quarters at the edges of the city, while the mythical monsters of *The Legend of the White Serpent* and *Tales of Ugetsu* live in fantasy castles isolated from the main towns. The excessive female bodies of *Woman of the Dunes* (*Suna no onna*, Teshigahara Hiroshi, 1964) and *Onibaba* (*Onibaba,* Shindō Kaneto, 1964) are similarly expelled to the desolate edges of communities.

As 'abjection is always ambiguous' (Creed 2004: 38), abject imagery reflects the inability to discern truth from artifice publically acknowledged in the wake of war crimes tribunals held across Japan and in its former colonies. Neither subject nor object, the concept of the abject addresses issues of subjectivity, which were at the forefront of popular and legal debates on war responsibility. As national self-perception shifted from an understanding of Japan as a collective nation-state to a body of individuals, citizens attempted to understand the relation of this new subjective identity to individual responsibility. This was crucial in discourses surrounding the war crimes trials, where accountability for war crimes was applied retroactively according to the Allied assertion of 'the duty of the individual to disobey

illegal orders' (Standish 2000: 143). Soldiers who had considered themselves part of the larger entity of the Imperial army during wartime were treated as subjective individuals after defeat, and apportioned responsibility for wartime actions accordingly. Moreover, 'where the victors focussed on Japan's guilt vis-à-vis other countries and peoples, the Japanese were overwhelmed by grief and guilt toward their own dead countrymen' (Dower 1999: 486). The Japanese nation and the prosecutors of the Allied forces had very different ideas of what responsibility was to be taken *for*. This tension was further exacerbated by the presence of only three Asian judges and no Japanese representative on the Tokyo war crimes tribunal, which went against 'strong popular feeling that the Japanese should name and punish their own criminals' (Dower 1999: 475).

While SCAP advocated the development of an individual Japanese subjectivity and public acceptance of individual responsibility for Japan's war guilt, the lack of a Japanese representative on the War Crimes Tribunal reinforced popular feeling that the Japanese were viewed by the Allied forces and their home nations as something less than fully human subjects. Allegations that Japanese staff entered and left the courthouse by the back door while non-Japanese used the front were circulated in the popular media. In an attempt to discourage fraternization between American troops and Japanese citizens, General MacArthur began to segregate public spaces from June of 1946; Japanese women were banned from Army billets and Japanese citizens were banned from any restaurants, bars, train carriages and entrances to public buildings which were used by American servicemen (Kovner 2012: 30). While military and occupation personnel used first-class carriages and fine restaurants, Japanese citizens were relegated to the second and third-class carriages, reinforcing the popular impression that the Allied soldiers and occupation officials

saw the Japanese as second class citizens. Just as returning soldiers often buried themselves in a state of abjection in which they were as untouchable by blame as they were free of subjectivity, popular feeling that the development of subjectivity encouraged by the occupiers was only selectively recognized led many Japanese public figures to suggest a turn towards decadence conditional on embracing abject states. An element of Japanese society took refuge either literally or imaginatively in the non-subjecthood of abjection.

The unusual situation in which a large number of the Japanese public, against Kristeva's rhetorical question, did indeed agree to call themselves 'abject, subject of or subject to abjection' was marked by a post-defeat inferiority complex in which popular discourse bemoaned Japan's perceived backwardness in scientific and technological advancements in comparison to the progress of the Allied nations. Arrival of the occupation forces contrasted the healthy, well-fed physiques of the Allies with the broken bodies of Japanese soldiers returning from POW camps or war zones. Popular reaction to the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki further situated the Japanese body as abject or polluted, and created a sense of levelling of responsibilities and a feeling that the Japanese war responsibility was 'wiped out' (Standish 2000: 148). 'From this perspective, the people as a whole, and not just their 'departed heroes' were war victims' (Dower 1999: 490). There was a collective anger at the government's attempts to distribute war guilt amongst civilians as feelings of victimization and hardship proliferated. In a climate where the occupying forces and the Japanese government demanded reflection and repentance however, venting such feelings explicitly was impossible. In its expression of the impossible, the unthinkable, and the unsayable, abject imagery could reflect these difficult sentiments.

Just as 'abject' is a contonym, simultaneously expressing the abject state and the operation 'to abject', the abject image must be understood as similarly reflexive in its affect on the viewer. Images of the female body as abject can reflect the state of the nation and its citizens post-defeat and under occupation. However, the abject image is also the result of the action 'to abject', and so the image of the abject female body expulsed or destroyed at the end of the filmic narrative screens a real desire to exclude the abject in order to construct the nation as bounded and secure. M. G. Sheftall argues that for many postwar Japanese citizens,

> … exclusively focusing on victimization, given the intrinsic nature of said condition, can also put under unflattering scrutiny the impotence of the victim *vis-à-vis* the victimizers, with all the unwelcome attendant intimations of weakness, incompetence and submissiveness that status may entail. For Japanese with living memories of an undefeated Japan sure of its cultural superiority and divinely ordained invincibility, it is difficult to imagine a more ego-threatening train of thought. (Sheftall 2008: 56-57)

Images of the female body made abject address this threat to the ego in a reflexive manner, reflecting the nation's abject state and at the same time expelling the abjection associated with the image of the female body, re-imagining the nation as whole and bounded by contrast.

A prime example of the abject female body as reflexive symbol is the unnamed female protagonist of Teshigahara Hiroshi's *Woman of the Dunes*, which took first place in the *Kinema Junpō* Best Ten of 1964. Popularly received as 'uncanny' or 'weird' (*bukimi*) (Ogawa 2003: 124), the woman is presented as an
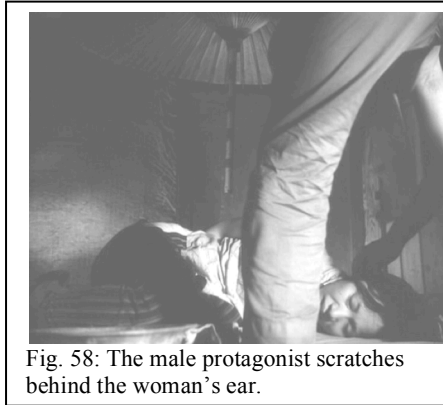
Fig. 58: The male protagonist scratches behind the woman's ear.

abject figure by her lack of a name, which implies a lack of subjectivity, and by the virtual captivity in which she lives. Resident at the bottom of a sand pit, she is reliant on the local villagers who raise and lower her rope ladder at will; captivity renders the woman animalistic. In an attempt to blackmail the villagers into freeing him, the male protagonist gags and binds the woman. In this state, he treats her like an animal, scratching behind her ear at her request as though she is a dog (fig. 58). Her abject state is emphasized in a series of shots in which she is fed water by the male protagonist and the villagers, at their mercy for her very sustenance.

As an abject body positioned between subject and object, the woman is shunned by the villagers, who treat her body as an object of entertainment when they demand to see her male companion rape her, and when they load her body into a goods basket to be hoisted out of the pit. Though the woman is distanced from the villagers by living at the bottom of the pit, her designated role is to shovel sand to prevent the village from collapsing. She therefore literally supports the villagers' existence and their home, or *furusato*, an image often invoked to create a national nostalgia, or substituted for the nation itself (Robertson 1998: 124). In the unnamed woman of the dunes, the abject is simultaneously required and repulsed.

Though the image of the abject body as symbolic of an abject post-defeat Japan can be understood as an uncomfortable and even traumatic spectatorial experience for the post-defeat viewer who had survived the horrors of wartime, the abject body proliferated on the postwar Japanese screen. As cinema is a commercial medium which requires audience approval for its continued success, reoccurring

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themes within popular film texts can be seen as symptomatic of public feeling. The abject body was a popular image with postwar audiences, and so we can hypothesize that such imagery reflected or engaged with the concerns or anxieties of those audiences. However, I do not understand audience engagement with film imagery as a singular phenomenon, but rather as a field constituted by simultaneity, tension and contradiction. The archetypal images discussed within this thesis demonstrate the multiple forms and functions of reoccurring themes in female representation in postwar Japanese film. While the imagery discussed in previous chapters demonstrates relatively clear paths of identification, the abject image demonstrates the contradictory and reflexive position which postwar audiences occupied in relation to reoccurring images on film.

In thinking of the abject image as reflexive, representing both post-defeat Japan and the phenomena expulsed by a nation in order to secure its boundaries, we must think of the postwar viewer of these images as schizophrenic in the sense described by Ella Shohat and Robert Stam in the introduction to this thesis. As previously discussed, Stam and Shohat argue for 'multiple registers' of spectatorship, understanding 'the spectator' as a hybrid of personal identifications. For the purposes of my argument for the cathartic function of abject imagery, I will once again quote Shohat and Stam's list of identifications which constitute the spectatorial position.

> 1. The spectator as fashioned by the text itself (through focalization, point-of-view construction, narrative structuring, *mise en scene*); 2. The spectator as fashioned by the (diverse and evolving) technical apparatuses (movie theatre, domestic VCR); 3. The spectator as fashioned by the institutional contexts of spectatorship (social rite of movie-going, classroom analysis, cinématique); 4. The spectator as

constituted by ambient discourses and ideologies; and 5. The actual

spectator as embodied; raced, gendered, and historically situated.

(Shohat and Stam 1994: 350)

While we must consider abject imagery potentially traumatic to the viewing subject

both in itself and as regards point five which reflects the viewer's position as a

defeated and occupied, racialized subject, I am interested here in the pleasurable

aspects of abject and shocking imagery which bring about its frequent reoccurrence.

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the coercive power of the film

text to fashion the spectator as outlined in point one can provide a pleasurable

experience where film style is used to constitute the viewer, through affective imagery,

as a Japanese citizen with a particular understanding and memory of the nation. The

postwar spectator is understood here as desiring to fit their memories to that of the

national collective, in accordance with Thomson's argument.

Our memories are risky and painful if they do not fit the public myths,

so we try to compose our memories to ensure that they will fit with

what is publically acceptable… we also seek the affirmation of our

memories. (Thomson 1994: 11)

In its potential to assist in the creation of a national collective memory which can

'naturalize past experience into cognitively viable patterns as determined by present

necessity' (Orbaugh 2007: 15), the film text appeals to the spectator constituted by the

discourses and ideologies of postwar Japan. At the same time, the technical apparatus

of film fashions the viewer as the locus of a pleasurable spectatorial fascination, in

which the kinetic nature of the moving image creates an 'aesthetic of attraction'

(Gunning 1989: 31). Meanwhile the 'institutional context of spectatorship' affects the

viewer in a pleasurable manner in the context of postwar Japan in terms of the camaraderie experienced within the film theatres of the early postwar years, as recorded in interviews with viewers conducted by Kanako Terasawa (2010). In this way, the spectator as constituted both by the film text itself, the experience of consuming film, and by external factors can experience pleasurable interactions with the film text which balance the unpleasure of shocking abject imagery and traumatic narratives.

A study of the affect of film viewership allows for the multiple and various spectatorial responses outlined by Shohat and Stam, who argue that 'spectatorial positions are multiform, fissured, and even schizophrenic' (1994: 350) as 'the same person might be crossed by contradictory discourses and codes' (Shohat and Stam 1994: 350-351). Affect theory allows for 'a "circus of affective responses" [which] can result from a single stimulus and differ in any one body at different times' (Wissinger 2007: 232), as the viewing body is host to a 'shifting constellation of affects' (Powell 2005: 20). Recent writing on affect has tended to focus on the 'unrepresentable' aspect of affect, which is particularly relevant to this chapter's discussion of the abject. I understand affective identifications to be produced by film style, which invites emotional investment in the film as a whole by making the audience experience a range of emotions in depth, many of which intersect with the emotions of the characters on-screen. According to the conventions of classical narrative cinema in which the female image is both an incitement to audience affect and the subject of her own emotional reactions, the female image 'as both *moved* and the *moving*' (Williams 1999: 704) is central to this process.

I suggest that the viewer troubled by the representation of the Japanese nation as an abject female body can, as a schizophrenic spectator, actively participate in or

adopt other spectatorial positions. Images of the abject affectively produce multiple

spectatorial positions, including a position from which to interpret the expulsion of

the abject for the good of the nation as a positive narrative development. However,

this position need not exclude the identification of Japan itself as abject, as

spectatorial positions can occur both simultaneously and involuntarily; 'The viewer of

hegemonic cinema might consciously support one narrative or ideology, yet be

subliminally seduced by the other fantasies proffered by the text' (Shohat and Stam

1994: 351).

The possibility of a schizophrenic spectator can explain the reoccurrence and

repetition of images of the abject female body throughout early postwar Japanese film

which indicate that audiences found something fascinating and perhaps even

therapeutic in the enacting of abjection on screen. The schizophrenic spectator can

simultaneously identify with and reject the abject image, and invest affectively in both

the abject body and its excluding force. This contradictory and tensioned process

mirrors accounts of Japanese postwar subjectivity in contemporary writing, as popular

writers such as Maruyama Masao suggested that a split psyche was a major

component of the postwar condition. Maruyama argued that the split in the postwar

Japanese psyche reflected 'the need for an internal bifurcation between the subject of

desire and the subject of politics' following 'the modern separation of life into two

realms: the private, where people follow personal desires, and the public, where they

are required to suppress private desire to pursue the common good' (quoted in

Koschmann 1996: 192). Critiquing Maruyama's arguments, Takeuchi Yoshimi also

referred to a 'schizophrenic' Japanese identity in his popular *Dentō to kakumei*

(*Tradition and Revolution*, 1949).

This schizophrenic identity recalls Judith Butler's description of the modern subject as simultaneously abjected and abjecting.

> … the subject is constituted through the force of exclusion and abjection, one which produces a constitutive outside to the subject, an abjected outside, which is, after all, "inside" the subject as its own founding repudiation. (Butler 1993: xiii)

Considering Butler's theorization of the subject in the context of Maruyama and Takeuchi's postwar era writing, we can see how the separation of the desiring self from the public self mirrors the casting out of abject, uncontrolled phenomena from within the subject in the attempt to create a stable and public entity. Through the abject image on film, 'cinema may reconfigure, rather than shatter, a subjectivity that may not be cast in stone in the first place' (Marks 2000: 151).

