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Women and Consumption: the Rise of the Department Store and the 'New Woman' in Japan 1900-1930

Volume 1

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the Nottingham Trent University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to seek to situate women in the development of consumer culture in Japan in the period 1900-1930. This period saw the beginnings of mass consumption and the rise of what was to become one of its central institutions, the department store. One of the most important department stores to emerge was Mitsukoshi, which provided a site in which the new tastes and lifestyles of consumer culture and western modernity could be looked at, sampled and practiced. In effect the store could be seen as providing a new form of 'intimate public sphere' for women. Mitsukoshi also provided images and information on the new consumer culture classifications and learning processes through its house magazines. Other magazines, especially women's magazines, whose readership rapidly expanded in this period, reinforced this message. The extent to which women were seen as the central operators of the emerging consumer culture is a central focus of the thesis. The department stores were not only spaces for women to consume, but also to work. The emergence of saleswomen as a new category of working woman is also discussed. The ways in which an image of a new women emerged as they became employed in greater numbers in the new service occupations and became more visible in the city centre streets and consumption and entertainment sites, is also considered. One variant here was the 'modern girl,' whose image was both discussed and constructed in the media by intellectuals, writers and cultural intermediaries. One of the aims of this work is to sketch out the parameters of this process in Japan and ask how far the stores and other new urban spaces, along with the mediated sources such as magazines, newspapers and the cinema, helped to further some shift (however limited and temporary) in the balance of power between the sexes towards women, along with a concomitant redefinition of what it meant to be a women. The new woman, then, occupied a contested space which a number of parties sought to define: the consumer culture industries such as the department stores, press and cinema; the government with its various thrift and everyday life reform campaigns designed to keep women in the home, albeit as skilled housewives; the various movements for greater women's rights and reform, both in the middle class and the working class militant women workers; the intellectuals and cultural intermediaries, some of whom saw the 'modern girl,' as a new exciting phenomenon of urban modernity; and, of course, the women themselves, who not only reacted to these forces, but gained in their capacity and desire to have a greater say in the process and control over their own lives.

Preface

There are many difficulties working on a PhD in a different country and writing and researching in a foreign language, but this has been a very positive academic experience for me, in which I have developed many new interests. I used to work in mass communications with quantitative data, so the transition to cultural sociology and cultural studies has been an exciting and demanding. Through this project, I have learned to focus on everyday life which has been most rewarding. I have also had to learn to research into the history of 'everyday lives' in Japan, which has been an important 'voyage of discovery' for me. Something which has involved me in trying to make sense of historical material from a variety of sources along with secondary commentaries and theoretical analyses. Given that much of the latter has been in original English language sources, and that the history and theorization of consumer culture has been much more developed in the West, integrating these approaches with Japanese material has been a challenging learning process.

Thanks to the people in Nottingham and Tokyo who provided many wonderful experiences for me. I would especially like to thank my supervisor, Mike Featherstone, who always encouraged me through his sympathy for the project and helped me to keep going on into new territories. I also would like to thank Couze Venn, who made valuable comments on earlier drafts. I'd like to thank Roger Bromley and John Tomlinson for their understanding and tremendous practical and emotional support. I am also grateful to Joost Van Loon, Richard Johnson, Estella Tincknell and Eleonore Koffman for their patience, help and valuable advice. Caroline Potter, Wendy Patterson, Neal Curtis, Terry McSweeny and Owen Gregory helped me in countless ways both academically and with the practical side of living in a new country. I also would like to

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This aim of this thesis is to seek to situate women in the development of consumer culture in Japan in the period 1900-1930. The term consumer culture refers to the culture of the consumer society and points to the ways in which many of the central values and representations (texts and images) and values of contemporary societies revolve around consumption: the purchase and enjoyment of goods for the construction of lifestyles. Consumer culture is generally seen as driven by a modernist dynamic to expand the range of goods and meanings on offer through the search for novelty, technological innovation and the exotic. This is not only evident in representation such as advertising, but in the consumption of goods and experiences in a variety of sites such as city centres, department stores, shopping centres, cinemas, theme parks, tourist resorts, leisure centres. These 'dream worlds' can lead to the aestheticization of everyday life with the promise of new experiences, excitement and the exploration of desire. At the same time, consumer culture also provides resources for lifestyle construction and the promise of self-improvement and renewal: for reworking the body, identity and relationships (see Featherstone, 2001).

It is generally assumed that a fully-fledged consumer society emerged first in the West in the post-Second World War era, with the roots of a consumer culture often seen as coming into being in the United States in the 1920s.[1] Far less is known about the emergence or significance,

[1] The term consumer society would seem to have come into prominence in the wake of the critiques of consumption which developed in the late 1950s and 1960s with a number of prominent books challenging the logic of the 'affluent society' with its perceived manipulative advertising, status-seeking, soulless conformism and suppression of alternatives definitions of the good life (Packard, 1958; Galbraith, 1961; Marcuse, 1964). The referent was the United States in the post-Second World War Era, although the term was soon widened to take in Western Europe and Japan after the 1960s. The term consumer culture itself seems to have originated in the 1970s and gained impetus from the work of Ewen (1976) and Bell (1976) who added historical and analytical depth to these more polemical critiques and focused on the importance of the 1920s with the expansion of advertising, the promotion of hedonism and new expressive lifestyles. (For other accounts of the 1920s shift see: Allen, 2000; Dumenil, 1995).

of consumer cultures outside the West - in, for example, East Asia or Japan[2] - especially the history of the early formation of consumer cultures.[3] This would seem to be an important area for research, given the arguments that Japan has subsequently become one of the leading consumer societies in the world (Clammer, 1997). The Japanese roots of consumer culture can also be traced back to the 1920s. Hence the Taisho period (1912-26) has been identified as the key era in which the basis for consumer culture was laid in Japan:

> One of the revolutionary changes of this period was the appearance for the first time of department stores, which evolved for the most part from the great dry goods stores of the late Edo period. Since then, to an extent never found in the West, department stores have been central institutions in the physical layout of urban centres: they have become major places of resort for shopping, eating and cultural activities (many contain art galleries, almost all have at least one book store and many promote classes in a variety of arts) and are of key significance in disseminating fashions, new food and gadgets, promoting gift-giving... The appearance of such stores, innovative in some directions and profoundly conservative in others, marked the beginnings of a revolution in shopping behaviour. (Clammer, 1997:9)

In the 'Greater Taisho' era, 1900-1930,[4] we have a period of growing disenchantment with the West and a greater sense of Japan's military power with the victories in the Sino-Japanese War 1894-5 and Russo-Japanese War 1904-5, which began to fulfil some of Japan's imperialistic ambitions with Manchuria and Korea becoming added as spheres of influence. The support for the Allies in the First World War also dramatically helped to turn around the Japanese economy.

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[2] For studies of consumer culture in Japan (see Clammer, 1997; Treat, 1996; McPherson, 1998; Moeran and Skov, 1995; Tobin, 1992).

[3] The origins of consumer culture in the West have been traced back to 18th century England (McKendrick et al, 1982), 16th century Elizabethan England (McCracken, 1988) and even linked to the rise of a romantic ethic a counterpart of the Protestant ethic (Campbell, 1987). Questions about the particularity of Western consumer culture and the rise of consumer cultures in the big cities of Song and Ming Dynasty China and Tokugawa Japan have been raised by Miyoshi and Harootunian (1989), along with a greater sense of the longstanding historical centrality of East Asia in an interconnected global economy (Gunder Frank, 1998).

[4] The focus in this study will centre on this Taisho period, but interpreted more widely as 'Greater Taisho, 1900-1930. Garon, (1997) and Minichiello (1997:2) both argue that this period has its rough boundary markers as the Universal Exposition of 1900 in Paris, which ushered in a period of modernization and development with inventions such as electricity, the cinema, the motorcar, the aeroplane. The 3 decades end with the Wall Street Crash of 1929, the assassination attempt on Hamaguchi (浜口雄幸) in 1930, which saw the beginning of an era of military rule and Japan's 'Fifteen-year War.' In addition, many of the discussions of department store, women's magazines, governmental family and educational policies and everyday life reform in the thesis, necessitate tracing developments back further into the Meiji era (1868-1912).

In terms of the established-outsider balance (see Elias and Scotson, 1994), extended to nation-state terms, Japan status shifted from an outsider, to one hovering on the boundary and increasingly being invited into the reference group of western established nations. Hence, a sense of inferiority and over-identification with the standards of the powerful on the part of outsider countries on the periphery, as had been the case in the Meiji era with Japan striving to be an accepted member of the set of civilized nations, could well give way to a growing sense of independence and self-confidence, as Japan increasingly achieved the power potential it sought and was able to maintain greater independence.[5] With this process Japan began to gain greater confidence in its own particular national project and modern synthesis.