The spectator positioned as schizophrenic by the forces outlined by Shohat and Stam is better able to move between a fascination with the abject image and identification with its expelling force. However, the popularity of abject imagery on film which engenders its frequent reoccurrence in the postwar period is also contingent on the very medium of film itself, as the voyeuristic lens of narrative cinema performs a process of abjection. Narrative cinema is closely identified with voyeurism by Laura Mulvey in her seminal essay on visual pleasure (1992: 29); film as a medium is particularly suited to the depiction of the abject as 'Voyeurism accompanies the writing of abjection' (Kristeva 1982: 46, trans. Roudiez). However, the pleasures of voyeurism identified by Mulvey are problematized by the abject image, which breaks its boundaries and 'looks back' at the viewer. This 'looking back'

moves popular understanding of realism on film 'from the real understood as an effect of representation to the real understood as an event of trauma' (Foster 1996: 106).

In thinking of the affect of realistic abject imagery on film, Foster employs Jacques Lacan's account of the threatening object-gaze, which surrounds and 'mortifies the subject' (1996: 106), to analyse themes which highlight and accentuate the traumatic possibilities of the viewer's confrontation with the filmic image. Foster imagines the film screen as Lacan's 'image-screen' which prevents the gaze (which is not embodied but exists threateningly in the world around the subject) from harming the subject, and allows the subject to manipulate and moderate the gaze. In film, Foster argues, the image-screen between the viewer and viewed object is provided both by the literal screen on which the image is projected and by the viewers' awareness of filmic convention. Most image-making processes are therefore preventative in that they arrest the gaze with the language of the symbolic, preventing the object-gaze from threatening the viewer (1996: 109). In this way, cinema performs a taming of the gaze, or Lacan's *dompte-regard*, as the symbolic language of cinematic imagery screens the viewer from the return of their gaze; 'to see without this screen would be to be blinded by the gaze, touched by the real' (Foster 1996:109). Foster links the object-gaze to the abject body, likening abjection to the state of the body invaded by the object-gaze. The subject abjected is therefore the subject invaded by the gaze.

Foster's argument refers to contemporary American video art, which uses abject imagery to unsettle the viewer in order to provoke an understanding of the processes of visual consumption. Studio-era filmmaking, particularly 'successful' studio filmmaking which saw its themes and imagery repeated, referenced and re-invoked in future productions, serials and remakes, aimed toward the opposite affect

from that which Foster's examples seek to achieve. Studio-era filmmaking relies on a

large number of spectators experiencing positive affect from their engagement with

the film text, in order to create the desire in the spectator to revisit the same or similar

productions in the future. The films discussed in this chapter all achieved such

popular success, taking large amounts at the box office on release and winning critical

acclaim in the *Kinema Junpō* Best Ten lists each year. Their popularity could be

attributed to the positive affect of the abject image, which provides cathartic

expression for postwar Japanese subjects, and at the same time expels the destructive

forces of the abject at the end of the narrative. In this sense, the schizophrenic

spectator can identify with the abject while also renouncing the experience of

abjection, creating a cinematic experience, which avoids leaving the viewer ill at ease.

The unnamed woman of *Woman of the Dunes* is constructed as a threatening

abject force in scenes in which she sings or utters soft-spoken platitudes depicted in a

sinister manner by canted close-up shots and a screeching *avant-garde* soundtrack.

However, her presence, like that of the other abject bodies in this chapter, is

controlled and tamed by the conventions of narrative filmmaking. She is consistently

presented as an object of the gaze by shot reverse-shot sequences, which show the

male protagonist or the villagers staring down at her (fig. 59). Her representation

mirrors that of the golden age Hollywood films discussed by Mulvey, in that her body

is regularly fragmented in tight close-ups showing her limbs but not her head, which

she covers with a cloth to sleep (fig. 60 and 61). Her physicality, which is depicted as

animalistic and unbounded in its fusion with the all-pervasive sand, is tamed by the

conventions of narrative cinema into an object packaged for cinematic voyeurism by a

series of eroticized close-up shots. In this way, the abject image in postwar Japanese

film flirts with the threat of the real, but ultimately returns to the pleasurable voyeurism of narrative cinema.

Fig. 59: The male villagers stare down at the woman in the pit.

Fig. 60: The woman's body is fragmented.

Fig. 61: Fragmented close-up shots of the female body package the body into parts for a voyeuristic affect.

Despite its pleasures, disruptive abject imagery can also be traumatic, if we follow Kaja Silverman's understanding of trauma as 'the rupture of an order which aspires to closure and systematic equilibrium by a force directed towards disruption and disintegration' (Silverman 1990: 166). Neither subject nor object, abject imagery is frequently described in contradictory terms of both agency and lack of agency, as a deliberate disruption or disintegration of order, and as a failure to maintain or remain within ordered systems. If trauma is 'the failure of representation' (Hirsch 2002: 18), that is, the failure of the subject to represent itself in the language of the symbolic, then abjection is the image of that failure, the body unscreened by the symbolic and claimed by the real. At significant points in the narrative of many postwar Japanese films, abject imagery is employed to break the protective image-screen of filmic convention in order to cause a failure of representation, to 'probe the wound of trauma, to touch the obscene gaze of the real' (Foster 1996:115).

Such abject imagery spoke directly to the socio-political context of postwar Japan in the popular idea that the amoral and unbounded had a strong claim to truth

after defeat; 'to be decadent and immoral was truthful, realistic, and supremely human' (Dower 1999: 157). The idea that Japan must fail, fall, or sink to the abject in order to emerge with a new subjectivity was popular. Tamura Tajirō, author of *Gates of Flesh* (*Nikutai no mon*, 1947), which was adapted into a popular stage play and filmed twice in 1949 and 1964, wrote of the truth and honesty of *nikutai*, or the flesh, in contrast to the suspicion with which *kokutai* or 'the national spirit' was regarded after the defeat of Imperial Japan. Sakaguchi Ango similarly declared in his *Discourse on Decadence* (*Darakuron*, 1946) 'We must discover ourselves and save ourselves by falling to the best of our ability' (1986: 5). While language of failure and the essential desires of the flesh invokes the abject state of the animal or failed subject, Orbaugh reminds us that these writers 'use the representation of the hyper-physicality and animality of the female to reposition the threatened artistic male as (hyper-) intellectual and undeniably *human*', invoking the abject in order to 'reassert the sexual potency and dominance of the Japanese male' (Orbaugh 2007: 480).

Abject female imagery in postwar literature and film resituated the traumatized male subject as whole and powerful by contrast. The language of abjection as used in accounts of the relation between Japanese citizens and occupying bodies also presented a popular alternative to refusing power altogether. Tamura and Sakaguchi called on their readership to harness the power of the abject, which held a 'special truth' for testimonials against war and against the occupation forces. To understand the testimonial power of the abject or expulsed, we may use Mary Douglas' argument that on the (literal) 'venture beyond the confines of society', 'the man who comes back from these inaccessible regions brings with him a power not available to those who have stayed in control of themselves and of society' (1966: 96). Those who ventured into the terrain of the abject were likewise possessed of a certain kind of

power; *hibakusha* abjected by the atomic bombing and subsequent suffering are exemplary of those who inhabited this simultaneously cursed and privileged position. If Japanese citizens could sink to the level of the abject while their occupiers must remain in control, the traumatic experience of abjection could provide an authenticity and emotional authority unavailable to the victors.

Abject imagery was therefore socially productive in a variety of ways; it could express postwar trauma, secure the image of the nation both by expelling the abject and by contrast with unbounded entities, and allow the abject body a claim to truth. Abject imagery can also be mediative, in that it enacts a 'working through' of victimization and trauma as described by Dominick La Capra;

> Working through is an articulatory practice; to the extent that one works
> through trauma (as well as transferential relations in general) one is able
> to distinguish between past and present and to recall in memory that
> something happened to one (or one's people) back then while realising
> than one is living here and now with openings to the future. (2001: 22)

The repetition of abject images of the female body throughout the early postwar period of film production reflects the structure of the Freudian 'repetition compulsion following traumatic experiences' (Hirsch 2002: 16) in which reworking the trauma of an event allows the viewer to surpass it. Images of abjection may have been a way for viewers to relive and eventually exorcize the trauma of occupation, memories of wartime, and postwar hardship. Robert Lifton argues that such re-imaginings also have a distancing or softening affect on memories of trauma; 'drama can, at least ideally, supply vivid renditions of these events and at the same time build emotions around them that transform them into works of art' (1967: 451).

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How would this transformation of traumatic memories sit with the emotional reparations and repentance which the occupiers and victim nations surrounding Japan demanded? Foster argues that in 'trauma discourse, the subject is evacuated and elevated at once' (1996: 124), and so I suggest that agreeing to call oneself 'abject, or subject to abjection' presents a way to mortify oneself while simultaneously absenting oneself from the trauma of one's condition. The schizophrenic spectator of abject imagery may at one level wish to identify with the abject position of the body onscreen in order to occupy a position free from responsibility due to the abject's lack of subjectivity. The evacuation of the subject of trauma discourse recalls Robert Lifton's diagnoses of many *hibakusha* as suffering from a 'psychic numbing' which left them reportedly unable to feel pain or empathy (Dower 1999: 127; Lifton 1967; Shapiro 2002: 7). In the fraught emotional climate of the early postwar, I suggest that a short period spent in such a position in the controlled environment of the cinema may have presented a form of relief for the postwar viewer, indicating a way in which abject imagery may have been consumed as treatment as well as symptom of the trauma of defeat and wartime suffering.

In chapter two I argued for the mother image as a means by which the viewer could, in choosing to identify with the mother character or in becoming involuntarily affected by her representation, briefly occupy the morally unchallengeable position of the suffering mother in their own imagination. I want to make a similar argument for the abject image here, suggesting that rather than a visually and psychically unpleasurable experience, the abject image could present a means through which the viewer could temporarily exclude themselves from problematic popular discourses on responsibility, subjectivity, and war guilt by assuming the non-subject position of the abject body through identification with such a body on-screen. The abject female

body such as that of the woman of the dunes or the monster woman of *The Legend of the White Serpent*, causes 'the viewing subject [to be] put into crisis – boundaries, designed to keep the abject at bay, threaten to disintegrate, collapse' (Creed 2004: 52). At the close of the narrative film however, all is resolved, boundaries are put back in place and the abject is contained or expulsed. Nonetheless, boundaries challenged and disrupted were repeatedly re-imagined onscreen in postwar Japan in the images of the prostitute, the shape-shifting seductress or the body without boundaries.

The Prostitute Image as Unbounded Body

> Rather like the conceptualization of the human body as being unitary, stable, and bounded, and the anxieties that arise over perceived violation of those boundaries, communities, too, constitute identity through a concept of boundedness. (Orbaugh 2007: 392)

The image of the prostitute is presented as abject in its inability to maintain closed boundaries due to the nature of sex work and the unstable living conditions of the postwar sex worker. The prostitute, particularly the *panpan* girl or streetwalker often employed by Allied servicemen, became a national obsession during and after the occupation, appearing frequently in literature and film. Early appearances in the humanist genre include Kurosawa's *Stray Dog*, Mizoguchi's *Women of the Night*, and Naruse Mikio's *White Beast* (*Shiroi yajū*, 1950). Critic Togawa Naoki describes the prostitutes of *Women of the Night* as 'frightful' (*susamajii*), but acknowledges the 'strong force of realism' which their depiction affects (*riarizumu no chikara tsuyosa o zonbun ni hatarakaseru*) (Togawa 1973a: 264). Writers such as Douglas Slaymaker and Igarashi Yoshikuni interpret the figure of the streetwalker as reflective of postwar discourses on decadence and a return to the body and its pleasures as 'Many

remembered the war's end as liberation from the wartime regulation of bodies'
(Igarashi 2000: 53). However both writers caution against an entirely positive analysis
of the *nikutai* trend. Slaymaker argues that the life-affirming focus on the physical and
its pleasures was expressed through, and often at the expense of, the female body,
while Igarashi suggests that the postwar interest in sexual pleasures allowed ex-
servicemen to reconfigure their wartime experiences around positive displays of
masculinity rather than the horrors of Imperial aggression.

> By constituting female subjectivity through sexual enjoyment, men
>
> could safely erase the aspects of war that created numerous victims and
>
> proudly look back on what they experienced during the war as a sign of
>
> their virility. Japanese male subjectivity thereby used female bodies to
>
> confirm its historical continuity from wartime into the postwar period.
>
> (Igarashi 2000: 60)

The image of the prostitute was inscribed into discourses of historical continuity
which placed male subjectivity at the centre of the rebuilding of postwar Japan, as in
Women of the Night, which depicts three women variously attached to a central male
character. The women all become 'streetwalking prostitutes' (*gaishō fūzoku*) (Togawa
1973a: 264) after damaging encounters with the central male. Naruse's *White Beast*
similarly depicts the lives of a group of prostitutes inside a reform dormitory, focusing
on the central character's desire for and relationship with the male manager of the
institute. *Gates of Flesh* centres on a community of four streetwalking prostitutes
which collapses on the arrival of a male character who engages the affections of the
group, turning them against one another.

Reoccurring narrative motifs which position desiring female bodies around a central male character reflect changes in the Japanese film industry as well as changes in Japanese socio-political attitudes during the postwar period. While *Women of the Night* and *White Beast* are early postwar melodramas which deal with themes of prostitution (uncharacteristically for the genre), the 1964 remake of *Gates of Flesh* reflects a shift in industry concerns brought about by the decline of the studio system. As a rise in television ownership coincided with a boom in suburban living occasioned by the new *danchi* housing complexes built around major cities, female attendance at city-based cinemas dropped dramatically. In an attempt to secure the male working-class and white-collar salaryman viewer demographics, sexualized content in Japanese film productions increased significantly. In the global context this was furthered by the liberalization of pornographic film in many European countries in the 1960s, including the total decriminalisation of pornography in France. The Japanese studio system struggled to compete with foreign imports in terms of content and quantity as quota restrictions were lifted in 1964. Studios attempted to capitalize on the limitations of television and to minimalise risk by providing a domestic counterpart to the popular trends in imported film and pornography. As studios such as Nikkatsu attempted to secure a viewership within younger demographics, the philosophical positions of early postwar writers such as Sakaguchi and Tamura were re-purposed to form the narrative bases for a series of sexploitation films which culminated in the soft porn genre known as *roman-poruno* which was to keep Nikkatsu financially solvent into the 1970s.