Hence, we can see the relationship between the West and Japan as not a fixed centre/periphery relationship, but a process in which the balance of power between dependence and independence shifts over time. As Japan's power potential increased, so did the interest on the part of Western commentators in explaining the particularities of the Japanese case. This was also evident in the increasing unease with locating Japan on the conventional sociological continuum of tradition and modernity, something which was manifest in the search for more precise qualifiers such as pre- or proto- modern.[6] As part of this de-exoticization and

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[5] Norbert Elias has discussed this dynamic in terms of the relationships between Western nations and the groups they sought to colonize or pull into neo-colonial relations. The former although seeking to keep a distance between themselves and the groups they colonize, could not at the same time help spreading their own style of conduct and institutions around the world, which leads to a reduction of differences and diminishing of contrasts. Yet the process is subjected to oscillations depending upon the shifting balance of power between the established (the West) and outsiders (e.g. Japan). For Elias two phases are distinguishable. The first, is a phase of colonization and assimilation in which the outsider group senses its own inferiority and has its pattern of conduct permeated by that of the established group. The second is a phase of differentiation and emancipation in which the rising groups gain in power and confidence (Elias, 1982:311). In the first phase of distinction, outsider groups seek to assimilate and mould their conduct to that of the established group, but these efforts often result in a pattern of imitation, with swings between feelings of shame and embarrassment. In the second phase, the phase of greater equalization, outsider groups gain in relative power and oppose their own codes and manners more confidently to those of the established and there is a more general interpenetration of standards of conducts (Elias, 1982:325).

[6] For a review of the various tropes used to characterise Edo (Tokugawa) Japan, see Gluck (1998). She points out the way Edo lives its rhetorical life via prefixes to modernity such as 'un-pre-proto-post-modern.' Gluck (1998:283) draws attention to the limitations of each of these positions and the historical locations of their fashionableness. Edo has been presented as 'seductively unmodern,' 'presciently postmodern,' 'proto-modern, and 'pre-modern.' With regard to the latter she remarks 'Partly premodern Edo showed signs, or sprouts, of modernity, as defined by western models of Marxism or liberalism, but the soil proved infertile either because its balance was predominantly

rehabilitation process, we have been reminded of the dangers of missing the immanent features of Japanese life which could be seen as 'proto-modern' and approximated to similar levels of development as the West. Before the Meiji modernization programme, Edo (Tokyo) was amongst the largest 18th century cities in the world, and had a population which enjoyed a high level of physical well-being[7] and a sophisticated urban culture. Japan, was never colonized and employed a wide range of strategies to retain its independence (Kokaze, 1999). Yet it was clear to the Meiji government that independence could never be maintained by subterfuge and clever diplomacy alone.[8]

To avoid dependency status, Japan had to industrialize and modernize and accumulate its power potential via the '*fukoku kyôhei*' (rich country, strong army) doctrine.[9] The subsequent efforts of the Meiji government and reformers to industrialize and institute a programme of social

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un-modern and the sprouts withered or because they were crushed by the Meiji state.' For Gluck all of these 'teleological Edos posited a historical "tradition" that lived, as it were, for the modern.' She adds 'The relation of Edo-as-tradition to modernity was stated not only in prefixes of linear history but also through the medium of difference and identity. At one extreme Edo was imagined alterity, a place utterly different from the present... At the other extreme, Edo was imagined as essentially, identically the same as today. Japanese traditions, cultural identity, social and economic foundations were all established in Edo.'

[7] See Hanley (1997:10ff) for a discussion of the in-built biases of arguments relying only on measurable standard of living indices. In contrast, Hanley focuses on 'quality of life' and material well-being criteria to argue that Edo Japan was comparatively 'rich' in the years prior to industrialization, having in the 18th century, high agricultural productivity, commerce and many of the institutions seen as necessary for industrialization (including a monetarized economy with bank-like money-exchanges), and a wide range of goods on sale (including books, furniture, sweets, fresh fish, hair ornaments etc). A dramatic increase in the availability of consumer goods was found in 17th century England, just prior to industrialization (Thirsk, 1978). Large cities such as Edo also enjoyed a sophisticated sewerage system well-before Chadwick's reforms on English public health in the 1830s and 40s.

[8] Important in this context are the Meiji reformers and intellectuals, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi and other members of the *Meirokusha* (the Meiji Six Society) who worked as translators, interpreters and innovators to introduce western modernization (Kawakami, 1995:377).

[9] It is easy to see the Meiji obsession with the word 'civilization,' with attaining the standard of Western civilization, as a peculiarly Japanese obsession. Yet this misses the *real politik* of negotiating a world in which the term was frequently used by the West to justify colonization and unequal conduct towards the rest of the world in the evolutionary view that the uncivilized countries need tutelage and guidance to raise them up to the mature standards of the West. In effect, many parts of the world were infantilised through this doctrine. In the wake of the Russo-Japan War in 1906 many in Japan felt a sense of betrayal at the double standard of the West. Japan had performed the cultural work to become one of the civilized club, yet was not acknowledged as a *bone fide* member. Yet this outcome had already been anticipated and from early Meiji the awareness of this Western double standard, made it clear that the other key counterpart to 'civilization' was economic and military might. In effect, the only real way to gain respect and equal treatment was via the 'rich country, strong army route.'

reform and education in the name of introducing 'civilization' to Japan, were wide-ranging.[10]

Yet, despite this success on the 'civilizational level,' the inability of Japan to renegotiate unequal treaties and terms of trade, kept Japan in an inferior position. It was only through a contingent event, entering the First World War on the side of the Allies, that the Japanese economic situation dramatically improved as it was allowed into expanding markets which led to the growth of the manufacturing sector, especially the development of heavy industries and infrastructure. According to leading indices of industrial development, as a result of the war, Japan became transformed into an industrial power the equal of France, Germany or England (Harootunian, 2000:xi). Japan was now able to produce commodities for large-scale mass consumption. In the metropolises such as Tokyo[11] and Osaka, which expanded rapidly in the 1920s and drew in increasing numbers of women workers, a new 'modern life' based upon mass consumption began to emerge.

In the 1920s, intellectuals, novelists, critics and academics such as Gonda Yasunosuke (権田保之助), Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke (平林初之助), Kitazawa Shuichi (北澤秀一), Kiyosawa Kiyoshi （清澤　洌）、Kon Wajiro (今和次郎), Nii Itaru (新居格), Tanizaki Junichiro （谷崎潤一郎）, Hiratsuka Raicho (平塚らいてう), Yosano Akiko (与謝野晶子), Yamakawa Kikue (山川菊枝), sought to digest the implications of the new street culture and entertainment areas, the cafés, dance halls, department stores, the new suburban homes with their middle class 'cultural living' *(bunka seikatsu,* 文化生活) and new persona such as modern boys and modern girls. Such intellectuals and critics had the stimulus of living in the expanding

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[10] In this Japan developed a double strategy of: on the one hand, learning the civilizational conduct from the West, and on the other hand, using this to create a distinction between itself and 'uncivilized Asia,' which Japan as colonizer could occupy and instruct in civilization (see Sakamoto, 1996). The attitude of the West in accepting that Japan had attained the necessary maturity to perform this role is evident in the views of one American advisor on the occupation of Korea after 1905, who after expressing doubts that the Koreans could ever govern themselves added: ' I am not a pro-Japanese enthusiast, as you know, but neither am I opposed to any civilized race taking over the management of these kindly Asiatics for the good of the people and the suppression of oppressive officials, the establishment of order and the development of commerce' (Jantzen, 2000:442). Hence the Japanese were deemed to have succeeded in joining the ranks of civilized races.

[11] By 1920 Tokyo had a population of 3.5 million, doubling its size in just over two decades (see Harootunian, 2000:8; Seidensticker, 1983).

Tokyo metropolis with its high profile 'modern life,' which provided a laboratory for discovering and depicting new social and cultural forms. There was also a widening literate audience eager for the theorizations and reflections of intellectuals, novelists, artists and cultural intermediaries.[12] Modern life no longer only occurred in London, Paris or New York, but also in Tokyo. Many consumer cultural phenomena were now happening practically simultaneously in different parts of the world. This was evident in the development of the department store in Japan.

The birth of Mitsukoshi and the new woman

In 1909 the United States businessman and entrepreneur, Gordon Selfridge opened his massive new Selfridge's department store on London's Oxford Street which caught the public imagination. Selfridge had worked at the Chicago Marshall Field's department store and adopted many of the retailing and display techniques along with other innovations for his London store. The founders of Mitsukoshi who produced their famous 1905 'declaration of intent' to build a state of the art department store in Tokyo, had also travelled extensively and visited stores in the United States and Europe. Mitsukoshi opened its impressive new store in 1914. It was a massive building with six floors (total area in excess of 13,000 square metres)

[12] In the inter-war years in Japan there were numerous attempts to depict and theorize the new modern life which was for the first time not the everyday life of routine, rituals and low 'eventfullness,' but rather an everydayness which seemed to hold out a broader horizon of possibilities for larger numbers of people. These were people who inhabited the expanding and constantly transforming urban spaces as new buildings were thrown up, new fashions and styles emerged, and crowds of passers-by moved through the city spaces, such as the street and department store in search of the palpable, yet elusive 'better life.' For some critics this everyday life was producing a new type of culture, a form of mass culture, which was threatening. For others the new forms made possible the celebration of the new category 'the people.' Yet, for others the problem came to be seen as how to overcome the fragmentations and divisions, the cultural unevenness of the present time, and solutions became proffered from the left and right, from Marxists and fascists about how it would be possible to 'overcome modernity.' This culminated in the debates in 1942 in Kyoto about 'overcoming the modern,' in which the possibilities of Japan's world historical mission were interrogated and the potential of an alternative modernity and globalization scrutinized. In effect modernity was identified as a European and American project and Japan had the opportunity to break-up the foundations of the European world view, overcome this modernity and formulate a new culture based on 'oriental humanism,' the synthesis of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, and overcoming the aporias of subjectivism and objectivism. As Harootunian wryly comments the fate of this putative alternative modernity was to be itself overcome by modernity (Harootunian, 2000:42, see also ch 2 in general).

serviced by elevators and escalators. It had an impressive internal central staircase and high 'cathedral-like ceiling' with a large glass roof, along with elegant dining room, common room, tea room, rooftop Japanese garden and observation platform.

Mitsukoshi's magnificent new building became seen as the embodiment of Japanese modernity. But this was a different type of modernity to the one which had preoccupied the Meiji reformers with their social engineering ambitions to turn Japan into one of the 'civilized nations' in line with the 'rich nation, strong army' doctrine. The material symbols of modernity in Meiji had been the iron and steel constructed modern ships, military hardware and the railways. With the new Mitsukoshi store in the Taisho era, a new spectacular and exotic materialization of the modern had been built in the centre of Tokyo. Yet, this was not a productive space of industrial or military might, but a softer more sumptuous space of consumption (Jinno, 1993; Hatsuda, 1993; Hashizume, 1999).

In the original 1905 declaration of intent it was stated that Mitsukoshi would build a store which would provide an enhanced aesthetic experience for the visitor who could survey a wide variety of goods, or visit exhibitions of art and goods featuring the latest advances in design. All these intentions were realised in the construction and running of the store to produce a spectacular space, a space of entertainment where families could spend the day looking at goods, visiting exhibitions, having a meal or relaxing in the roof garden. Given the relative lack of public spaces such as parks in Tokyo, we need to consider the ways in which Mitsukoshi and other department stores,[13] began to fulfil an important public sphere function, but this was more the public sphere described by Kracauer, better termed public life, than that of Habermas (See Hansen, 1995).

In addition to providing aesthetic experiences, along the lines of the 'dream world,' descriptions of the sumptuous interiors and lavish displays, invariably highlighted in definitions of the

[13] Mituskoshi was followed by a range of new stores in the centre of Tokyo, which includes Shirakiya (白木屋), Daimaru (大丸), Matsuzakaya (松坂屋) and Sogô (そごう).

department store, Mitsukoshi also sought to educate customers into the new tastes and lifestyles. Mitsukoshi became a repository of specialised knowledge about modern life, and the ways in which the new consumer goods should be handled, used, worn and consumed. Its strategy was to promote 'Mitsukoshi taste,' as the standard for the best synthesis of Western, modern and Japanese tastes. The store offered a practical laboratory as well as a dream world, where women in particular could ask for advice, or observe other customers or the sales people for hints about the latest fashions and the way to wear them. Mitsukoshi's own house magazine with mail order catalogue which was distributed throughout Japan, along with the numerous women's magazines which developed in the early decades of the twentieth century, all offered advice on how to incorporate the new consumer goods into a tasteful lifestyle and reconstitute the home. They also offered advice on the new fashions and make-up, especially on how to choose and wear the new western styles.

Department stores such as Mitsukoshi, along with the texts and images in the magazines provided women with an intimate familiarity with the rapidly changing lifestyles and fashions of modernity. The stores provided a new form of 'intimate public space,' which encouraged women to move out into public life, into the streets and city centres and were key institutions in the process which has been characterized as the 'feminization of modernity' (Felski, 1995:62) and 'feminization of culture,' (Hirabayashi, cited in Harootunian, 2000:11). One of the central aims of this work, is to sketch out the parameters of this process in Japan and ask how far the stores and other new urban spaces, along with the mediated sources such as magazines, newspapers and the cinema, helped to further some shift (however limited and temporary) in the balance of power between the sexes towards women, along with a concomitant redefinition of what it meant to be a woman. It is the intention to map out some of the changing webs of dependency and the new possibilities for independence experienced by the emergent 'new woman,' or 'modern girl,' in the Japanese context.

The department store was one of the spaces in which modern culture could be looked at, examined and tried on. But because its significance soon became manifest and identified by

various groups it soon became a potential collision point for different definitions of modernity. In the stores one could encounter modern culture in the form of modernism, the new artistic styles (paintings, music and advertisements) and their translation into fashionable clothes, *objets d'art* and interior décor by cultural intermediaries and commercial artists.

There was an increasing sense that modern culture was not just the high culture of modernism, but that the same currents were running through everyday culture. That, indeed, it was the 'everyday' where culture was now happening, as everyday life was switching from the sign of repetition and rituals and a low sense of 'eventfulness,' to one increasingly open (or 'about to,' or 'should be,' opening) to new possibilities and excitement. The city, of course, had long offered this sense of possibilities in the crowd and the street, but the movement of respectable women in these spaces had often been restricted, as had the density of representations. Now, a visit to the department store, the railway journey, a visit to the cinema, or the prospect of employment, offered new possibilities for women outside the home, with greater freedom from the surveillance of men and the family (especially the mother in-law in the Japanese context).

Department stores in the Japanese context were points where different definitions of everyday culture were assembled. On the one hand the stores sought commercial success and followed many of the tried and tested formulas of department store retailing from around the world, especially England and the United States. Yet their senior management, such as Mitsukoshi's Hibi Osuke (日比翁助), were also close to the government and senior civil servants, and moved in intellectual and artistic circles. Such key people were invited to work together in the Mitsukoshi think-tank, namely *Ruykokai* (流行会), which produced innovative projects.

Given these established networks the store quickly fell in line with the Meiji 'good wife and wise mother' and *homu* (ホーム, home) governmental ideology, both of which encouraged new middle class women to see their future in terms of rational management of the home and family. It also supported the various government sponsored thrift campaigns and the movement for the reform of everyday life (such as the Alliance for Lifestyle Improvement, 1919), which were part

of a national project to encourage improvement, savings and the rationalization of housing, diet, clothing (*ishokujyu,* 衣食住). One of the targets here was the Meiji 'double life,' in which Japanese and western life sectors were kept segregated. Now the government sought to promote a family-centred lifestyle with a rationalized home and 'cultural living' (*bunka seikatsu*、文化生活). A way of life and terminology which became popular with the new middle class suburban salaryman families.

Yet the state displayed considerable ambivalence concerning women. It asked respectable middle class women to learn the new rational techniques of everyday life and home management and remain in the domestic sphere. Yet it also encouraged the employment of women as cheap labour in factories and the emerging service sector which expanded in Tokyo and other cities in the 1920s. In one sense we can interpret the effects of everyday life reform as an example of governmentality.[14] Yet we need to be aware that the message did not always succeed and that there were often unintended consequences of government campaigns. Despite the campaigns to produce healthy bodies (inner bodies), women were also aware of their outer bodies, their appearance (see Featherstone, 1982). The department stores and women's magazines also offered advice about more stylish and sophisticated presentational skills, along with fashionable dress and beauty hints.[15] Good taste always pointed to practical aesthetic criteria and was hard to restrict to rational technical advice.

As new city spaces of entertainment developed in the 1920s, such as cinemas, dance halls, bars, coffee shops, cafés and the street (*gaito*、街頭) itself became seen as a place for potentially

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[14] The term derives from the work of Michel Foucault and refers to the various regimes of knowledge and regulation developed to exercise the management and administration of populations. Governmentality has been central to modern forms of political rationality and entails a calculated supervision of society. As Foucault put it governmentality is 'the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics, that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population' (cited in Rose, 1989:5).

[15] The magazine *Josei* (女性) for example, published pieces such as 'A study of women's clothing and hairstyles suitable for the new age' in March 1923 which discussed and compared the merits of Japanese and western dress and also how to make clothes and hairstyles in the new way. In addition 'Detailed, step-by-step diagrams instructing women that they, too, could reproduce fashionable clothing for the entire family, create alluring hair-dos like the stars, or dance the tango and foxtrot, were featured in most women's magazines' (Sato, 2000:145).

exciting encounters(Yamamoto, A, 1976). Indeed, this period with its department store display windows, advertising hoardings, billboards, banners and neon lighting saw a transformation of the urban environment which critics at the time referred to as 'the artifaction of the streets' (Weisenfeld, 2000:74). The streets and the new urban sites became places to look at others and be looked at.