Fig. 62 & 63; The female characters of *Gates of Flesh* are repeatedly presented grouped around the male character.

In the early postwar period however, narrative structures which position a group of prostitutes around an individual male character present the prostitute as a mass rather than an individual sexualized body. This motif is reinforced by visual images which literally lump the bodies of all prostitutes together. The fight scenes of both *Women of the Night* and *White Beast* end with a heap of interchangeable female bodies (fig. 64), while the massed group of drugged prostitutes in Kurosawa's *Stray Dog* are propped up to form a wall of flesh. This theme continues into the later postwar period in Iishi Teruo's (1924-2005) *Line* series, discussed in chapter three, which regularly depicts clusters of prostitutes in changing rooms or the holds of trafficking ships.

Avant-garde productions involving prostitution, the 'base' films set near American army bases, and the war-retro genre repeatedly include images of trucks full to bursting with the bodies of military prostitutes. *Gates of Flesh* similarly opens with a roundup of prostitutes by military policemen, the camera following women being dragged through the streets and thrown in a pile into a waiting van. A later scene shows a similar van of prostitutes being transported to the military base by Japanese pimps, ostensibly to be hired by Allied military policemen. The body of the prostitute in postwar Japanese film repeatedly merges with the bodies of her co-workers as well

Fig. 64; The bodies of the prostitute characters of *Women of the Night* are lumped together in fight scenes such as this one.

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as her customers, reflecting the unbounded abject state of both the postwar body and the nation. The body of the *panpan* is not treated as an individual subject, and so the image of this body on film expresses anxieties around the impossibility of individual subjectivity in the abject state. As *panpan* bodies are often shown being violently assaulted or physically thrown out of the ordered areas of society, the image of the *panpan* also performs a mediative function by depicting the expulsion of disorderly forces in the interest of securing the nation's boundaries.

The body of the prostitute was considered a polluted and polluting body expulsed for the safely and cleanliness of the Japanese nation and the Allied occupation alike. Heightened awareness of the rapid spread of venereal disease posited the prostitute as a body in need of control, and a physical threat to the disciplined and therefore 'clean' bodies of the Allied soldiers and personnel. Attempts to discipline the body of the prostitute are central to the narratives of *Women of the Night* and *White Beast*, which feature extended scenes depicting round-ups of suspected prostitutes. However, attempts to control disease by controlling female sexuality repeatedly backfire in popular postwar film texts, as innocent women are damaged by their enforced visits to sexual health clinics and become prostitutes out of necessity after the loss of their 'respectable' status. Meanwhile, working prostitutes such as Fusako of *Women of the Night,* played by Tanaka Kinuyo, are hardened in their resolve to exploit men as they have been exploited. Fusako explicitly articulates a desire to infect all men with syphilis by way of revenge for her fallen state and the betrayal of the promises made to Japanese women in the 1947 Constitution.

After the occupation, when a backlash against the prolific humanist genre resulted in narratives which stressed the amorality, poverty and recklessness of the postwar era, characters such as Maya of *Gates of Flesh* were presented as diseased in

a different way. Rather than infecting foreign servicemen with venereal disease as the *panpan* was thought to do, Maya seduces an African American priest, 'infecting' his Christian purity with her rampant sexuality, and reflexively, her racial purity with his Otherness. Maya's abject behaviour is clearly linked to the wartime trauma of her rape by Allied soldiers and the loss of her brother. She fixates on characters who remind her of her dead brother, and engages in abject behaviours in her seduction of the priest and in her deliberate transgression of the rules of the prostitute community which results in her torture and exile. Numbed by her wartime trauma, Maya voluntarily places herself in an abject position, reflecting the postwar viewer's potential to choose an affective identification with the abject image onscreen. Motivations include the desire to feel extremes of emotion in the wake of 'psychic numbing' and the desire to occupy a position outside of subjectivity in order to avoid responsibility and repercussion.

While the Allied forces fixated on the diseased nature of the prostitute's abject body, the image of the *panpan* presented a different kind of threat for Japanese citizens, directly reflecting popular concerns around miscegenation and its impact on the imagined racial purity of the nation. Japan's anti-prostitution lobby specifically targeted these popular anxieties in their vociferous public protests.

At the most elemental level, prostitution became bound up with deep-seated Japanese anxieties about racial contamination and racial subordination by the occupation forces. Matrons who had not been particularly disturbed when prostitution seemed a matter between Japanese men and women expressed new-found disgust for postwar prostitution, which they often equated with the young women who mixed with American servicemen during the Occupation and 1950s…

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During the 1950s, antiprostitution groups focused much of their

attention on the problems of 'mixed blood children' and the rampant

prostitution surrounding the more than two thousand U.S. military

installations. (Garon 1997: 199-200)

Anxieties over miscegenation and the births of mixed race children directly reflect

concerns as to the 'purity' of Japan in the postwar period, and the nation's

compromise in defeat which was popularly understood in terms of a dilution of

essential qualities of Japaneseness such as those identified and valorized by

nihonjinron discourses.

While discourses of miscegenation and mixed-race children are linked to

boundary concerns in that the ethnicity of the national body is perceived as challenged

or 'watered down', such discourses also imply the suspected fertility of the prostitute

or mistress of non-Japanese men. Though chapter two addressed the image of the

suffering mother in postwar film, the abject aspect of the mother image was only

briefly touched upon there. I would like to return to the mother image in light of

Barbara Creed's observation that the female ability to give birth links her to the

animal world of decay and death, and so the mother image is linked to the abject in

Hollywood cinema (1993: 47). While Creed draws inspiration from Julia Kristeva,

who is in turn inspired by attitudes towards birth and motherhood found in the

Christian Bible, we can see a parallel in the Japanese context in the mythic figure of

Izanami no Mikoto, co-creator of the nation, who died giving birth to the god of fire

and was consigned to the underworld as a monster. The *ubume* of Japanese folklore

are also abject mothers, ghosts of women who have died in childbirth thought to wait

by crossroads in order to kidnap the babies of passersby. In such myths, birth and

motherhood are constructed as abject and therefore threatening. While abject themes

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are largely absent from the figure of the suffering mother as presented in the postwar *hahamono* (mother film), I argue that they are relocated to the image of the prostitute or mistress, particularly those associated with foreign men, and as such are expressive of the threat of a loss of an 'essential Japaneseness' through miscegenation and mixed-race birth. *Women of the Night* and *White Beast* both explicitly mention motherhood; in the first, Fusako describes the "deformed monster of a baby" popularly thought to be born to a prostitute, while in the latter the star inmate of the reform dormitory gives birth to a healthy child.

Birth emphasizes the potential for the dissolution of body boundaries; 'the act of birth is grotesque because the body's surface is no longer closed, smooth and intact' (Creed 1993: 58). The body boundaries of the image of the prostitute are also challenged in themes of the spread of disease and the body as an object or tool for sex work. The boundaries of the body of the prostitute image represent the boundaries of Japan itself in motifs and narratives which highlight popular anxieties around the nation's inability to expel the Other, or the occupation forces, and their attendant Westernizing influence. Just as the image of woman can stand in for the image of the nation, Japan imagined through the image of the prostitute was penetrable and contaminated.

> Women as whores – tens of thousands of Japanese women worked as
> prostitutes (*panpan*) for GIs – were ambivalent symbols of both the
> liberation and subjugation of Japanese sexuality by the former enemy
> country. (Igarashi 2000: 58)

The postwar emancipation of women engendered multiple crises of masculinity based on the bourgeois daughter's new right to refuse a marital

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arrangement and to inherit her share of familial property as discussed in chapter three. Postwar sexuality was also understood as emancipated, particularly in the 'literature of the flesh' which celebrated Japan's release from the strictures of wartime moral codes. However, the image of a newly emancipated female sexuality in service to the Allied forces, as in the brothels set up explicitly for Allied personnel, re-articulated this 'liberated' sexuality as subjugated by the occupiers. In this sense, the body of the *panpan* possessed and subjugated by Allied clientele reflects popular anxieties that articulated Japan as a nation in the same terms.

After the closure of the brothels operated by the Special Comfort Facility Association (*Tokushu Ian Shisetsu Kyōkai*), also known as the Recreation and Amusement Association (hereafter RAA), governmental legislation against first the brothels and then prostitution in general followed. On February 2, 1946 the Rules Regulating Licensed Prostitutes were abolished and on November 14, 1946 the Japanese government voided all contracts of prostitution (Mackie 2003: 136). In terms of the association of postwar prostitution with the Allied forces however, the damage was already done. The young women who had staffed the RAA brothels, many recruited from the older world of regulated prostitution as well as the liminal spaces of teahouses and cafes associated with the *mizu shōbai* ('water trade' or sex work), were suddenly unemployed and lost the accommodation the RAA had provided along with clothing and meals. These women became the *panpan* who walked the streets selling their services to Allied soldiers.

While efforts were made to place the illegality and stigma of prostitution onto the customer rather than the sex worker, popular opinion did not follow suit. In her 1956 monograph *Sayonara Ningen Baibai*, Kamichika Ichiko argued that 'The spread of evil throughout society is the result of so many practicing prostitution openly

today… We must punish the estimated five hundred thousand prostitutes to protect the life-styles of forty-million housewives' (1956: 106-7, trans. Mackie 2003: 137). The *panpan* were heavily stigmatized in postwar Japan, often more than the prostitutes of the older sex districts. Imperial Ordinance number nine, passed in 1947, 'punished those who caused women to prostitute themselves' (Mackie 2003: 137), articulating prostitutes as victims rather than perpetrators. However, popular opinion interpreted this distinction only in relation to the romanticized sex workers indentured to the houses of the older prostitution districts.

> Several surveys on prostitution conducted by the Japanese government
> indicate that the Japanese public made a sharp distinction between
> streetwalking, where the majority of prostitution for foreigners took
> place, and organized prostitution, which was primarily for Japanese
> men. While the Japanese surveyed even showed sympathy for women
> in organized prostitution houses, they strongly condemned and
> expressed extreme disgust toward the streetwalkers. (Koikari 2005:
> 356-357)

The distinction between prostitution for Japanese men and that for non-Japanese men appears key to the romanticisation of older traditions of sex work in contrast to the vilification of the *panpan*, though Sarah Kovner argues that the use of terms such as *yō-pan* (Western *panpan*) and *wa-pan* (Japanese *panpan*) indicate that Japanese clients also employed *panpan* (Kovner 2012: 76). A respondent in a survey on prostitution declared the *panpan* 'disgusting', arguing that 'Girls in organized houses are to be pitied more' (Koikari 2005: 357). Kovner argues that the display of such attitudes was linked to popular attempts to find an expressive mode for nationalist

sentiment in the post-defeat era; 'sex workers were widely disliked - and discriminated against - as men and women discovered in this a way to display an abiding nationalism' (2012:15). However, the distinction between *panpan* as 'bad' sex workers and more traditional forms of prostitution as unobjectionable was upheld by postwar cinema, as studios continued to produce nostalgic melodramas based around the old entertainment districts including geisha and prostitutes, while the politicized 'tendency films' (*keikō eiga*) focused on *panpan* and streetwalking.

The *panpan* were articulated as disgusting and debased, supporting interpretation of the streetwalker image as abject. *Panpan* were also discussed in terms of mental as well as physical illness due to the popularized link between syphilis and madness. Fusako of *Women of the Night* and Maya of *Gates of Flesh* both exhibit uncontrolled emotion and damaging behaviour; their excesses of feeling render them bodies of excess. In *Street of Shame*, aging prostitute Yumeko, played by

Fig. 65; The aftermath of a brawl in *Women of the Night*.

Fig. 66; A fight scene in *White Beast* positions the viewer within the group.

hahamono actress Mimasu Aiko (1910-1982), is hospitalized after a delusional episode, while a minor character in *White Beast* kills herself in a mental institution due to madness brought on by syphilis. Such imagery is abject in its depiction of the destruction of subjectivity by disease.

Psychologist Minami Hiroshi contributed to the postwar debate on the *panpan* by linking their abject and excessive image to their associations with foreign men and cultures in an article titled "*Panpan no Sekai*" or "The World of the Streetwalker", published in the

popular journal *Kaizo* in 1949. Minami claimed that the *panpan* 'had a strong inferiority complex and aggressive demeanour, which was reflected in their "masculine" style of speech, and an extreme tendency to imitate foreigners (as in using English language)' (Minami, quoted in Koikari 2005: 357). In such discourses, the *panpan* were 'constructed as racially different from the normal and virtuous Japanese' (Koikari 2005: 357) due to their behavioural differences and psychologized nature. Koikari argues that this very Otherness was invoked in order to ensure that the image of the *panpan* 'would not threaten the Japanese nationalist claim for racial and sexual purity' (Koikari 2005: 357). The *panpan* was constructed as Other in public discourse in order to distance her from 'correct' or 'proper' models of Japanese womanhood, through which abstract qualities of the nation were imagined, as discussed in chapter two. The *panpan* image was therefore abjected in order to secure the boundaries of the imagined community of the nation. Yoshimoto Takaaki's *Kyōdōgensō ron* suggests that reoccurring tropes in folklore which represent women as threatening or uncontrolled have a similar purpose, shoring up the boundaries of a community by depicting the bounded community's opposite. The taboo of abjection is 'created by a tacit understanding among the people, and demonstrates the power of fantasy' (Yoshimoto 1968: 39).

Women of the Night reflects this othering of the *panpan* in repeated scenes in which the camera is angled downwards at groups of streetwalkers, positioning the viewer above the *panpan* both physically and morally (fig. 65). In the climactic scene of the narrative, Fusako attempts to rescue her sister-in-law Kumiko from a group of streetwalkers intent on punishing her for working in their territory. The camera pans up to observe the women from a high angle, as though the viewer were a passerby on the bridge under which the women brawl. By contrast, *White Beast* situates the viewer

as a member of the group of incarcerated women; in an early scene in which newcomer Yukawa is introduced to the detainees, the camera observes her from behind a row of women, as though the viewer were inside the dormitory, sitting within the group. During fight scenes, the camera circles the combatants, including the heads of bystanders within the shot at eye level to position the viewer within the scene as one of the inmates (fig. 66). This casts the spectator as feminine, as the dormitory is solely for women, suspending to a certain extent the eroticism common to the depiction of female on female violence in classical narrative film directed towards a masculine-aligned viewer. However, *Gates of Flesh* returns to the style of *Women of the Night* in that high angle shots of suspected prostitutes being dragged through the streets firmly position the viewer as removed from the world of the *panpan*, while the female on female violence of the narrative is explicitly eroticized by including a male bystander in the character of Ibuki.