Working women began to learn new interactional and presentational skills, new ways of switching codes along with forms of identification not only for the world of work, but for navigating the intersticial areas between work and the home. It is in this context that the '*modan garu'* (modern girl), with her flapper style of dress and bobbed hair, independence, challenging sexiness and transgressive poses, surfaced both on the street and in the cultural imaginary to arouse a good deal of media attention and controversy.[16] The modern girl became a powerfully charged and contested symbol, not just in the city, but in the countryside too, where a series of struggles took place to define her meaning. In the male dominated discourse of village newspapers written by educated farmers, a strong distinction was made between the selfish urban modern girl and the 'truly modern girl,' who worked hard in the fields and applied the rational advice of the reform of everyday life movement (*seikastsu kaizen undô*、生活改善運動) at home.[17]

The Japanese modern girl raises a number of issues about the linkages between representations, the development of presentational skills and a particular 'look' and practice. In one sense the modern girl came into prominence as a construction of novelists, critics and cultural intermediaries. Influential books such as Tanizaki's, *Chijin no Ai* (痴人の愛, *A Fool's Love/ Naomi*) (1925) provided fictional accounts of the modern girl; there were also reports of the new modern girls and flappers from visitors to the West along with evidence from movies, plus the

[16] Silverberg (1991:256) mentions that 'the daughter of the poet Hagiwara Sakutarô recalls how neighborhood housewives had jeered "Modern Girl," when her mother - inspired by the author Uno Chiyo – first appeared in Western clothing in 1927.'
[17] An article in the newspaper *Ebôshi no Hana* (February 15, 1923) stated that 'A "truly modern" woman "dances to the tune of western music,' and yet 'takes care of her family' (Tamanoi, 1998:105).

experiments in the Soviet Union to abolish the family and explore free love (e.g. Kollontai's novel '*Akai Koi,* [red love],' which became a sensation in Japan in the mid 1920s).

The circulating images clearly influenced avant-garde artistic and intellectual circles, whose male authors developed a fascination with encouraging women to explore the new sensibilities and styles of presentation. On the other hand, it is unclear the extent to which the modern girl was not only a construction of cultural specialists and intermediaries, but developed from the streets, in a similar way to some of the postwar British youth cultures such as teddy boys, mods and punks (see Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Hebdige, 1979, 1988; Wilson, 1991, 2001). The role of the media in amplifying deviance and generating a societal reaction which publicised the new transgressive cultures, along with bohemian and avant-garde artists and cultural intermediaries, who could streamline and market them, was also important. Whichever way the lines of influence actually ran in Tokyo in the 1920s, it points to the importance of considering the relationship between representation, presentation and practice and the need to think through the ways in which representations could be translated back into practices and the ways in which practices could be seized on and narratives and images constructed to represent them to wider audiences.

In a similar way, the role of the Japanese department stores in constructing consumer culture lifestyles is also important. The advantage of an investigation of the Mitsukoshi department stores is that it offers a multi-dimensional complex, one which provided a range of performative spaces, along with various types of images and models, plus media texts and forms of representation such as magazines and advertising. They were the key urban sites where consumer culture was enacted. They provided both front stage areas of skilled performance, on the stairs, in the restaurants and tea-rooms, where customers could observe other skilled customers performing. In addition to the various audiences, and the costumes on display, they also provided the back stage areas where women could try on clothing, accessories and make-up and discuss their merits and personal 'suitability' with the saleswomen. Indeed the stores provided a range of stages, backstage and rehearsal areas for the game of learning to become a

modern woman who was skilled in the new consumer tastes and lifestyle.

Hence despite the efforts of the Japanese government, who strategically saw department stores as an instrument or device, to promote modernization in their own terms, to instruct people into the new Japanese modernity, the stores developed in ways which could not be totally foreseen to provide sites which encouraged not only disciplined consumer citizens, but familiarity with a more wide ranging set of lifestyles and tastes, which for women helped the reform of 'gender identity'.

The main aim of the thesis, then, is to provide an account of the ways in which consumer culture in Japan developed in the influential Mitsukoshi department store in its key formative phase 1900-1930 and relate this to the formation of gender identity. Particular emphasis here is given to the formation of the allegedly independent 'new women,' (*atarashii onna,* 新しい女) and modern girl and the various narratives and images in women's magazines and other sources. This means that the main focus will be on questions of habitus reform: changing or reforming tastes, values, body demeanour and presentational styles along with aesthetic sensibilities and lifestyles. This points to the importance of thinking through the changes which occurred in the first three decades of the 20th century, in terms of the relationship between representation, presentation, and practice.

Our interest in the emergence of 'a new type of women' means we need to understand the extent to which women change or maintain particular styles of presentation in their everyday practices.[18] This means addressing the contradictions between '*atarashii onna*' (new women) and the government's emphasis on being a good wife and mother and the more expressive and transgressive images of independent women which can be related to the desires and fantasies generated in the cinema, magazines, novels, advertising and display spaces. Hence the unintended consequences of consumer culture representations, which could lead to more

[18] For an example of an approach which examines the construction of women's identity in Britain, which discusses the relationship between class habitus, gender and femininity, influenced by the work of Bourdieu, see Skeggs (1997).

transgressive desires and practices will also be considered.

Therefore, our attention will also take in the ways in which women sought to define their own situations through involvement in social movements (e.g. Seitosha (青踏社), the New Women's Association (新婦人協会), Heiminsha (平民社), Sekirankai (赤瀾会), Yuaikai (友愛会) etc. Also important here is the ways women developed consciousness and greater independence and voiced their claims for women's rights through the experience of employment. The factory girls' strikes around the time of the First World War were very instructive lessons for women, not only for the working class women directly involved, but also for the middle class reformers who started to associate directly with them for the first time and began to identify with them, 'humanize' them and provide support.

Consumer culture has always held out the promise of habitus reform and the pleasures of 'anticipatory socialization,' of looking at goods and imaginatively trying on the new identities and repertoires which are associated with them. The new lifestyles which accompany the commodities, the information in magazines, advertisements and display arrangements, offer narratives which blur fixed status categories and suggest that the step into new identities is a relatively painless one. Department stores and women magazines provided a constant stream of reassuring advice and practical demonstrations on improving 'self-image', 'emotional management', demeanour, and manners, body image, body care and styles of presentation.[19]

In this context the theories of Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu can help us understand the relationship between the representations, presentations and practices, to illuminate the specificities of the new women consumer in Japan. Elias's (1978, 1982, 1983, 1994) work is important as he establishes a strong connection between representations and presentational codes and everyday practices, through his focus upon the use made of etiquette advice books

[19] The advice was targeted to specific segmented markets and particular women's magazines were read by different class fractions. We also cannot presume that women read and followed the advice. Yet one indication here is the letters and advice pages, which provides evidence that some of the readers take the advice seriously (see Chapter 8 below).

which help those who are rising in the social space and unsure of appropriate codes of behaviour (manners, dress, demeanour, bodily and emotional controls). Elias was, of course, writing about Europe in the late Middle Ages and early modern era and did not focus on consumer culture. Within consumer culture there is less direct reliance on etiquette manuals and more use of a wider range of sources for advice and models on the new patterns of conduct, such as women's magazines, newspapers, cinema and advertising.

In addition, in the Japanese context, the learning process is one in which the new standards are clearly directly appropriated from the West, or involve a blend of Japanese and western characteristics. The learning process is hence more complicated, and the possibilities for mistaken appropriation and misunderstandings of the correct ways to use western clothes, household goods and everyday objects increases. In one sense the process still involved the middle class imitating upper class and court circle behaviour, who usually set etiquette and manners codes. But these groups had directly learned since the 1880s how to perform and socialise, to dine and dance, with western people in sites such as the Rokumeikan. Yet they still maintained the traditional Japanese dress and house design (*kimono* and *tatami*) in backstage areas, perpetuating the 'double life'（*nijyu seikatsu*, 二重生活）.

Successive generations, then, from the Meiji era onwards had to adopt a learning approach to life and acquire the new codes of behaviour which were meant to become performed 'naturally' and directly embedded in bodies as habitual reflexes. This points to the importance of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (1977, 1984), which is the set of dispositions, taken-for-granted preferences and classificatory schemes which operate below the level of consciousness as generative structures which form out particular set of tastes and lifestyle choices. Habitus does not normally operate on the level of articulated values or everyday knowledge, rather it is inscribed on our bodies – in terms of ways of walking, standing and sitting, ways of eating and drinking, pitch, accent and tone of voice, sense of body space and distance kept between bodies, gestures, facial expression, sense of ease with one's body etc. In short, it is immediately visible to others, who in turn also reveal their habitus to us through their bodies, something which is

rarely remarked on, or consciously noted, but which has a high level of social effectiveness in structuring the judgement we make of the tastes of others which is evident in the sense of ease of discomfort we feel in proximity to them (see Featherstone, 1991:90).

Normally one's habitus is acquired in the early years of life and one's tastes are set before adulthood. Yet, in times of rapid social change, or in particular groups which are aspiring to move upwards in the social space such as members of the new middle class, one can speak of habitus reform. Indeed, in the case of Meiji Japan the subsequent Taisho governmental reform of everyday life projects, one could speak of a continual process of habitus reform, which initially is targeted at leading groups and slowly moved down the social structure. The education system, is of course a central institution in this process and school children were targeted as some of the first groups to wear western dress in the late Meiji era. Yet, it can also be argued that consumer culture too, played a vital role in this process, encouraging women to become the central agents of habitus reform for the family and home (Ogawa, 1999). A process in which learning to adopt new tastes, styles and lifestyles became central. In addition, women were asked to learn to further reconstitute their own habitus in terms of the meaning of their gender identity and made aware of the possibilities of becoming a new or modern woman.[20]

Brief outline of chapters

The first three chapters provide an account of the rise of the Mitsukoshi department store. Chapter 2 begins with a general discussion of the characteristics of department stores, which first emerged in the West in the 1870s. The stores provided a new form of retailing in which customers were able to move around and view the goods on display, in this the stores shared characteristics with exhibitions. The first London International Exhibition in 1851, was

[20] To investigate these aims, a number of sources including department store archives and records have been examined with the central focus on Mitsukoshi. In addition to the various Mitsukoshi house and mail order magazines, attention has also been given to a wide range of women's magazines, many of them originating in the late Meiji era. For details of the full range of sources used, plus the difficulties of dealing with limited information on the everyday practices see the Methodological Appendix.

influential here in terms of the layout of goods, the architecture using glass and ironwork and the ways of handling large crowds moving through expansive spaces. One of the most significant early department stores was the Bon Marché in Paris, exhibited this new scale of retailing, being a massive emporium of a wide range of goods from women's fashions, to furniture, to jewellery, to fish, fruit and vegetables. In Japan, a new form of retailing, *kankoba*, had emerged in the wake of the Domestic Encouragement of Industry Exhibition held in Tokyo in 1878, to provide a permanent site for remaining exhibition goods to be displayed and sold.[21] *Kankoba* sold a wide range of goods and allowed customers to wander around in the stores without having to purchase anything and can be seen as having many of the characteristics which were to emerge in department stores. Yet the direct lineage of the first department store in Japan, Mitsukoshi, was from a draper's shop selling kimono.[22]

In chapter 3 the birth of the Mitsukoshi department store is discussed in detail. Mitsukoshi issued a 'declaration of intent,' in 1905 which outlined its ambitious programme to build a new 'state of the art,' store 'like those in the United States.' The store would sell a wide range of goods and also provide regular exhibitions to educate and entertain customers. The declaration also mentioned the intention 'to enhance the aesthetic experience (*bikan*, 美感) of the visitor.' The department store was designed as a spectacular space, providing grandiose architecture and theatrical forms of lighting and display, a space for new sensations and entertainment and not just rational purchase of commodities.

Mitsukoshi's management, led by Takahashi, were influenced by forms of display and merchandising used in United States' department stores such as Wanamaker's. Mitsukoshi

[21] For discussions of exhibitions in Japan see Yoshimi, 1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c; Screech, 1996.

[22] Mitsukoshi is the final name used by the Mitsui *zaibatsu* (group) which itself went through a number of transformations. Their department store also had a number of name changes as it moved from an Edo drapers' shop, to the late Meiji department store. The original Edo name was Echigoya (1673) and it became the Mitsui Gofukuten in 1868, and then Mitsukoshi Gofukuten in 1905. The store finally became known as just Mitsukoshi in 1928 (see discussion in chapter 2, section 2-2-2). The Mitsukoshi-Mitsui group started a number of magazines to publicise the new department store. The main magazine was, first published in 1911, which had both articles on new consumer goods and lifestyles along with short stories and a catalogue of goods for mail order purchase.

sought to and provide a range of 'experiences' and widen its customer base to draw in more members of the new middle class, for whom the store represented a 'day out.' The extent to which the store provided a new 'dream world' of consumption and an aestheticization of everyday life are also discussed. Department stores were additionally gendered spaces. A number of commentators have remarked on their role as a form of women's public sphere, a place where women could associate, meet friends and even find romance in pleasant and often sumptuous surroundings.

In chapter 4, the relationship between the Mitsukoshi department store's business policy and the social engineering aims of the Meiji reformers, is discussed. The ideas of the leading reformers, Fukuzawa Yukichi, influenced the senior management of Mitsukoshi, especially Takahashi Yoshio and Hibi Ousake. These networks and linkages between government officials, businessmen, intellectuals and artists became broadened with the formation of the Mitsukoshi Think-tank (Ryukokai), established by Hibi in 1905. The Ryukokai spent a good deal of time developing the Mitsukoshi house style and corporate image. Mitsukoshi was at the forefront of innovations in advertising and marketing in the early decades of the 20th century. An important innovation was the think-tank's investment in the concept of modern lifestyle (*modan raifu)*, through planning a series of exhibitions and campaigns built around 'Mitsukoshi taste,' with the latter becoming identified by the public as the most refined and modern taste in Japan.

Mitsukoshi taste should not be seen as merely bourgeois taste, or western taste, or one derived from Japanese aesthetics, rather it was a new syncretism of these influences in the context of a more general sensitivity to the 'modern.' The Ryukokai were aware of the new conjunction between women and the modern, in their awareness that the stores were predominantly a women's space. This was evident not just in terms of the customers, but increasingly so in terms of the number of saleswomen employed. Hence one of the central questions to be considered in the thesis, is the relationship between department stores and women, and their potential as sites for the development of 'new,' or 'more independent,' women.

In chapter 5, the emphasis switches to a discussion of the rise of working women in Japan. In the period 1900-1930, we a see a number of shifts in the attitude of the government towards women working, with a greater ambivalence and even at times a reversal, of the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine which sought to confine women to the home. Yet, it should be borne in mind that this doctrine largely applied to middle and upper class women. Women at the bottom of the class structure had provided the majority of the workforce in the light industry sector such as textiles since the 1890s.

After the First World War, the proportion of women going into the service sector increased and with it the numbers of new 'working women' (*shokugyo fujin*、職業婦人; in Japanese this term was used in distinction to 'labouring women (*rodo fujin*、労働婦人) with 'working women' referring to jobs involving mental labour such as teachers, office workers, saleswomen etc. The new modern women's jobs such as bus conductresses, telephone operators, gasoline girls and shop girls caught the public imagination. Yet, the question of women working was still a controversial issue and there were a number of media moral panics about promiscuous loose working women, albeit with scanty evidence. Hence women, were increasingly subjected to incompatible demands, the government and the media castigated working women for betraying their traditional household role, at the same time the state sanctioned the use of women as cheap labour.

In chapter 6, the discussion focuses on saleswomen, one of the new occupations to emerge in the late Meiji era, with department stores being one of the most high profile employers. Hibi Osuke, a key Mitsukoshi manager was strongly in favour of recruiting saleswomen in the early 1900s. Saleswomen were to become one of the most prominent of the new 'something-girls' (○○ガール) in the 1920s and were identified as 'new women,' and also became seen as modern, stylish and even glamorous. Saleswomen in Mitsukoshi and other department stores performed the role of cultural intermediaries. The stores insisted that they should have good taste, good manners, be well-dressed and politely spoken.

Increasingly as the 1920s unfolded, the department store saleswomen became looked up to by other women and even idolized as the model working woman. They enjoyed the advantages of working at the centre of 'Mitsukoshi taste,' and were assumed to be knowledgeable about the new modern fashions, accessories and cosmetics. These became important resources for women in the 1920s, who were subjected to more direct advertising with glamorous images how-to-do-it textual advice, and technologies of self and body care, to help them to learn how to look and perform in the new city spaces. Indeed, it was suggested by one writer that shop girls were central to the development of modern girls (which we will discuss shortly).

In chapter 7 representations of the new woman are examined, with a particular attention given to the flapper and modern girls depicted in the movies. The cinema provided representations of the new women, which should not be seen as just entertainment. Women not only could identify with the new movie heroines, but also were able to scrutinize their appearance, demeanour, fashions, make-up and 'look.' In the 1920s, the United States' movie industry became more influential with Hollywood action movies and its star system globalized and imitated by national film producers in many parts of the world.

Flapper movies, which featured energetic, athletic, knowledgeable, independent young women, played by stars such as Colleen Moore and Clara Bow became popular. The flapper style, with its drop-waisted dresses, lack or corseting, make-up, bob haircut and cloche hat, also emphasised youthfulness and rejection of the culture and styles of their parents. Many of the plots involved narratives about young women in the city living apart from their families and working in department stores, beauty parlours, cafés or hotels.

Fan magazines offered details of the 'secret lives' of the stars along with beauty and make-up tips. Women's magazines offered patterns for home-dressmaking. In the 1920s in Japan some movies were produced which featured 'modern women,' whose style was influenced by the flapper. In addition, fan magazines such as *Kinema Junpou* (Movie Times), featured stars like Colleen Moore, Mary Pickford and Clara Bow. By the end of the decade, film actresses such as

Irie Takako (入江たか子), Natsukawa Shizue (夏川静江) and Okada Yoshiko (岡田嘉子) had become stars in flapper-style 'modern girl' movies and the socialist influenced 'tendency movies.'