The female body as the object of violence is a body of excess both in narrative terms and in terms of the affect produced by violent imagery. The devaluation of a body through violence problematizes the camera's 'erotic/specular overinvestment in this body (an upward thrust) that causes the scene to become both affective and excessive' (del Río 2008: 49). Elena del Río argues that this 'affective excess' produces the body as an abstraction, and so sadomasochistic relations between characters at the narrative level can produce a 'shock to thought' in the audience (Deleuze 1989: 156) at the 'affective-performative level'(del Río 2008: 49) of the film text.

As Ibuki watches the torture of O-Machi and later Maya, 'the camera takes Ibuki's point of view and positions him in the controlling gaze through which audience desire is channelled' (Standish 2005: 259). In such scenes eroticizing female

on female violence, the image of the *panpan* is doubly Othered, first by the camera's positioning of the viewer as distanced onlooker, and second by the articulation of the viewing gaze as 'masculine' through the stylistic conventions of narrative cinema described by Mulvey. Extreme close-ups on isolated body parts and shot-reverse-shot sequences which anchor the camera's gaze to a male bystander character fetishize the female body on film, reducing it to the abject state of a body made object in order to achieve 'pleasure in using another person as an object of sexual stimulation through sight' (Mulvey 1992: 26). This mirrors the conditions of the real life *panpan*, also used as objects for pleasure.

Mulvey suggests that the spectator of Hollywood narrative cinema identifies with the male protagonist of the golden age studio production, and 'projects his look on to that of his like, his screen surrogate' (1992: 28). While I have argued for the spectator of Japanese postwar film as schizophrenic in the sense described by Shohat and Stam, I see Mulvey's description of viewership as one possible position in the multitude of spectatorial positions open to the schizophrenic spectator. I would like to follow Mulvey's argument here in an attempt to draw out one possible pleasurable affect of the image of female on female violence common to the depiction of the excessive female body. Mulvey argues that the spectator thus identified with the male protagonist experiences the coincidence of the eroticized image of the female body with the depiction of the male protagonist as active, powerful controller of narrative events, creating a 'satisfying sense of omnipotence' for the male-identified viewer (1992: 28). Mulvey's argument is useful in understanding viewership processes which separate the affect of *Women of the Night* and *Gates of Flesh* from the more problematic affects created by *White Beast*. While critics acknowledge the 'terrifying' (*susamajii*) nature of the 'downfallen woman' (*tenraku o todori onna*) in *Women of*

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the Night (Togawa 1973a: 264), many explicitly articulate the film as providing a much needed insight into the lives of the *panpan*. Togawa Naoki reports that viewers 'reluctantly' (*fuhoni*) 'stare fixedly' (*kibishiku mitsumeru koto*) at the harsh conditions of the women's lives (Togawa 2003d: 18). On the other hand, reception of *White Beast* was mixed and often confused, suggesting that Naruse's use of a filming style which incorporates the viewer into the group of prostitutes rather than the othering processes of distancing and fetishization in the film style of *Women of the Night* and *Gates of Flesh* was more problematic than pleasurable for the viewer. While the women of *White Beast* are treated according to the conventions of classical golden age narrative film style, including fragmented close-ups and soft focus portrait-style framing, the refusal to allay their representation to a single active male protagonist in favour of incorporating the viewer into the group of prostitutes makes pleasurable identification difficult.

Repeated depictions of violence enacted by the *panpan* in postwar film, particularly in films made after the occupation, indicate that the public perceived the *panpan* as a threatening figure, possibly due to the impossibility of containing her movements, legally or socially. The *panpan*'s Otherness was predicated on her existing outside the older system of prostitution which was legalized until 1956. The *panpan* was therefore uncontainable and excessive, and as such posed a threat to the social and national order. Zoning regulations were set up in an attempt to contain these figures who were visual reminders of Japan's abject state during the occupation. However, the question of prostitution remained an agitated one at the forefront of Japanese politics throughout the long postwar; the Council to Oppose the Revival of the System of Licensed Prostitution was formed in 1951, followed by a movement formed by non-partisan female politicians to abolish prostitution in 1953. The group

presented a bill calling for the control of prostitution in 1954, re-presenting the same

bill a year later. In September of 1955, the Red Light District Employees Union was

formed to oppose the implementation of the much-anticipated Prostitution Prevention

Law. However, the law was promulgated in May of 1956, becoming effective as of

April 1, 1957, when penal provisions applied to brothels still in operation. The

dramatic changes to the lives of Japanese sex workers, both 'traditional' and 'modern'

occasioned by the passing of the law are explored in Mizoguchi's *Street of Shame*,

however the distinction between traditional courtesans, who are portrayed

sympathetically, and the excessive body of the modern prostitute, performed by Kyō

Machiko, is nonetheless observed in this film.

Star Persona as Excess: Kyō Machiko and Yamaguchi Yoshiko

Kyō Machiko's star persona is often associated with the excessive; as noted in chapter

one, she was described in the popular print media of the period as physically

expressive of the *nikutai* aesthetic characterized by over-spilling and abundant female

flesh (Satō and Yoshida 1975: 209). Her roles reflect this overabundance of the

physical, from the virtuous Lady Kesa of *The Gates of Hell*, whose physical

attractiveness overturns the royal court and leads to her death, to the aggressive Lady

Wakasa of *Tales of Ugetsu*, whose endless desires cause her to manifest as a ghost.

Togawa describes *Tales of Ugetsu* as 'capturing the baseness [*asamashisa*] of humans

wallowing [*oboreta*] in worldly desires [*butsuyoku*] and obsessive vindictiveness

[*shūnen*]' (Togawa 2003c: 45), linking Kyō's excessive physicality to a lack of

control of emotion and desire. Kyō was compelled to repeat the same 'vindictive' and

'base' qualities in many future roles, suggesting their popularity with audiences. It is

notable that such roles are almost always upper-class; even as a prostitute in *Street of*

Shame, Kyō's character has a bourgeois background. More often however, these high-born bodies of excess appear within the *jidaigeki* genre, frequently depicted as mythic characters from Japan's folk traditions or Heian era noblewomen, such as the samurai wife of Kurosawa Akira's *Rashōmon* (*Rashōmon*, 1950), excessive in her (reported) sexual desire and stubborn refusal to die. Kyō is described as an 'uncanny' actress (*ayashisa*) (Kimura 1949: 34), indicating that her overabundance of fleshly beauty (*nikutaibi*) (Kimura 1949: 34) is both attractive and unsettling to the spectator. Her 'energetic performances' (*netsuen*) are often remarked upon (Izawa 1973b: 266), suggesting that her dynamism added to a sense of the uncontainable in her star persona.

Fig. 67-69; Kyō Machiko's body is presented as excessive in its size, Westernization and dynamism.

Kyō's star persona of excess mirrored the images she portrayed onscreen. In films such as *Rashōmon* and *Street of Shame*, her characters overspill the social boundaries of an imagined traditional Japan, while her shape-shifting ghost character in *Tales of Ugetsu* literally overspills the boundaries of the body and transgresses the boundary between the living and the dead. Kyō's characters repeatedly transgress boundaries between subject and object; as a prostitute in *Street of Shame* she refers to her body as 'goods', while her characters in *Rashōmon* and *Tales of Ugetsu* blur the line between the living body and the corpse by refusing to 'properly' die. This refusal is linked to an excess of sexual desire; Lady Wakasa of *Tales of Ugetsu* refuses to die until she has found

love, while Kanazawa Masako, the raped samurai wife of *Rashōmon,* is unable to commit the ritual suicide demanded by the conventions of her class. As both modern prostitute and mythic beauty, Kyō embodied the uncontainable nature of the abject.

Yamaguchi Yoshiko's Lady White of *The Legend of the White Serpent* is similarly presented as an abject female body within the context of a mythic fantasy narrative, and has in common with Kyō's performances themes of shape-shifting and deception. In both *Tales of Ugetsu* and *The Legend of the White Serpent,* a supernatural being presents herself as a 'real' woman in order to win the affections of a human man; both are unmasked, with fatal consequences for all involved. This reoccurring narrative theme reflects a desire to 'unmask' the female body in a bid to uncover its perceived secrets. This will to knowledge is reflected in cinema in the form of visual curiosity; 'In contrast to visual *voluptas* (pleasure), *curiositas* avoids the beautiful and goes after its exact opposite "simply because of the lust to find out and to know"' (Gunning 1989: 39). Klaus Theweleit has described the desire of 'soldier males' to launch 'a direct onslaught on femininity' brought on by an impulse to 'pierce the facade of female "innocence"' (Theweleit 1987b: 279). The horror and supernatural genres of 1950s Japanese film display the same drive to reveal a hidden evil or excess behind the conventionally beautiful female image, perhaps influenced by the memory of such impulses in wartime. These genres present ideal case study material for investigation of the affect of this motif, as 'Horrifying images serve to throw the processes of affective thought into sharp relief' (Powell 2005: 7).

While many film scholars and historians have observed this drive in the traditions of Hollywood as well as in those of national or world cinemas, I wish to draw attention to the function of star persona within this reoccurring theme. The two actresses mentioned above are noted in contemporary Japanese criticism for their

beauty, but both are simultaneously perceived as problematic. Kyō, with her 'excessive' physicality and relatively junior status as a newcomer in 1949 is repeatedly referred to in interviews with the suffix '*kun*', distinct from the honorific '*san*', but also more masculine than the cute '*chan*' often suffixed to the female name, as in 'Deko-*chan*', the diminutive affectionately applied to Takamine Hideko. This implies that Kyō is also somehow perceived as unfeminine, a motif reflected in her film roles, as in the scene in *Tales of Ugetsu* where Lady Wakasa is revealed as a desiring spirit. Her drive to fulfil her sexual desires is depicted as unfeminine, evidenced by her physical transformations during the revelatory scene, which introduces high key lighting to emphasize the monstrous aspects of her makeup and expression. The 'unmasking' of Kyō as an excessive body posing as virtuous in both *Tales of Ugetsu* and *Rashōmon* reflects the desire to investigate or unmask the female body.

The relation of Yamaguchi's star persona to her shape-shifting monster role is clearer, in that Yamaguchi first rose to stardom as a Manchurian Chinese singer and actress. Fluent in both Mandarin and Japanese, Yamaguchi used the stage name Li Xianglan, or Ri Kōran in Japanese, and featured in Japanese films produced after the Manchurian Incident (*Manshū jiken*, 1931) and the subsequent Japanese invasion, occupation and construction of the puppet state of Manchukuo. The image of Ri Kōran was used to imagine on-screen a peaceful coming together of Japan and Manchuria in her repetition of the role of a Manchurian woman who falls in love with a Japanese man. Though Yamaguchi was born to Japanese parents in Manchuria in 1920, Manchū Eiga (Man'ei) studios marketed the star as a Manchurian fluent in Japanese and sympathetic to Japanese Imperialism. Japanese press published news of Yamaguchi's Japanese citizenship as early as 1941, and many scholars suggest that

the Chinese press suspected her Japanese heritage (Stephenson 2002; Wang 2007), however audiences in both nations seem to have preferred to imagine the actress as ethnically Manchurian (Stephenson 2002: 7).

After the war however, Ri Kōran was revealed to be a Japanese citizen. She returned to mainland Japan and began a film career, starring in eight Japanese films during the period 1948-1958 under the name Yamaguchi Yoshiko, and appearing in Hollywood productions under the name Shirley Yamaguchi (*Japanese War Bride*, King Vidor, 1952; *House of Bamboo*, Samuel Fuller, 1955) and in two films produced by Shaw and Sons in Hong Kong (*Jin ping mei/ The Plum in the Golden Vase*, Wang Yin, 1955; *Yi ye fengliu/ The Unforgettable*, Bu Wancang, 1958) as Li Xianglan (Yau Shuk-Ting 2010: 40). Yamaguchi's star persona therefore contains its own elements of shape-shifting in her national identity.

Marketed as alluring in its exoticism, Yamaguchi's star persona can be read against the grain in terms of the duplicity culturally associated with female characteristics. Yomota argues that her image carried 'a double meaning' (2000: 18), describing her star persona as that of 'a beautiful woman who can cross borders, nationalities and languages, but always with the air of the temptress about her' (2000: 9). The 'double meaning' of Yamaguchi's image is fully exploited in Toyoda Shirō's *Legend of the White Serpent*, which introduces Yamaguchi's shape-shifting snake demon as ethnically Chinese in an opening shot in which she is surrounded by willow branches, aesthetically synonymous with China. The erotic 'temptress' aspect of her persona is emphasized in this scene, in which she delivers her dialogue seductively with her back to the camera before turning to dazzle the viewer with her beauty. Yamaguchi as Ri Kōran was Othered as well as exoticized by her supposed Manchurian nationality; even after she revealed herself to have been a Japanese

national all along, her image still retained overtones of the Other, and even the abject. Yomota observes that she was often physically likened to a cat or a fish (2000: 17), animalistic imagery which hints at savagery or a lack of refinement. Such comparisons also invoke the cultural connotations of female sexuality as feline, common throughout early modern popular imagery and into the postwar era in Japan. For contemporary viewers in postwar Japan, Yamaguchi remained 'unusual' (*mezurashii*) (*Eiga Fan* 1949: 3); Toyoda's film plays upon these qualities in casting her as a snake demon disguised as a beautiful Chinese woman. At the same time however, Yomota suggests she was more 'real' (*issō genjitsuteki*) than many other Japanese female stars of the postwar era (2000: 16), attributing her strong erotic attraction to a sense of realism emphasized by her visual proximity to imagery of the natural world. This realism lent a thrilling aspect of threat to her portrayal of monstrous or excessive female characters.