In chapter 8, women's magazines and department store magazines are examined in order to discuss the types of advice and representations they offered. Over 160 magazines were founded in the Meiji era, which regarded women as their main market, with the vast majority of these coming in to being after 1900, in the wake of increased provision for girls' schools. Many of the early magazines echoed the government's 'good wife, wise mother' policy. The new commercial women's magazines which began to dominate after 1900, adopted the stock format we still find in women's magazines today, with articles on cooking, cosmetics, fashion, baby care, home-making and regular problems and readers' letters pages. Many of the images of 'good wives and wise mothers,' along with those of the new housewife, were drawn from upper classes women, whose husbands were in the royal family, senior officers in the armed forces or in the high civil service.

The new women's magazines proved to be popular with housewives of the new middle class salaryman's who were starting to occupy the new suburban developments around Tokyo, especially after the First World War. Although the new middle class aspired to a lifestyle revolving around *bunka seikatsu* (cultural living), Japan's overheated economy and resultant inflation produced uncertainty and hardships at this time (e.g. the 1918 Rice Riots). The government's reaction was to produce the Reform of Everyday Life Movement (1917) which advocated thrift, time management, energy saving and rational nutritional advice. The new scientific thinking about the home and housework was immediately taken up by the women's magazines. At the same time, the government had encountered problems with some of the magazines printing more sensational material on sexual topics such as birth control, sexually transmitted diseases, sexual abuse and love stories.

In chapter 9, we broaden the focus to also take in the new department store magazines, which

also first developed around the turn of the century, initially as mail catalogues for goods. Mitsukoshi's magazine *Mitsukoshi Timusu* (三越タイムス) additionally offered articles on fashion trends and the stores business plans, along with articles by experts and serialised novels. The focus increasingly came to be on introducing new commodities, fashions and lifestyles in order to spread a broader sense of aestheticization of everyday life via Mitsukoshi taste.

This fitted in with the new ideas about the home (*homu,* ホーム) which had developed in the mid-Meiji era in the 1870s and '80s, which sought to instil a new sense of the home as a secure refuge for intimate family relationships and the couple, to replace the alleged irrationalities of the conventional *ie* family system. The home became seen as more the sphere of women, subjected to rationalization and suited to the formation of good citizens to further the nation-state project.

Women's magazines and the department store magazines in the early decades of the 20th century, both provided advice and greater latitude for women to explore home making and encouraged aesthetic sensibilities and more refined taste in pursuit of the better life. The magazines not only discussed how to develop a more 'cultured life' (*bunka seikatsu)* from around the end of the First World War, with information on the use of western interiors, they also dealt more directly with questions of women's appearance and body care.

There were numerous articles on how to wear western clothes, along with information on women's health. The new western fashions were first adopted by schoolchildren. There was considerable interest, for example, in the first girls' athletic meetings, which helped to redefine women's bodies as more 'looked at' and eroticised bodies. In the years between 1900 and 1930 the standard of beauty in Japan began to change from the Geisha model to that of the film star, whose look was very much that of a modern girl in the Hollywood style.

In chapters 10 and 11 the various types of new women to emerge in the Japanese context are examined. Usually the term 'new woman' is associated with the independently minded,

'worldly wise,' more active and free-spirited type of woman who emerged first in England and the United States in the 1890s and 1900s. In the Japanese context, as we find in chapter 10, this does not necessarily entail a radical stance. For example, it can be argued that some of the most prominent and influential models of new women came from the aristocracy and royal family. These women were part of the governmental project and had acquired western manners, clothing and styles of presentation (e.g. first in the Rokumeikan era) and were held up as competent 'good wives and wise mothers,' who also possessed diplomatic skills and the will to sacrifice themselves in service for the nation. Here Empress Haruko, was the prime model, whose style, graciousness and charity was much remarked on and used by the government to form the Patriotic Women's Association in 1901.

In contrast, the middle class activists and their working class counterparts in the manufacturing industries, also helped to produce a potent model of new women actively involved in public life and conflict with the government over questions of women's rights, labour conditions and participation. Here we think of women who struggled for recognition in socialist associations such as Heiminsha and Sekirankai and Yuaikai. Some of these women were involved in the famous Mosurin Azuma spinning factory strikes and gained national prominence and respect (e.g. Yamauchi Mina). In addition, middle class women activists, such as Hiratsuka Raicho were influential in forming some of the earliest women's groups (especially Seitosha (The Bluestockings Society, 1911). After the First World War, Raicho became involved in forming the New Woman's Association. Raicho was to reverse her negative view of the militant factory girls through direct contact with their leaders in the spinning factory strikes.

In chapter 11, the focus is on the new women who emerged in the 1920s and caught the public imagination as the so-called *modan garu* (modern girls). To some extent these women can be seen as constructs of intellectuals, writers, artists and cultural intermediaries, whose fascination with the new flapper-type of women emerging in the West through movies and other media sources, induced them to seek out similar phenomena in the Japanese context. Some of these men were themselves interested in the 'artistry of life' and dandyism and became avant-garde fashion and lifestyle experimenters known as *modan boui* (modern boys). Modern girls and

modern boys were seen as products of the new cinema culture and the new urban life with its street culture, dance halls and cafés.

Yet, the modern girl could not be seen as just a media construct. With the increase in numbers of working women in service occupations in the city, modern girls became visible on the streets (*gaito*、街頭). Many of these women were to be found working in the *sakariba* (city pleasure zones and entertainment areas such as cafés, dance halls, coffee shops, bars, theatres) and in the case of the café waitress not only took on a glamour and para-sexuality, but offered customers sexual services too.

A term used in Japan in the mid-1920s was '*akai koi*' (red love), taken from the controversial book by Kollontai which advocated universal sexual freedom. Yet few modern girls would seem to have been promiscuous, but their new styles, make-up and more aggressive demeanour clearly challenged existing conventions and gender stereotypes. *Akai Koi* (Red Love) was written by a woman living in the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and as the 1920s unfolded Marxism itself became fashionable and the *marukusu boui* (Marx boy) and *engerusu garu* (Engels girl) emerged as the latest styles amongst young people. Many intellectuals and commentators were fascinated by the emergence of the modern girl as somehow capturing the essence of the new era, as the germ of the future independent woman.

Chapter 2: The Birth of the Department Store

1. Introduction

This chapter along with the next two that follow, will seek to understand the ways in which department stores became key consumption sites and were involved in the re-organization of public life, urban consumption, and the reformation of people's habitus as consumers, along with a more general 'aestheticization of everyday life' (Featherstone, 1991). The focus will be on not just the constitution, the organization and development of the stores, but also the process of aestheticization of consumption. From this perspective department stores provided the mass consumer with not only everyday commodities, but also spectacles, new sensations, illusions, a montage of styles and dreams. In effect they were not just sites of rational purchase, but sites where one went to have an experience. These first three chapters also examine the role of cultural intermediaries in constructing both the material and symbolic space of department stores. A further aspect considered is the way in which the stores can be seen as 'learning spaces,' which helped to teach people the practicalities of how to consume and how to be a consumer. They effectively altered people's everyday lives by providing pedagogies, which helped people to make sense of the 'new' sensibilities and incorporate them into everyday practices' (Featherstone, 1991:70).

Here the intention is to raise questions about the relationship between the various representations of 'new sensibilities' in the style, decor and publicity ethos, the images of a new lifestyle, which was inscribed into the surface spaces of the department stores and the extent to which these penetrated into the everyday practices of consumers. In other words, how were 'new tastes', or 'a new sense of the aesthetic', not just seen with the eye, but practised with the body. This chapter attempts to investigate how women's desires, ambitions, and dreams become

constituted through consumer culture. It is also important here not just to see this process as one occurring between commerce and everyday life, with the expansion of industrial capacity and higher wages leading business entrepreneurs to spot new markets to exploit and overcome 'Puritan reserve and thrift' to create more hedonistic consumers (see Ewen, 1976; Leach, 1993, for this argument in relation to the United States). Rather, in Japan the process cannot be understood without taking into account the role of state intervention. Important here were the attempts of various Japanese governments from the late 19th century onwards to institute the 'reform of everyday life' (生活改善), to modernise the household and women's roles through government proclamations and propaganda, in order to design a particular type of modern everyday life in which Japanese subjects could adopt disciplinary practices which would best suit the needs of the national project (Garon, 1997, 1998). The government, then, had little time for the prospect of either hedonistic consumption or independent women. It sought to channel and control the first stirrings of a consumer culture in ways which would produce 'good wives and wise mothers,' (良妻賢母) (a key slogan of the day) who would serve the interests of the Japanese state project - but in reality this did not always succeed (Nolte and Hastings, 1991; also discussed in more detail in chapter 4 below).

This chapter opens with a general discussion of the birth of the department store in section 1. It then narrows the focus to Mitsukoshi, the first Japanese department store, in its entry phase around the turn of the century. The first fifty years of the Japanese department store had a dramatic impact on social life and was a key element in a wider consumer revolution.

Mass consumption is inevitably linked to mass production, but it is also linked to urbanization. The expansion of consumption dramatically altered the nature of city centres; it changed the cityscape and the fabric of everyday urban life (see Simmel, 1997c; Benjamin, 1999). The city landscape became aestheticized through advertising, display windows, billboards, neon signs, and street lighting along with the prestigious architecture of the new avenues, the arcades, railway stations and department stores. The use of new building materials, iron frameworks and glass, helped the creation of new larger spectacular consumption spaces, which themselves

drew in the crowds.[1]

Designing, maintaining and servicing the new material and symbolic spaces gave rise to a whole range of new occupations in the new service sector. These were people who shaped the consumer cultural sites and images and provided guides and pedagogies on how to interpret the new tastes and experiences. Here we think of people in industrial design, commercial art, marketing, advertising, window dressing, display craft, interior decoration, along with a wide range of other cultural intermediaries and specialists. People who helped to design and service the increasingly elaborated culture, and its perpetual cycle of renewal, the building up and tearing down process, which surrounded consumption.

It can be argued, then, that the department store became a key institution in the growth of a consumer society (see Bowlby, 1985; Chaney, 1996; Clammer, 1997; Lancaster, 1995; Moran, 1995; Miller, 1981; Nava, 1996; Pasermaijon, 1954; Porter Benson, 1988; Ueno, 1998; Williams, R.H., 1982). While department stores first developed in France and the United States and rapidly spread to other countries in Western Europe, they soon became global phenomena and were soon found in the late 19th and early decades of the 20th century in Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Korea, Japan, Malaya, Mexico and other places. Department stores were hence global phenomena linked to an earlier phase of globalization and imperialism. This is not to say that they had the same mass or popular customer base in all these places. In the vast majority, consumption was restricted more narrowly to the upper and middle classes. Yet, it can be argued that their function as prestige symbols, as signs of modernization, was very important.

The Japanese case is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. The development of a consumer culture has been seen as a key visible index of the modernization of Japanese society. Japan strove to find its own path to modernization and hence modernization cannot just be considered as the equivalent of westernization. It should also be added that Western things were

[1] For example, the opening of Selfridges 1908 drew massive crowds on Oxford St. (see Nava, 1997, 2002).

both modern and exotic - both new and from a very different culture. The expansion of Japan into the position of a world power, with its own colonies in the 20th century, also involved a state formation and integration project. The development of a consumer culture and the modernization of everyday life, were caught up in this process too. Hence, the relationship between the socio-cultural changes embodied in the development of the department store and the westernization/modernization of the growing Japanese consumer society, is a complex one.

This process will be examined more closely in chapter 3, which focuses on the birth of the department store. Here the main aim is to examine westernization and the mission of the Mitsukoshi department store and to focus on the social networks and relations between social engineers, intellectuals, politicians, government officials and businessmen and managers in the creation and running of the store. The perspective here is to investigate the department store as a site of social engineering in the making of good consumer-citizens (see Probyn, 1998) on the contemporary consumer-citizen). In this section consideration will also be given to the practice of department stores in terms of their business policies in giving an account of Mitsukoshi's contribution to the promotion of the 'democratisation of aesthetics'. In the early years of the 20th century, a series of exhibitions and events were organised by Mitsukoshi in order to educate Japanese people to become 'modern consumers' as well as 'good citizens'. The extent to which Mitsukoshi acted as a key cultural mediating institution in furthering the reform of everyday lifestyles, will also be considered.

An important question here is why Mitsukoshi had such a strong impact on the Japanese people. The attraction of Mitsukoshi as a site of exoticism, will also be examined. This entails an analysis of the ways in which Mitsukoshi's combination of a new form of merchandising and display, new business techniques, imaginative architectural innovation, similar to that described in Zola's '*Au Bonheur des Dames*' produced a new form of 'visual attractiveness' (Williams, R.H, 1982:67).

The chapters on the birth of the department store, then, seek to understand the department store

in its formative phase. From this socio-historical perspective, we can investigate the argument that the department store was a key institution in the formation of a consumer society. Hence, we should be aware that the consequence of the consumer revolution was not only to bring about a material revolution, but also a revolution in *mentalité*. Department stores opened up both 'the democratization of luxury' (Williams, R.H. 1982:11) and 'the democratization of aesthetics' being key sites for cultural intermediaries to design and maintain the new consumer representations, practices and forms of sociability: something which aimed to change the way of life, the lifestyles and habitus, of a new generation of women consumers. Hence, it is important to investigate the way in which the department store acted as new forms of public space. A new site along with cinemas and other leisure spaces, can be seen as building a new women's public sphere (Hansen, 1991; Wilson, 1992; Wolff, 1985; Nava, 1996).

Department stores can also be usefully seen as dramaturgical spaces, as forms of theatre, in which the new lifestyles were enacted. Here the focus should not be just on the construction of architectural and imaginary spaces, but on the ways in which shop assistants and customers/shoppers learned to play new parts, to take on new roles, in a pageant of consumption. This entailed learning to move, walk, pose and to wear clothes in different ways. The new display spaces were spaces of bodily display in which new rituals of movement and interaction developed. In this sense it is argued that the body is central to consumer culture (Featherstone, 1982). It can also be argued that the new sites and embodied sensations both in moving through the department store spaces and the wearing of new western clothes provided new sensations and role models which stimulated new desires. This relationship between consumer spaces and the development of the new woman will be examined in more detail in subsequent chapters.

2-1) The birth of the department store

This section will argue that the contribution of the department store was not just only to promote new consumption practices, but also to locate consumption with a new conception of lifestyle (Chaney, 1983: 1996). The department store's significance from a socio-cultural and historical perspective, then, was not just to create a new form of shopping, but also to influence more general aspirations, the active development of lifestyle and the construction of identities.

The first department stores developed in the West (France, United States, England) in the second half of the nineteenth century. While it is possible to develop a narrative which emphasises their uniqueness and difference from previous forms of shopping (see Sennett, 1976), and this was often the expressed intentions of the entrepreneurs who developed them. At the same time, we should remember that in both the West and Japan there were a number of forerunners, which were significant steps to making the department store possible. In the Japanese case, the department store was not just a copy of the western one, but also drew on the *kankoba* form, which developed in the sophisticated urban culture of Tokyo in the early Meiji Era.

We should be aware, then, of the ways in which department stores were essentially urban phenomena, which developed alongside, and drew on, other new forms of urban life. Hence, the origin of department stores can be linked to the rise of industrial fairs, exhibitions and the international expositions in the second half of the 19th century and also can be traced back to the *'magasin de nouveautes'* such as '*La Belle Jardiniere*' or '*Au Coin de la Rue*' in Paris after the French Revolution (Jinno, 1994:33).

The Japanese reaction to exhibitions and the invention of *kankoba*

Department stores developed over the same period as the rise of International Exhibition such as the London International Exhibition of 1851, which had the slogan *'Exhibition of the Works of All Nations'* (see Bennett, 1995; Purbick, 2001). This International Exhibition, the famous 'Crystal Place Exhibition' (figure 2.1), had a major impact on architectural design though its

utilization of newly invented glass and iron technology, which made possible large expanses of transparent display windows and a huge spatial extent.[2]

The Japanese delegates of the famous Takenouchi Commission which visited London in 1862 to attempt to renegotiate the unequal trade treaties with the West, visited the Crystal Palace Exhibition.[3] Fukuzawa Yukichi and other members were highly impressed with the architectural space and the range of exhibits on display. In one sense they had stumbled into the key catalogue or index of modernity. But this was more, one which provided not just a series of lists, but actualisations and models of what the West wanted to represent to itself as its major technological and civilizational achievements. Everything was on the same site and many exhibits could be walked around, looked into and touched. The exhibition was a classification system which revealed the western value hierarchy. It depicted non-western cultures as either primitive or exotic and placed them, at the bottom of the hierarchy. The lesson here, was not lost on the Japanese. Hence when Japan itself came to participate in future exhibitions such as Paris in 1867, Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, in 1904, they were well aware of the nation-state/culture hierarchy which was manifest in the location of the various national pavilions (England, the United States and France were always near the centre of the site) (Yoshimi in Yoshida, 1990; Harris, 1990: ch 2). There were often prolonged negotiations to try and move Japan out of the exotic category (*Japonisme*) to a location adjacent to the civilized nations.

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[2] According to Schivelbusch (1977), the development of this new technology generated 'a panoramic space'. The example of the railway, Schivelbusch's main focus, should be understood as a mobile machinic ensemble, in which machine and landscape are engineered in ways which make possible the mobile, panoramic gaze of the spectator through the window. There are important continuities between the railway panorama and a series of other sites. Here we think of early 19th century sites where the spectator did not move physically through space, such as panoramas and dioramas, which provided quasi-cinematic experiences, with the illusion of movement in which a series of new images were changed around the spectator (See the discussion in Friedberg, 1994).