While Yamaguchi was popularly consumed as an exotic attraction, and became a style icon for younger women who copied her makeup and dress, her star persona also connoted the abject and the polluted in her association with the 'colonialism and defeat' of Manchuria (Yomota 2000: 10) and with cross-cultural marriage and Americanized social mores. She married American-Japanese artist Noguchi Isamu in the early 1950s after a period of study in New York and appeared as dedicated Japanese wives to American husbands in Hollywood films such as *Japanese War Bride* and *House of Bamboo*. Igarashi Yoshikuni argues that the 'conjugal relations of the United States and Japan were figuratively told through her roles' (2000: 37), as such film texts articulated Japan as subordinate to America, and feminized in relation to the U.S. as a masculine nation.

Questions of race were at the forefront of popular national anxieties in the postwar period, not only in public discourses on the mixed-race births perceived to be a social danger of the *panpan*, but also in a new awareness of the Japanese subject as a racialized subject.

> …the defeat and Occupation meant coming to a new recognition of oneself as no longer epistemically central, no longer unmarked. Suddenly, to be "normal" and "adult" was to be not only male but also physically large, white, English-speaking, and prosperous-looking. In contrast to that normative image, young Japanese men discovered themselves to be figured in the visual economy of Occupation as small "raced", linguistically inept, materially impoverished, abject infants/adolescents. (Orbaugh 2007: 390)

Orbaugh argues that many groups within the Japanese population 'were for the first time experiencing themselves as marked, as the "other", as the problem' in the immediate post-defeat period (2007: 390). The image of the monstrous or shape-shifting female form on screen directly reflects the post-defeat nation as Other in narratives which simultaneously cathartically express and productively expulse such identifications.

Demons, Monsters and Shapeshifters: Female Others as Allegories of a Defeated Japan

As I argued in chapters two and three, the image of the female body as symbol of the nation has a long history in Japanese popular art and culture, as well as in legal and national documentation and terminology. In postwar film, the female body as Other reflects the suddenly Other-ed condition of the nation described by Orbaugh. Through

the image of the female body on screen, Japanese audiences explored and experienced what it meant to be Other within the safe space of the cinema. As Orbaugh points out, this state of Otheredness was new to many bodies within the Japanese nation, particularly those which had not previously occupied the zones of the Other and the abject inhabited by Japanese women and outcast classes such as the *burakumin*. The state of Otheredness in which the Japanese nation found itself during occupation was therefore an unknown quantity in many respects; many postwar Japanese occupied a subject position which was not fully understood in the first years of occupation. Shape-shifting female bodies on screen reflected popular anxieties around this drastic social change which were articulated through long-standing narrative tropes of female duplicity. The duplicitous female image represented by the shape-shifter was at once a threat to the bounded self and at the same time an expression of the duplicitous nature of postwar subjectivity.

SCAP's call for the creation of an individual Japanese subject self was problematized by the necessity for that self to encompass two polarised positions during occupation as both individual self and Other. This suggests a duplicity or schism within the self similar to the schism between public and private self observed by Maruyama Masao. The postwar self was therefore a doubled or duplicitous entity, a bounded individual self produced to the specifications of the occupiers, and at the same time Othered by the very presence of occupying bodies. The female image has historically been coded with connotations of duplicity, fakery and deceit; Theweleit locates this duplicity in the very process of turning woman into image. Writing of the early modern European context, Theweleit argues that women were imagined as bodies 'to be filled with images, and in the end to become images themselves' (1987a: 345). I suggest that this is also true of the Japanese context, in which the female body

was imagined as something inherently imagistic, as evidenced by its disproportionate use in popular art forms such as the early modern woodblock prints known as *ukiyo-e*, photography, and the cinema. The female body, once made image, comes to represent a variety of non-concrete ideals and concepts such as the nation, and ideas of nature and the natural. While Yamaguchi's Lady White is associated with nature in her ability to control the wind and water, her 'true nature' as a snake spirit is not depicted as natural, but as the source of her deception. The transformation of woman into snake has a long history in Japanese imagery and folklore (Yoshimoto 1968: 99), as woman was thought to be 'more susceptible to transformation into a snake because of her so-called jealous nature' (Yamamoto and Lilywhite 1985: 145). Lady White affects a subordinate manner in public, with lowered eyes and hands tucked into her sleeves, however, long close-ups on her eyes suggest something suspicious. Close-ups of eyes are often associated with deception, frequently indicating that the subject is scheming behind an innocent façade. As foreshadowed by these close-up shots, Lady White transforms first into a violent woman who beats her female servants, and then into a snake demon.

Figure 70-73; intercut shots show Masako's eyes opening as she drops her dagger and embraces the bandit.

Close-up shots of Tanaka Kinuyo's eyes intercut Fusako's revelation of her desire to infect all men with syphilis, while similar shots in *White Beast* indicate Yukawa's scheming as she attempts to find a way out of the detention centre by seducing the doctor and the manager. *Gates of Flesh* contains several close-up shots of Maya's eyes, indicating her desire for Ibuki as she observes him watching O-Machi's torture and later suggesting her panicked scheming to escape the American minister. The unnamed woman of the dunes is frequently shot in tight close-up, isolating her inexpressive eyes which signify the male protagonist's inability to read her intentions. The demon hag of *Onibaba* spies on her daughter in law and her lover with 'glittering animal eyes' (McDonald 2006: 114), while Masako of *Rashōmon* opens her eyes during both the samurai and the bandit's accounts of her rape/ seduction, implying desire and consent; McDonald interprets this as 'a gesture emblematic of her loss of reason' (1983: 27), allaying female desire with excess and loss of control.

Theweleit observes that the image of a woman kissing with open eyes is often a sign of imminent betrayal; 'she is allying herself with another object or allowing it to enter' (1987b: 140). Eyes symbolize penetration, however Theweleit separates the penetrative function of the gaze associated with the 'masculine' codes of narrative cinema from the penetrable state of the eye as an opening to the body associated with the 'feminine' state of penetrability and unboundedness (1987b: 134). Jay McRoy argues that 'the image of the gazing female eye (or eyes) is frequently associated with vaginal imagery' (2008: 7), suggesting the penetrable nature of the eye as similar to that of the female genitals. Eyes are therefore abject in that they present a penetrable gap in the boundary of the body, and are symbolic of a hidden intent or resistance behind appearances of acquiescence. The image of the eye can reflect anxieties of the

penetrability of Japan as a nation post-defeat, but can also symbolize a hidden resistance. The fetishising of the female eye in isolated close-ups of abject bodies may reflect the anxiety of the spectator as to the unknown power and intent of Japanese women post-emancipation. However, the image of the eye as both abject and duplicitous also references the dual nature of the postwar self, which I described above as both abject Other and acquiescent product of SCAP persuasion/coercion.

According to Theweleit's argument which posits the female image as the essence of image itself, the privileging of the female body as uber-signifier engenders a backlash in which the female image is imagined as posing or masquerading as a conceptual virtue.

> As if women had been the ones to claim that their bodies were more
> than all the rest of the world, they were made responsible for the lie of
> sexualization. In the course of the nineteenth century, the erotic woman
> becomes the devouring demon. (Theweleit 1987a: 360)

The cinematic unmasking of the mythic woman to reveal the 'devouring demon' is cathartic in that it proves a 'truth' already 'known'. This is particularly relevant to the postwar period, in which the image of woman was invested with positive democratic qualities by SCAP and the humanist filmmakers of the early post-defeat era. The unmasking of these positive images presents a refutation of both the content and the form of SCAP propaganda.

The female image revealed as formless also speaks to national anxieties around borders, and the question of what it meant to be Japanese in the postwar era. Yamaguchi's performance across nationalities reflects a cathartic imagining of the Chinese actress as really Japanese all along. However, Kyō's Westernized body

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performs the opposite function, coding Westerness and Americanization deeper than clothing or make-up to the level of the body itself, a national threat literally made flesh. The shape-shifting performed by these 1950s bodies would take a more formless turn in the early 1960s as national anxieties were expressed through the abstract and often abject dissolution of body boundaries.

In its most extreme form, Theweleit's account of the soldier male's desire to see the female body 'unmasked' extends to the unmasking of the female as non-human by dissolving the body into formlessness. When the threatening body is 'reduced to a pulp, a bloody mass, the man can breathe with a sigh of relief' as this alters the 'false appearances of the women so that their 'true natures' can become visible' (Theweleit 1987b: 196). Theweleit argues that this drive to dissolve the threatening female body is an attempt to separate the 'masculine' body of the soldier from formless or shapeless things, securing its boundaries through difference. The soldier avoids becoming formless 'by mashing others to the pulp he himself threatens to become' (Theweleit 1987b: 274). We can understand this motif as a practice of abjecting; seemingly non-threatening bodies are made to assume the appearance of threat in order to provide a body upon which to practice the boundary-affirming process of abjecting. In this way, the female body unmasked is the female body made suitable target for abjecting.

> Indeed, what is foreclosed or repudiated *within* psychoanalytic terms is
> precisely what may not re-enter the field of the social without
> threatening psychosis, that is, the dissolution of the subject itself. I want
> to propose that certain abject zones within sociality also deliver this
> threat, constituting zones of uninhabitability which a subject fantasizes

as threatening its own integrity with the prospect of a psychotic

dissolution. (Butler 1993: 186, italics in the original)

While we can interpret the threat of dissolution as an element of the embodied human condition, dissolution is a very particular threat for the demobilised soldier, suffering the trauma of loss in war, emasculation under occupation and the dissolution of the armed unit in which he had lived for the duration of Japan's Fifteen Years War. There is also a large element of dissolution in SCAP's deconstruction of the Imperial Japanese nation-state, to be replaced with an American-styled democratic nation. The 'feminized' face of both American style democracy as espoused by SCAP and the memory of wartime prevalent in the early postwar years contributes to 'dissolution' of the codes enshrined in the Imperial Ordinance, by which Japanese citizens had lived throughout the militarization period and ensuing wartime. Such very real dissolution experienced by Japanese citizens after the war was mediated on screen by the abjecting of the female body unmasked. The 'abject zones' inhabited by the female body onscreen allow for a casting out of the bodies therein to remove the 'prospect of a psychotic dissolution' of the viewing subject.

In chapter two I suggested that the image of the suffering mother mediated feelings of revenge as much as sympathy in that the mother's 'feminized' testimony caused resentment by usurping those of the returning soldiers and the post-defeat generation. I would like to briefly revisit the image of the mother, not as suffering but as threatening figure, to argue for another aspect to her popular presentation which constitutes a threat which must be unmasked and dissolved. Theweleit suggests that the soldier male's fear of dissolution stems from a fear of 'flow', specifically the flow of feelings and desires. While the sexual urge is one such flow, represented in the image of the prostitute, the all-encompassing love of the mother is another flow which

threatens to engulf the subject. Theweleit argues that 'desire, if it flows at all, flows *though women*. In some way or other, it always flows in relation to the image of woman' (1987a: 272, italics in the original). I want to suggest that the same is true in the postwar Japanese context. The twin desires symbolized by the prostitute and the mother, one for sexual gratification and the other for unconditional love, flow through the image of the female body. While the wartime mother in both Germany and Japan was constructed as an image through which desires did not flow, Theweleit argues that 'making the mothers as cold and hard as steel betrays a fear of *intimacy* as something terrifying, and of a mother's *warmth* as something in which a son might easily perish' (1987a: 107, italics in the original). Both images threaten to swallow up the male body with their excess of desire.

The mother as locus of excess desire is discussed in chapter two in relation to *The Key* (*Kagi*, Ichikawa Kon, 1959), in which Kyō Machiko plays a mother whose sexuality and sexual desire is out of control, threatening to and eventually succeeding in engulfing her entire family. In *Onibaba* however, the excesses of the mother-in-law's sexual desires manifest literally as the dissolution of her own body boundaries when her face becomes fused to a demon mask. The scars left when the mask is torn away resemble the keloid scars of the *hibakusha*; Shindō Kaneto is said to have modelled them on pictures of scars left by exposure to atomic bombs (McDonald 2006: 118). Following Adam Lowenstein's definition of *Onibaba* as a 'trauma text', we can link the image of the desiring female body to the image of the *hibakusha* through their shared themes of pollution and lack of control. Otowa Nobuko's (1925-1994) character, whose son is missing in one of the many feudal battles ravaging the country in the Bakumatsu era (1860-1867), is presented as a woman with strong sexual urges in her jealousy of her daughter-in-law's new sexual relationship.

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Lowenstein sees the hole into which the mother and daughter-in-law trick passing samurai as 'a sign of "woman"' (2004: 153); I argue that it symbolizes instead the threat of uncontrollable female desire as discussed by Theweleit. The hole is a desiring mouth which swallows up the bodies of samurai in order to feed the women's need to make money for sustenance. Barbara Creed reminds us that the 'presence of the monstrous-feminine in the popular horror film speaks to us more about male fears than about female desire or feminine subjectivity' (1993: 7); the excessively desiring female image reflects popular anxieties around female desire and the possibility of the male body being sacrificed to female desires and needs, as female emancipation was prioritised by the Allied occupation in the early years after defeat. Negative images of desiring female bodies, clearly linked to anxieties ensuing from the emancipation of women in Japan's 1947 Constitution, articulate uncontrollable desire as an impediment to the formation of an ordered and bounded nation.

Uncontrollable desire positions Otowa's character as 'at once the film's central victim and central aggressor' (Lowenstein 2004: 151) as tropes common to myth and the horror genre are used to problematize the simplistic victim complex espoused by many *hahamono* films. Lowenstein observes that '*Onibaba*'s release in 1964 falls within the ten-year period (1955-1965) that James J. Orr defines as "a critical period of common acceptance" of "the mythologies of Japanese victimhood"' (Lowenstein 2004: 152), suggesting that *Onibaba* addressed popular debates around the victim complex dominant in public discourse at the time of its release. The film directly engages with cinematic representation of the victim complex in articulating Otowa's character as an excessive or monstrous mother, counter-balancing the suffering mothers of the *hahamono* which espoused acceptance of the doctrine of

Japan's victimhood. The image of the mother (-in-law) as an excessive body problematizes any straightforward identification of victim and aggressor in the film.

The monstrous mother of *Onibaba* is the victim of class as much as gender violence. Michael Molasky argues that during the early postwar period 'Japan's (male) public officials were also intent on stemming the potentially contaminating flows of female sexual desire, a desire they associated with women from the lower classes' (1999: 107). Theweleit similarly describes female bodies of excess as defined by class, suggesting that the polluted and uncontrollable 'whore' image has historically been linked with lower class womanhood (1987a: 65).

> *Onibaba*'s class narrative rests on the fact that the war waged by upper-
> class samurai has robbed the old peasant woman of both her son and her
> ability to farm, leaving her no choice but to scavenge off the class that
> victimized her. (Lowenstein 2004: 153)

In this way, 'war responsibility emerges as intertwined between victimizer and victimized, upper class and lower class, male and female, to complicate the very notion of demarcating "demons" and "human beings" in the face of Hiroshima' (Lowenstein 2004: 154). The intertwining of victim and victimizer is reflected in Otowa's character, who channels the cinematic conventions of both the mother and the 'A bomb maiden' as bodily testament to the destructive force of atomic warfare, as discussed in chapter three (Lowenstein 2004: 157). Otowa's characterization subverts both cinematic norms in that she is neither the weak mother of the *hahamono* nor the beautiful *hibakusha* 'maiden'; instead, her active role in the violence perpetrated onscreen problematizes the common cinematic trope of the feminine as the locus of innocence discussed in chapter three.

The mother of *Onibaba* is an excessive and therefore abject figure. The opening shot shows a bird's eye view of the two women stripping the corpses of two samurai; a crab pattern on Otowa's kimono invites comparison of the women's livelihoods with those of the scavenging crustaceans. Like Tanaka Kinuyo in *Women of the Night* and Kyō Machiko in *Tales of Ugetsu*, the otherness of Otowa's face and body is emphasized by oddly drawn features and high key lighting, often angled upwards to

Fig. 74; Otowa's crab motif kimono invites comparison of the women with animals.

Fig. 75; The otherness of Otowa's face is emphasized by high key lighting and makeup.

Fig. 76; The mask erodes boundaries, revealing the 'bloody miasma' beneath.

create a monstrous and threatening appearance (fig. 75). Her body is positioned as post-sexual by her rebuffed advances to her daughter-in-law's lover. Otowa's character suffers the erosion of her body boundaries in her fusion with the mask, which reveals Theweleit's 'bloody miasma' when ripped off. *Hibakusha* onscreen such as the schoolgirls of the opening montage of *Children of Hiroshima* (*Genbaku no ko*, Shindō Kaneto, 1954) suffer a similar erosion of body boundaries; in contrast to *Onibaba* however, their suffering is coded in terms which invoke the elegiac or miraculous, bordering on the sacred.

Yuki Miyamoto's study of commemoration and responsibility in the context of religious understanding of the atomic bombing of Japan demonstrates a manifestation of the female body as a body of excess with very different affect to those discussed above. The bodies discussed by Miyamoto are excessive to the point of sublime, just as the grotesque of Bakhtin's carnival also approaches the sacred (Bakhtin 1993). Suggesting that Japanese postwar literature, including the work of Mishima Yukio,

exhibits a tradition of depictions of the sublime, Dennis Washburn notes that the original denotation of the 'aesthetic sentiment' in Japanese as 'the feeling that something is noble, exalted or majestic' shifted during the eighteenth century 'to stress not so much a particular quality... but its affect' (Washburn 2010: 78-79). The contemporary concept, denoted by terms such as *sōgon*, *sūkō*, *kōsō*, *ogosoka*, *kedakai*, *sōzetsu* or *saburaimu* describes 'the feeling attained when you cannot describe your feelings' (Washburn 2010: 78-79). In this sense, the sublime is pure affect. Washburn argues that the sublime is a particularly suitable concept for understanding the postwar as a period of trauma, if we think of the sublime as a 'spiritual fever brought on by an overwhelming encounter with enormity' (Washburn 2010: 80). As visual expressions of this trauma, bodies of excess approach the state of the sublime, mediating trauma as not only sacrifices but also saviours of the postwar nation.

Miyamoto's interpretation of the *hibakusha* female body as sublime excess reveals the sacred capacity of such excessive images reflected in the final scene of *Women of the Night*, in which the film style invites comparison of Fusako with the Virgin Mary in a series of shots which show her ascending the steps of a local church and sitting below a stained glass window of the Virgin and Child. Kumiko crawls into her lap as Fusako mimics the posture of the Virgin leaning over her. The two enter the church as the camera pans up to the window, filling the final shot with the image of the Virgin and Child.

The unnamed woman of Teshigahara's *Woman of the Dunes* is similarly both abject body and sublime saviour, as her abandon in her abjection demonstrates to the male protagonist the oppressive structures of life within the Japanese state. The male protagonist, later named as Junpei Niki, meditates from the opening scene on the relationship of the individual to the state, listing in voiceover a series of identifying

documents assigned to a citizen during his lifetime, such as "Written contracts, licenses, identification cards" and so on, while the opening credits move across a background of *hanko* seals and fingerprints showing the individual's small mark on society. In contrast to these ordered images, an extreme close-up of grains of sand widens out to show whole dunes. The grains of sand are an analogy for the individual subsumed within the larger body of the social order, however, the lingering gaze of the camera on the slowly shifting sand also hints at the grotesque; the movement is faintly repulsive, with an irritating and unbounded affect reflecting 'the catechetic spilling over of material beyond category, beyond the proper, unsettling fixity, with unbelongingness or unbelongability' (Cornyetz 2007: 79).

The sand hints at a transgression or erosion of boundaries, as it 'does not respect borders, positions, rules' (Kristeva 1982: 4, trans. Roudiez) and so constitutes an abject force. Adding to the viewer's sense of repulsion, small insects burrow in and out of the sand. In the first of a series of images inviting the viewer to compare the human figures of the film with insects and animals, a high viewpoint shot of the pit in which the unnamed woman lives appears visually similar to Niki's insect traps (Ehrlich and Santos 2001: 91). A birds-eye view of Niki and the woman sleeping cuts abruptly to two moths trapped in the lamp casing, stressing the couple's total helplessness and lack of active subjecthood; 'The abject confronts us, on the one hand, with those fragile states where man strays on the territory of *animal*' (Kristeva 1982: 12, trans. Roudiez, italics in the original). Initial hints at an affinity between humans and insects progress to a consistent use of animal imagery as the narrative unfolds; during his attempt to rape the woman, Niki argues "You live like a sow anyway!" Lacan makes a distinction between the human and animal condition; 'animals are caught in the gaze of the world, they are only on display there' (quoted in Foster 1996:

109), whereas humans mediate the gaze through use of the symbolic, or the 'dominant fiction' (Silverman 1990:114). Trapped in the pit, the woman is exposed continually to the gaze of the villagers and of the camera like Lacan's animal.

While her animalistic state casts the woman of the dunes as an abject body, her association with the natural, articulated through Niki's repeated references to the animal world, intercut shots of her body and the bodies of insects or birds, and her lack of a given name, is also the means by which she 'saves' him from the ordered confines of Japanese society. Niki's belief in the structures of the state is symbolized by his recitation of the paraphernalia of bureaucratic order in the opening scenes. At the end of the narrative however, he rejects a chance to escape, choosing instead to remain in the pit. While he may have exchanged a larger prison for a smaller in eschewing the constructs of mainstream society in favour of the proto-feudal society of the dune village, it is worth noting that this comes about due to the affect of the women's performance of abjection. Her abject state is related to nature and through this to ideas of the natural, which are used to critique the rigid constructs of Japanese society in motifs which echo the *nikutai* and *darakuron* discourses dominant in postwar literature. Creed argues that 'the abject is placed on the side of the feminine: it exists in opposition to the paternal symbolic, which is governed by rules and laws' (1993: 37); in choosing to join the unnamed woman in her abject condition, Niki evades the governance of the paternalistic state. However, we cannot simplistically imagine the abject as an escape from the patriarchal state, an 'alternative to the law'; as Juliet Mitchell argues, the abject or carnival 'is set up by the law precisely in its own ludic space, its area of imaginary alternative, but not as a symbolic alternative' (quoted in Russo 1994: 37).

Instead, I wish to suggest that the power of the abject bordering on the sublime to 'save by abjecting' is very similar to the path endorsed by Tamura and Sakaguchi and the writers on decadence in the early postwar era. While the choice to become abject is not an unproblematic solution to the difficulties of maintaining an individual subjectivity within the patriarchal structures of the nation, such a choice can relieve the subject of the burden of subjectivity, never heavier than in early postwar Japan, and grant the abject body powers of testimonial out of the reach of the ordered and bounded subject. While the individual body may be placed beyond further harm by assuming the non-subjective position of the abject, the community or group from which the abject body is removed is also 'saved' by its removal. From Japan's creation myth to the *Kojiki*, Yoshimoto Takaaki argues that the death of a woman, often in abject terms which 'remove her very essence', signals the rebirth of the community or nation (1968: 135). I suggest that the abject female image plays a similar role in postwar Japanese film.

Many abject bodies in postwar cinema celebrate their own abjection, as in Suzuki's *Gates of Flesh*, which features repeated linguistic and imagistic references to the human body abjected to the state of the animal. In the opening sequence, Maya reflects that "after the war, Tokyo was a jungle", aligning the chaos of the occupation period with a lapse into animalistic behaviour. She refers to the male protagonist Ibuki as "a wounded beast" and their existence as "primitive life". Abject states encompass the animal and the object; the women of the prostitution ring frequently refer to their bodies in an abject fashion which fuses the language of nature with that of consumer objectification. "You know those signs you see in fish shops? 'Direct from seller to buyer?' It's the best way!" The leader of the group complains "My body's not a sack of potatoes, is it?" Rather than an assertion of subjectivity, she means that her body is

not as cheap as a sack of vegetables; she commands the price of fresh meat. "Meat costs 40 yen per pound? So do we! Same price!" The commune's bodies do not occupy the innocent object position of the vegetable, nor the subjectivity of the human, but the abject state of the animal, and the animal corpse at that.

Where human life is reduced to an animalistic existence, the key concerns of the abjected characters are, as Ibuki states, "food and sex". Kristeva draws attention to the role of food in abjecting the body; 'When food appears as a polluting object, it does so… to the extent that orality signifies a boundary to the self's clean and proper body' (1982: 75, trans. Roudiez). The repeated use of food to signify the open boundaries of the body reflects a desire to explore the trauma of the breach of Japan's boundaries during invasion. Like the eye, the mouth is a breach in the body's boundaries, threatening to admit improper substances into the body; the characters of *Woman of the Dunes* battle to keep the all-pervasive sand out of food, paralleling the subject's battle to keep the body's boundaries intact on a literal level and, on an allegorical level, to guard against the debasing anti-subjective influence of the community.

Just as food indicates the body's vulnerability to breaches of its boundaries, bodily fluids perform a similarly abject function in that they reflect not only the un-sealed nature of the body in terms of what may enter it, but also reflexively, what may escape from it. If the body is a metaphor for social order, then fears of what may escape from within society's boundaries are equal to the threat of what may intrude from without. A society is threatened not only by outsiders (in the case of postwar Japan, Allied occupiers and American or Western influence) but also by insiders escaping outside the bounded area of definition and control, for example, returning

soldiers who no longer submit to social rules of conduct, or streetwalking *panpan* who exist outside of designated prostitution zones.

> 'Matter issuing from [the orifices of the body] is marginal stuff of the most obvious kind. Spittle, blood, milk, urine, faeces or tears by simply issuing forth have traversed the boundary of the body' (Douglas 1966: 121).

Abjection addresses not only threats to the body from outside but also threats from within the body. Excessive bodies are often depicted leaking substances at points in the narrative where bodily desire problematizes subjectivity; Maya spills milk from her mouth, overcome by sexual desire for Ibuki during O-Machi's beating in *Gates of Flesh*, while the mother-in-law of *Onibaba* displays body boundaries similarly problematized in the blood spilling from her face. The abject female image on film speaks not only to anxieties of the Japanese nation as subordinate, breached and removed from subject positioning, but also addresses concerns about an inner pollution or national disfigurement which threatens to leak or escape, displaying the nation's abject state to the world. Themes of inner pollution may reflect popular fears, supported by the reinstatement of war criminals into positions of political power, that the militaristic aggression, which had led Japan to war, had not been reformed or removed, but merely hidden.

Reflections of Horror

> The critic's first job in explaining the fascination of horror is not to fix the images at their every appearance but, instead, to trace their migrations to the audience and, only then try to understand why they have been crucial enough to pass along. (Clover 1992)

Julia Kristeva questions 'What is the point of emphasizing the horror of being?' (1982: 208, trans. Roudiez). Within the scope of this thesis, film has been assessed as a 'sensory-reflexive horizon' (Hansen 2000a: 10) through which the traumatic effects of Japan's wartime actions and subsequent defeat were mediated, and on which the nation's postwar future could be 'reflected, rejected or disavowed, transmuted or negotiated' (Hansen 2000b: 341). Emphasizing the horror of being provided a means to reflect and work through Japan's horror at defeat and retrospectively, at the war crimes discussed in the high profile tribunals held in the early postwar period. While the preceding chapters analysed reoccurring imagery clearly related to these issues, this chapter has addressed motifs that fall outside easily quantifiable boundaries to think about the processes of expressing unspeakable or unacknowledged national anxieties, to screen the unsayable.

John Izod has suggested an 'explanation for the collective appeal of the film in its compensating for the cultural repression of a taboo topic' (2001: 205); the collective appeal of the films mentioned above, as evidenced by their high box office takings and frequent mentions in the popular press, could be explained by their ability to depict cultural taboos which evade linguistic expression. However, Izod also suggests that monsters on screen such as those discussed in this chapter can be read as 'manifestations of terrors still to be faced' (2001: 205), indicating that film can also screen fears for the future. We can therefore see the abject image as an active part of 'the production of texts [which] can be one way of reconfiguring what will count as the world' (Butler 1993: xxvi). The excessive female image contributed to this process by addressing anxieties surrounding the abject state of postwar Japan. Due to the polysemous nature of abject imagery and the multiple affective identifications possible within schizophrenic spectatorship, the image of the abject female body

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could also reflexively reconfigure the state of the postwar nation in positive terms

which imagined the abject as a 'ground zero' upon which to build a new Japan.

Conclusion

Mediating National Crisis on Screen

> Storytelling – narrative – is central to how people communicate their
> understanding of the world, and stories are seen as the primary means
> by which we construct meaning about the world around us. For
> subscribers to narrative theory, storytelling is at the heart of all human
> interaction. We tell stories about what has happened to explain events
> and issues. We tell stories about ourselves and even without an
> audience we organize in our heads narratives to help interpret and
> impose some kind of order on the multitude of things we see and hear.
> (Williams 2003:141)

> That's what the world is, after all: an endless battle of contrasting
> memories. (Murakami 2011: 313, trans. Rubin)

Between the filmic image as a cathartic or expressive mode of storytelling, and the
filmic image as a weapon in an 'endless battle' of contrasting memories lies the
relation of the filmic image to the viewer. Understanding this relation is a question of
understanding how the viewer and the filmic image interact, and what the filmic
image does for the viewer; essentially, a question of the social function of film. This
thesis has suggested that affect is central to understanding the function of film in
relation to the viewer's socio-political and historical context.

My use of a diverse range of theory and method is informed by popular and
scholarly concerns that the dominant mode of semiotic analysis in film studies does

not allow for an understanding of the filmic image and the spectator as bodies in a two-way dialogue. In the case of postwar Japan, the film screen as a 'reflexive horizon' is one part of such a dialogue. A portion of the other part of the dialogue is archived in the critical and fan responses to popular cinema recorded in the film magazines and journals of the period, which suggest that while the repetitive tropes of Japanese cinema mirrored the repetitive cycles of traumatic memory, the affect coded within and enhanced by these repetitions presented a means to break the cycle of trauma. Filmmakers and viewers alike could work through the national trauma of war and defeat by creating and consuming film texts which practice 'articulating or rearticulating affect and representation in a manner that may never transcend, but may to some viable extent counteract, a re-enactment or acting out, of that disabling dissociation' (La Capra 2001: 42).

While many studies of Japanese film have relied on analyses of film texts or film scripts, I have conducted archival research at institutes around the world to find the reactions of critics and fans published in popular magazines at the time of screening. I combined discourse analysis of these materials with my own iconographic reading of almost 600 film texts, many of which were among few surviving copies of films popular during the period 1945-1964. This approach was designed to combat several issues which present major problems for studies on audiences and viewership, including the unreliability of audience reports and the subjective nature of the researcher's own response to a film text. The viewers' responses I could gauge using this method were confined to that of elite and educated viewers who contributed regularly to film journals, though I was able to source some fan letters and viewership surveys conducted in the period under study. I have attempted to extrapolate from these findings to suggest the affect of the images under

study for a general viewership using an iconographic analysis of filmic imagery contextualized by historical reading. I found indications of the popularity of selected film texts in the yearly *Eiga Nenkan* journals, which published box office and attendance figures for the major hits of each year. Using this information, I could begin from the premise that a certain film was popularly received and work back through critical reception, iconographic analysis and historical context to suggest the productive affect of the film on the viewer as one reason for its popularity. I have attempted to understand the pleasurable nature of this affect in terms of the socio-political context of the film's production.

I designed this method to allow for a mode of research into viewership which would avoid the pitfalls of earlier attempts at audience studies. Understanding viewership is crucial to understanding the purposes and impacts of film itself, and so my methods suggest a way of revisiting the historical viewer as subject for study. My use of affect theory provides a means of imagining the reception of an image, contextualized within an account of the socio-political and historical background of the spectator. As many writers on affect imagine the process as varied and multiple, affect theory is appropriate for the study of a spectator understood as schizophrenic in the sense described by Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, outlined in the introduction and in chapter four. Remaining aware of the multiple, simultaneous, and often conflicting nature of viewer identification and response, the researcher can hypothesize the affect of filmic imagery on the viewer from a position grounded in the historical and socio-political context, and with access to the voices of a sample number of viewers from the era.

The overarching aim of the thesis is therefore to suggest a new approach towards theorizing the spectator. In applying this approach to the postwar Japanese

context, each chapter revealed new research outcomes on the 'types' or archetypal female images under study. In chapter one, I suggested that female stars of the Japanese studio system can be read as affective images in themselves, coded with archetypal markers at the level of the star persona which gave multiple meanings to their performances and roles. The aspirational affect of the star persona mediated stars' reflection of the harsh conditions of post-defeat Japanese life in their on-screen roles and in their reported 'real lives'.

The aspirational affect of star persona has not been accounted for in extant scholarship on the image of the domestic female bodies of housewives and mothers in postwar Japanese film. In chapter two, I suggested that the representation of the daily domestic struggles of the postwar housewife could produce both cathartic and mediative affects in the use of the star persona in representing the harsh realities of everyday life after defeat and occupation. Popular understanding of wife and mother images as opposing binaries in postwar Japanese cinema, repeated throughout English and Japanese language scholarship, has failed to note a trend in the late 1950s and 1960s which fuses the two archetypal structures together. I understand this trend as an attempt to 'work through' or come to terms with the removal of the pre-war *okāsan* from the centre of family life, in favour of the Americanized postwar housewife. Reading this filmic trend as a response to national anxieties around the re-structuring of the Japanese family reveals the expressive and mediative affect of the domestic female archetype in popular film.

While mother and wife images are presented as artificially opposed in extant scholarship on postwar Japanese film, the youthful female image including the schoolgirl and daughter archetypes has been ignored almost entirely. Chapter three suggested that scholarship on the girl image in literature and *manga* could be usefully

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applied to the context of postwar Japanese film in order to analyse the optimistic affect of the image of female youth in the postwar era. Changes in the image of the young woman from the hopeful daughters and schoolgirls of late 1940s and early 1950s cinema to the threatening new modern girl of 1960s film reflect shifts in public concerns after the end of occupation in 1952.

The end of occupation lifted strict censorship on the film industry, which embraced new freedoms in the excessive female image onscreen, designed to shock and thrill. Chapter four wove feminist social theory and film theory through an account of contemporary critical and viewer responses and my own iconographic reading of selected film texts to argue for the excessive female body as abject. This abject body presented a reflexive horizon for viewer anxieties of the later post-defeat era, which shifted from a focus on war trauma and the rebuilding of the postwar nation to concerns about Japan's future and position in the world. Thinking of the excessive bodies of the archetypal female monster, mythic woman and *avant-garde* anti-heroine as abject allows us to understand the dual and opposed affects of these reoccurring images, which investigate the depths to which post-defeat Japan had fallen, at the same time re-building and re-enforcing national boundaries by expelling the abject forces which challenge perceptions of the nation as bounded and secure.

In my inter-disciplinary approach I have attempted to suggest the value of several disciplines and theoretical approaches currently underused in Japanese film studies. My art-historically informed iconographic approach to film analysis aims to avoid many of the pitfalls of a more traditional film style analysis by remaining aware of the historical context of the imagery under study. The use of affect theory and feminist film theory throughout this thesis is designed to suggest that with sufficient grounding in the history, language and culture of a time and place, a diffuse

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theoretical approach can reveal new readings of film texts which address the enduring popularity and iconic legacies of certain films. As Japanese film scholarship begins to utilize the emergent body of theoretical work on affect (Furuhata 2013; Kanno 2011; Kanno 2010), it is essential to ground this body of work within the Japanese context. The decision to interpret the affect of reoccurring 'archetypes' in female representation in the context of Yoshimoto Takaaki's *Communal Fantasies* (*Kyōdōgensō ron*, 1968) rather than the Jungian framework adopted by scholars such as Gregory Barrett was inspired by a desire to find a theoretical approach to understanding repetitive motifs which was not reliant on Eurocentric, gender-essentialist or overly psychoanalytic principles. In applying Yoshimoto's writing to the case of female representation in Japanese cinema, I challenge the prevailing misconception that Japanese arts humanities scholarship 'has no theory.' As Miriam Hansen's understanding of the cinema as 'reflexive horizon' becomes fundamental to the study of Japanese cinema (Standish 2005: 328; Wada-Marciano 2008: 7), Yoshimoto's observation that the reoccurring tropes of myth are 'reflections of human nature and thinking' used to 'see a self that one cannot ordinarily see' (1968: 189) suggests his writing as particularly relevant.

My approach to the historical context of the period under study has been greatly informed by recent work on memory studies, though the scope of this thesis did not allow for a full investigation into the role of film in creating and perpetuating a national collective memory. In my next research project I intend to incorporate memory studies into my work to think about viewership and memory in a more flexible manner. Kanako Terasawa's research methods (2010) have inspired me to include anthropological interview methods in future research projects to contrast the responses of critics and viewers at the time of a film's release with the memories of

viewers and fans years later. Adding a memory studies approach to my theoretical framework would add to understanding of viewer's emotional investment in the filmic image, which I have attempted to address in this thesis with affect theory. Consideration of the role of film in the construction of memory would further my investigation of the cathartic and productive functions of the medium.

My research ultimately seeks to further understand the enduring popularity and social impact of the cinema. This project deals explicitly with the relation of images of the female body to the popular imagination of that body in everyday life, as in chapter four, where cinematic representations of the postwar *panpan* prostitute are interwoven with contemporary popular opinions on and legal understandings of the real-life *panpan*. My research investigates the impact of the image of the female body in popular media on the viewer, suggesting that viewer interpretation and internalization of the codes of female imagery is more complex than scholarship has previously acknowledged. In drawing attention to this complexity, I suggest that the popularity of 'negative' images of women is often based on the cathartic or mediative qualities such images may have. Isolating such 'positive' qualities coded within 'negative' imagery allows us to understand the affect, and thus the appeal of such imagery.

In investigating the use-value of the filmic image, I aim to contribute a nuanced understanding of the social impact of the female image in popular media to the contemporary discussion on the role of popular media in shaping the attitudes of the general public. Spectatorial attitudes such as those recorded in viewer surveys, fan letters, and in the popular press, inform film representation as a factor in the film industry's constant aim to minimise risk. As discussed in chapters one and four, this results in the repetition of imagery which has been well received by audiences. At the

same time, film's role as 'storyteller' or narrative structure which can be used to make sense of occurrences in everyday life informs viewer understanding of their socio-political contexts. Film must therefore be understood as a medium in mutually constituting and constitutive relation to the viewer (Standish 2005: 14). In this way, film contributes to and is informed by the popular attitudes of audiences, and the representation of the female body on film affects popular understanding of that body in everyday life. It is therefore imperative that we attempt to fully understand the processes at work in presenting and consuming images of the female body on screen.

Postwar Japan provides a test case for such a study in which popular anxieties and national agendas are exaggerated by the context of national crisis. While Japanese film critics argued that the 'idea films' of the early postwar could 'amend attitudes one step at a time' (*zenshi kono keikō wa shūseiserare*) (Uehara 1947: 42), given the possibilities for a schizophrenic spectatorship which reads film imagery (consciously or unconsciously) both against the grain and in multiple directions, it seems more useful to think of the cinema as screening the possible to change the limits of the imaginable, rather than enacting direct social change. The cinema might not provide a direct reflection of life as it was in the early postwar period in Japan, or have traceable impact on the implementation of gender reform, but my analysis of selected popular film texts from the era is intended to suggest the use value of approaching cinema as a record of the reflections, rejections, disavowals, transmutations and negotiations (Hansen 2000a: 12) involved in social change. In the current global context in which crises (economic, social, and military) are increasingly ever-present in public consciousness, the use of the female image to express and mediate national anxieties has its own impact on the understanding and treatment of the female body in both everyday life and at the levels of legislation and politics. If the representation of the

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female body in popular media informs the limits of what we consider imaginable in regards to that body in everyday life, we must attempt to understand more fully the affective impacts of the female image on film.

Select Filmography

Alone Across the Pacific (*Taiheiyō hitoribocchi*/ 太平洋ひとりぼっち) 1963

Director: Ichikawa Kon, Ishihara Productions and Nikkatsu.

Army (*Rikugun*/ 陸軍) 1944 Director: Kinoshita Keisuke, Shōchiku.

Ball at the Anjō House (*Anjō ke no butōkai*/ 安城家の舞踏会) 1947 Director:

Yoshimura Kōzaburō, Shōchiku Ōfuna.

The Ballad of Narayama (*Narayama bushiko*/ 楢山節子) 1958 Director: Kinoshita

Keisuke, Shōchiku Ōfuna.

The Birth of Japan (*Nippon tanjō*/ 日本誕生) 1959 Director: Inagaki Hiroshi,

Tōhō.

Black Line (*Kurosen chitai*/ 黒線地帯) 1960 Director: Iishi Teruo, Shin-Tōhō.

Blue Mountains (*Aoi sammyaku*/ 青い山脈) 1949 Director: Imai Tadashi, Tōhō.

The Bodyguard (*Yōjimbō*/ 用心棒) 1961 Director: Kurosawa Akira, Kurosawa Puro

and Tōhō.

Carmen Comes Home (*Karumen kokyō ni kaeru*/ カルメン故郷に帰る) 1951

Director: Kinoshita Keisuke, Shōchiku.

Children of the Bomb (*Genbaku no ko*/ 原爆の子) 1952 Director: Shindō Kaneto,

Hokusei/ Kindai Eiga Kyōkai and Mingei.

 Crisis-Time Japan (Hijōji nihon/ 非常時日本) 1933 Mainichi.

Cruel Story of Youth aka *Naked Youth* (*Seishun zankoku monogatari*/ 青春残酷物語)

1960 Director: Ōshima Nagisa, Shōchiku.

Daughters, Wives and Mothers (*Musume tsuma haha*/ 娘・妻・母) 1960 Director:

Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

Dogora the Great Outer Space Monster (*Uchū daikaijū Dogora/*宇宙大怪獣ドゴラ)

　　1964 Director: Honda Ishirō, Tōhō.

Drunken Angel (*Yoidore tenshi/*酔いどれ天使) 1948 Director: Kurosawa Akira,

　　Tōhō.

　Escape from Japan (*Nihon dasshutsu/*日本脱出) 1964 Director: Yoshida Yoshishige,

　　Shōchiku Ōfuna.

Evening Stream (*Yoru no nagare/*夜の流れ) 1960 Directors: Kawashima Yūzō and

　　Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

Fire Line (*Kasen chitai/*火線地帯) 1961 Director: Takebe Hiromichi, Shin-Tōhō.

Five Women Around Utamaro (*Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna/*歌麿をめぐる

　　五人の女) 1946 Director: Mizoguchi Kenji, Shōchiku.

Five Women Around Utamaro (*Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna/*歌麿をめぐる

五人の女) 1959 Director: Kimura Keigo, Daiei.

The Flavour of Green Tea Over Rice (*Ochazuke no aji/*お茶漬けの味) 1952 Director:

　　Ozu Yasujirō, Shōchiku.

Floating Clouds (*Ukigumo/*浮雲) 1955 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

Gates of Flesh (*Nikutai no mon/*肉体の門) 1948 Director: Makino Masahiro,

　　Oizumi/ Tōhō and Yoshimoto Kōgyō.

Gates of Flesh (*Nikutai no mon/*肉体の門) 1964 Director: Suzuki Seijun, Nikkatsu.

Gates of Hell (*Jigokumon/*地獄門) 1953 Director: Kinugasa Teinosuke, Daiei.

Godzilla (*Gojira/*ゴジラ) 1954 Director: Honda Ishirō, Tōhō.

The Happiness of Us Alone (*Na mo naku mazushiku utsukushiku/*名もなく貧しく美

　　し) 1961 Director: Matsuyama Zenzo, Tokyo Eiga/ Tōhō.

The Happiness of Us Alone; Father and Child (*Zoku na mo naku mazushiku utsukushiku; Chichi to ko/*続名もなく貧しく美し・父と子) 1967 Director: Matsuyama Zenzo, Tokyo Eiga Company and Tōhō.

Hen in The Wind (*Kaze no naka no mendori/* 風の中の牝鶏) 1948 Director: Ozu Yasujirō, Shōchiku.

House of Bamboo 1955 Director: Samuel Fuller, Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation.

The Human Condition Series (*Ningen no jōken/* 人間の条件) 1959 - 1961 Director: Kobayashi Masaki

Human Condition Parts I and II: No Greater Love (人間の条件　弟一部　純愛篇/ 第二部　激怒篇) 1959 Director: Kobayashi Masaki, Ninjin Club and Kabukiza Eiga/ Shōchiku.

Human Condition Parts III and IV: The Road to Eternity (人間の條件　第三部　望郷篇/ 第四部　戦雲篇) 1959 Director: Kobayashi Masaki, Ningen Productions/ Shōchiku.

Human Condition Parts V and VI (人間の條件　第五部　死の脱出/ 第六部　曠野の彷徨) 1961 Director: Kobayashi Masaki, Bungei Productions and Ninjin Club/ Shōchiku.

Husband and Wife (*Fūfu/* 夫婦) 1953 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

The Idiot (*Hakuchi/* 白痴) 1951 Director: Kurosawa Akira, Shōchiku.

Intentions of Murder (*Akai satsui/* 赤い殺意) 1964 Director: Imamura Shōhei, Nikkatsu.

The Insect Woman (*Nippon konchūki/* にっぽん昆虫記) 1963 Director: Imamura Shōhei, Nikkatsu.

Japanese War Bride 1952 Director: King Vidor, Joseph Bernhard Productions and

Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation

The Key (*Kagi*/ 鍵) 1997 Director: Ikeda Toshiharu, Tōei.

The Key (*Kagi*/ 鍵) 1974 Director: Kumashiro Tatsumi, Nikkatsu .

The Key (*Kagi*/ 鍵), 1959 Director: Ichikawa Kon, Daiei.

Late Chrysanthemums (*Bangiku*/ 晩菊) 1954 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

Late Spring (*Banshun*/晩春) 1949 Director: Ozu Yasujirō, Shōchiku.

The Legend of the White Serpent (*Byaku fujin no yōren*/ *Bai she chuan shuō* / 白婦人
の妖恋/ 白蛇传说) 1956 Director: Toyoda Shirō, Shaw Brothers and Tōhō.

Lightning (*Inazuma*/ 稲妻) 1952 Director: Naruse Mikio, Daiei.

Love-Troth Tree (*Aizen katsura*/ 愛染桂) 1938 Director: Nomura Hiromasa, Shōchiku.

Miyamoto Musashi Series 1954-1956 Director: Inagaki Hiroshi, Tōhō.

Miyamoto Musashi (*Miyamoto Musashi*/ 宮本武蔵) 1954

Miyamoto Musashi: Duel at Ichijōji (*Zoku Miyamoto Musashi: Ichijōji no
kettō*/ 続・宮本武蔵　一乗寺の決闘) 1955

Miyamoto Musashi: Duel at Ganryū Island (*Miyamoto Musashi yori: kettō
Ganryūjima*/ 宮本武蔵より・決闘巌流島) 1956

Miyamoto Musashi Series 1961-1965 Director: Uchida Tomu, Tōei.

Miyamoto Musashi (*Miyamoto Musashi*/ 宮本武蔵) 1961

Miyamoto Musashi: Duel at Han'nyazaka (*Miyamoto Musashi: Han'nyazaka
no kettō*/ 宮本武蔵・般若坂の決闘) 1962

Miyamoto Musashi: Enlightenment with the Two Swords (*Miyamoto Musashi:
nitōryū kaigan*/ 宮本武蔵・二刀流開眼) 1963

Miyamoto Musashi: Duel at Ichijōji (*Miyamoto Musashi: Ichijōji no kettō/* 宮本武蔵・一乗寺の決闘) 1964

Miyamoto Musashi: Duel at Ganryū Island (*Miyamoto Musashi: kettō Ganryūjima/* 宮本武蔵・決闘巌流島) 1965

Mother (*Haha/* 母) 1963 Director: Shindō Kaneto, Kindai Eiga Kyōkai.

Mothra (*Mosura/* モスラ) 1961 Director: Honda Ishirō, Tōhō.

Mournful Whistle (*Kanashiki kuchibue/* 悲しき口笛) 1949 Director: Ieki Miyoji, Shōchiku.

The New Earth (*Atarashiki tsuchi/* 新しき土) 1937 Directors: Itami Mansaku and Arnold Fanck, Dr. Arnold Fanck-Film, Berlin, J.O. Studios, Nikkatsu and Towa Shoji-Film.

The Night Before the Outbreak of War (*Kaisen no zen'ya/* 会戦の前夜) 1943 Director: Yoshimura Kōzaburō, Shōchiku Ōfuna.

Night Drum (*Yoru no tsuzume/* 夜の鼓) 1958 Director: Imai Tadashi, Kindai Pro/ Shōchiku.

No Regrets for Our Youth (*Waga seishun ni kuinashi/* わが青春に悔いなし) 1946 Director: Kurosawa Akira, Tōhō.

One Wonderful Sunday (*Subarashiki nichiyōbi/* 素晴らしき日曜日) 1947 Director: Kurosawa Akira, Tōhō.

Onibaba (*Onibaba/* 鬼婆) 1964 Director: Shindō Kaneto, Kindai Eiga Kyōkai and Tokyo Eiga Company/ Tōhō.

Osaka Elegy (*Naniwa erejī/* 浪花悲歌) 1936 Director: Mizoguchi Kenji, Daiichi Eiga.

Pigs and Battleships (*Buta to gunkan/* 豚と軍艦) 1961 Director: Imamura Shōhei, Nikkatsu

The Plum in the Golden Vase (*Jin ping mei*) 1955 Director: Wang Yin, Shaw and

Sons.

The Prodigal Son (*Onna goroshi abura jigoku/* 女殺し油地獄) 1957 Director:

Horikawa Hiromichi, Tōhō.

The Prodigal Son (*Onna goroshi abura jigoku/* 女殺し油地獄) 1949 Director:

Nobuchi Chō, Daiei.

Queen Bee 1955 Director: Ranald MacDougall, Colombia Pictures.

Queen Bee (*Joōhachi/* 女王蜂) 1958 Director: Taguchi Satoshi, Shin-Tōhō.

Queen Bee (*Joōhachi/* 女王蜂) 1952 Director: Tanaka Shigeo, Daiei.

Queen Bee's Anger (*Joōhachi no ikari/* 女王蜂の怒り) 1958 Director: Ishii Teruo,

Shin-Tōhō.

Queen Bee and the School for Dragons (*Joōhachi to daigaku no ryū/* 女王蜂と大学

の竜) 1960 Director: Ishii Teruo, Shin-Tōhō.

Rashomon (*Rashōmon/* 羅生門) 1950 Director: Kurosawa Akira, Daiei.

Record of a Tenement Gentleman (*Nagaya shinshiroku/* 長屋紳士録) 1947 Director:

Ozu Yasujirō, Shōchiku.

Repast (*Meshi/* めし) 1951 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

Sansho The Bailiff (*Sansho dayū/* 山椒太夫) 1954 Director: Mizoguchi Kenji, Daiei.

Season of the Sun (*Taiyō no kisetsu/* 太陽の季節) 1956 Director: Furukawa Takumi,

Nikkatsu.

Sexy Line (*Sekushii chitai/* セクシイー地帯) 1961 Director: Iishi Teruo, Shin-Tōhō.

A Sincere Heart aka *Sincerity* (*Magokoro/* まごころ) 1953 Director: Kobayashi

Masaki, Shōchiku.

Song of Niguruma (*Niguruma no uta/* 荷車の歌) 1959 Director: Yamamoto Satsuo, National Rural Community's Film Association (*Zenkoku nōson eiga kyōkai*)/ Shin-Tōhō.

Sound of the Mountain (*Yama no oto/* 山の音) 1954 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

Spring Awakens (*Haru no mezame/* 春のめざめ) 1947 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

Star Gorath (*Yōsei Gorasu/* 洋星ゴラス) 1962 Director: Honda Ichirō, Tōhō.

Stepbrothers (*Ibokyōdai/* 異母兄弟) 1957 Director: Ieki Miyoji, Independent.

The Story of the Last Chrysanthemum (*Zangiku monogatari/* 残菊物語) 1939 Director: Mizoguchi Kenji, Shōchiku.

Story of the Loyal Retainers (*Chūshingura/* 忠臣蔵) 1958 Director: Watanabe Kunio, Daiei.

Story of the Loyal Retainers (*Chūshingura/* 忠臣蔵) 1954 Director: Ōsone Tatsuo, Shōchiku.

Story of the Loyal Retainers: Cherry Blossom and Chrysanthemum volumes (*Chūshingura: Sakura no kan: Kikka no kan/* 忠臣蔵・桜花の巻・菊花の巻) 1959 Director: Matsuda Sadatsugu, Tōei.

Story of the Loyal Retainers: Flower and Snow volumes (*Chūshingura: Hana no kan: Yuki no kan/* 忠臣蔵・花の巻・雪の巻) 1962 Director: Inagaki Hiroshi, Tōhō.

The Stranger Within a Woman (*Onna no naka ni iru tannin/* 女の中にいる他人) 1966 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

Stray Dog (*Nora inu/* 野良犬) 1949 Director: Kurosawa Akira, Eiga Geijutsu Kyōkan/ Tōhō.

Street of Shame (*Akasen chitai/* 赤線地帯) 1956 Director: Mizoguchi Kenji, Daiei.

Suchow Nights (*Soshū no yoru/* 蘇州の夜) 1941 Director: Nomura Hiromasa.

Summer Clouds (*Iwashigumo/* 鰯雲) 1958 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

The Sun's Burial (*Taiyō no hakaba/* 太陽の墓場) 1960 Director: Ōshima Nagisa, Shōchiku.

Tales of Ugetsu (*Ugetsu monogatari/* 雨月物語) 1953 Director: Mizoguchi Kenji, Daiei.

Tokyo Kid (*Tōkyō kiddo/* 東京キッド) 1950 Director: Saito Torajiro, Shōchiku.

Tokyo Story (*Tōkyō monogatari/* 東京物語) 1953 Director: Ozu Yasujirō, Shōchiku.

The Tragedy of Japan (*Nihon no higeki/* 日本の悲劇) 1953 Director: Kinoshita Keisuke, Shōchiku.

Tragedy of Japan (*Nippon no higeki/* 日本の悲劇) 1946 Director: Kamei Fumio, Independent.

Twenty Four Eyes (*Nijūshi no hitomi/* 二十四の瞳) 1954 Director: Kinoshita Keisuke, Shōchiku.

The Unforgettable (*Yi ye fengliu*) 1958 Director: Bu Wancang, Shaw and Sons.

Until the Day We Meet Again (*Mata au hi made/* また逢う日まで) 1950 Director: Imai Tadashi, Tōhō.

A Wanderer's Notebook (*Hōrōki/*放浪記) 1962 Director: Naruse Mikio, Takarazuka Eiga/ Tōhō.

White Beast (*Shiroi yajū/* 白い野獣) 1950 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

White Line (*Shirosen himitsu chitai/* 白線秘密地帯) 1958 Director: Iishi Teruo, Shin-Tōhō.

Wife (*Tsuma/* 妻) 1953 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

A Wife Confesses (*Tsuma wa kokuhakusuru/* 妻は告白する) 1961 Director:

Masumura Yasuzō, Daiei.

A Wife, A Woman (*Tsuma toshite onna toshite/* 妻として女として) 1961 Director:

Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

A Wife's Heart (*Tsuma no kokoro/* 妻の心) 1956 Director: Naruse Mikio, Tōhō.

The Woman in The Rumour (*Uwasa no onna/* 噂の女) 1954 Director: Mizoguchi

Kenji, Daiei.

Woman of the Dunes (*Suna no onna/* 砂の女) 1964 Director: Teshigahara Hiroshi,

Chokushi Kawara Pro/ Tōhō.

Woman of Tokyo (*Tōkyō no onna/* 東京の女) 1933 Director: Ozu Yasujirō, Shōchiku.

Women of the Night (*Yoru no onnatachi/* 夜の女たち) 1948 Director: Mizoguchi

Kenji, Shōchiku.

Yellow Line (*Ōsen chitai/* 横線地帯) 1960 Director: Iishi Teruo, Shin- Tōhō.

The Young Boss (*Hanagasa wakashu/* 花笠若衆) 1958 Director: Sakei Kiyoshi, Tōei.

Young Folks, Don't Hesitate (*Tameranakare wakodo yo/* 躊躇うなかれ若子どよ)

1935 Director: Taguchi Tetsu, Nikkatsu.

Youth of the Beast (*Yajū no seishun/* 野獣の青春) 1963 Director: Suzuki Seijun,

Nikkatsu.

Youth of the Son aka *My Son's Youth* (*Musuko no seishun/* 息子の青春) 1952

Director: Kobayashi Masaki, Shōchiku

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