[3] The first time that the Japanese come across the London International Exposition was in 1862, when the Takenouchi mission (figure 2.2) came to negotiate a treaty for the opening of Japan with the western countries, and they happened to attend the opening ceremony. Fukuzawa Yukichi was a member of the mission and describes it in his book *Conditions in the West (Seiyo Jijo)*. Fukuzawa recognized that a function of exposition was to educate people into new ways of seeing (see Yoshimi, 1992c).

Not only were regular delegations sent to the various international exhibitions, which became increasingly popular and frequent in the second half of the 19th century as the international struggle between the western nations intensified and was realised in material and symbolic prestige contests, if not in military ones. The exhibitions provided excellent compendia and databases for the Japanese civilizational learning process, but also ways to demonstrate to the West (via the Japan pavilion) that Japan itself was on the way to becoming a worthy member of this club.

The potential of exhibitions for educating the Japanese people was also soon seen, with a major domestic exhibition *Kokunai Kangyo Hakurankai* (国内勧業博覧会, Domestic Encouragement of Industry Exhibition) held in Meiji 11 (1878) in Ueno Park, Tokyo. The exhibition featured goods and handicrafts (pottery, laquerwear, fabrics, kimino etc.) from all over Japan and aroused massive public interest. When the exhibition finished it was decided to sell off the remaining goods and the place where they were taken to, was called *kankoba* （勧工場）. The term *kankoba* refers a 'seeing place,' emphasising that like the exhibition park, the new goods shop was one where things were on display. Retailers and merchants were quick to see the new possibilities for displaying and selling goods.

The first *kankoba* opened in 1878 and many others followed throughout Japan, reaching its zenith in the period 1880-1890. Their popularity started to decline in the late Meiji period with the rise of the department store (1910-12) (Hatsuda, 1993:8).[4] *Kankoba* were not just places where goods were more attractively displayed and customers invited to walk around and inspect them, they were also entertainment places with many of the functions found in department stores.[5] The usually had a coffee house and confectionary parlour and sometimes hairdressing

[4] Uchida Makoto (1940), the author of a famous biography of Tokyo entitled Ginza, looking back on childhood, remarked that 'When I was a child, *kankoba* enjoyed a much greater attractiveness than the department store today. We spent a lot of time in the *kankoba.'*

[5] As Hatsuda (初田) remarks 'Compared to the western drapers shop, *kankoba* were closer to department stores, because *kankoba* dealt with a wide range of commodities, including cosmetics, stationary, plates, furniture, clocks' (Hatsuda , 1993:23).

salon, photographic studio and ornamental garden with teahouse. They were seen as entertainment places. Architecturally, they seemed to draw on many of the features of department stores, with brick construction, flat roofs with towers, but they were effectively much smaller buildings (figure 2.3 and figure 2.4).

Bon Marché, the first department store

The world exhibitions provided a 'universe of commodities' which created a 'phantasmagoria of commodity culture,' which encouraged a state of 'distracted looking,' and a new mobile gaze in which 'just looking' eclipsed the assessment of the use-value of goods (see Benjamin, 2001; Bowlby, 1985; Purbrick, 2001:14). The Crystal Palace Exhibition can be seen as the antecedent of a new type of shopping experience, with the accent on display and spectacle. In addition, the idea of non-specialist shops which dealt with a wide variety of merchandise under one roof was also a key factor which was adopted.

Although there is some argument about which was the first department store, it is generally accepted that it was the Parisian department store, Au Bon Marché, founded by French *commercant* Aristide Boucicaut, and his wife in 1872 (Miller, 1981:19).[6] The rise of department stores in Paris was strongly linked to the remaking of the city by Haussmann in the late 19th century in which a planned city of *grands boulevards* replaced the congested city of *quartiers*

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[6]There are many arguments here and the study of the origin of department stores is controversial. It is very difficult to identify a particular department store as the first department store, because the definition of department store is also ambiguous. For discussions of the problem of the identification of the first department store see for example, Harry E. Resseguie (1964, 1965) described that Marble Dry Goods Palace which was opened by Alexander Turney Stewart in 1846 as the first department store (see Laermans, 1993). According to Laermans (1993:79-102) 'most of the business policies that characterized the early department stores were implemented for the very first time in the United States and England. Even the prize for the first building designed as a department store had to go to an American citizen. In 1846, Alexander Turney Stewart opened on Broadway in New York the first floor of his 'Marble Dry Goods Palace'. When, two years later, the store was completely finished, the building, covered with Italian marble, was immediately 'the place to be' for trendy New Yorkers (see Resseguie, 1965, cited in Laermans, 1993).

Even the year of the establishment of Bon Marché is problematic according to Pasdermadjian, 1954; Ferry, 1960; and Sennett, 1976). In my opinion it can be seen to have been established in 1872, because some of the main parts of the massive architectural edifice of Bon Marché, were constructed in 1872 according to Kashima (1991:63). We should also be aware that according to Miller (1981:19ff) Boucicaut had bought the original store in 1851, laid the foundation of the new building designed by Eiffel in 1869 and the store was completed in 1872; nevertheless construction work continued until 1887.

(Wada W, 1992), which effectively removed many barriers to intra-city travel. As Miller (1981:19) comments 'Paris was formerly an impassable maze of streets and alleyways, too narrow to accommodate the traffic of a mid-century capital, too haphazard in design to permit cross-town circulation.' This is the process which Benjamin (1999:11-15) referred to as the 'Haussmanization of Paris' which took place in the wake of the failed 1848 revolution and was designed to cut grand avenues through the formerly easily defended medieval city space. The broad boulevards provided the sites for the opening of *'grands magasins'*, with Boucicaut's Bon Marché the first (Figure 2.5, Figure 2.6, Figure 2.7). Like other *grand magasins* it was gradually developed from small shops, usually *magasins de nouveautes.*

In one sense, the department store is a logical outgrowth of the rationalization of shopping. While of course, individual shops can be traced back several millennia, specialist stores carrying only one type of goods had become common in the 18th century. As Bryant comments (1977:12)

> During all this time, the department store could be said to have been waiting in the wings for its cue to come on stage. But that could not happen until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when economic and social forces unleashed by the industrial revolution had developed to the point that the department store could become a viable business enterprise. Before that time, numerous attempts to operate stores carrying many types of merchandise had foundered.

Distinctive features of the department store form

What, then, is distinctive about the department store? Here we can try to identify its main features. Firstly, it can be seen as a collection of specialist shops under one roof, where people can stroll around and look at goods. In effect they could enjoy the pleasures of 'just looking' (Bowlby, 1985).[7] The arcades described by Benjamin (1999) which developed in Paris in the early 19th century can be seen as forerunners here (Buck-Morss, 1989; Frieberg, 1994). Yet the

[7] This situation described by Bowlby was not necessarily universal. Lancaster (1995) takes dispute with what he sees as her over-romantic analysis of department stores. He argues that in England, for example, until the opening of Selfridges store in 1909 (Lancaster, 1995:4), the common practice was not to allow people to dwell and 'just look.' Store detectives were instructed to move on women who were just looking – especially working class and lower class women.

arcade was essentially a covered street, or passage between streets (figure 2.8, figure 2.9).

The department store was a purposively constructed building – often on a massive scale, which could cover a city block and contained many separate levels – 5 or 6 floors being common. Unlike the arcades it was possible for shoppers to walk in amongst the goods on display (see Benson, 1998; Lancaster, 1995). This capacity for the specialization and differentiation of goods meant that it was assumed one would find anything and everything in the store: the whole world of goods was there.

Specialization and differentiation can be linked to a second factor: scale. The department stores were very large building, they catered for vast numbers of shoppers they had large stocks of all types of goods, they had large numbers of employees, they had large budgets. The scale meant that careful planning, coordination and training were necessary.[8]

Thirdly, department stores developed innovatory business retailing techniques. One of these was the spectacular display of goods. In the US stores in the late 19th century such as Marshall Field we can detect the influence of salesmen and entertainers such as Joseph Urban, Ann Estelle Rice and Broadman Robinson (Lancaster, 1995: 67). Window display was an important innovation here as we find in the influential work of L. Frank Baum in Chicago (Leach, 1993:55; Lancaster, 1995:64).

Fourthly, stores were sites for 'the new'. They displayed new fashions and new technological goods. They were novel architectural spaces with new forms of design. There is also a link, both in the themes for displays and fashions to artistic modernism (Nava, 1996, 1997). While the stores cannot be seen as primary centres of artistic innovation, they did introduce artistic material via exhibitions, and also recycled artistic styles into the stores' interior design through their in-house design and display professionals. While they were not sites for avant-garde art,

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[8] Mitsukoshi has textbooks for salesperson: *Kozou Dokuhon* (小僧読本) and *Dokushin Zokuwa* (独慎俗話). The latter became famous amongst merchants in Osaka Kyoto and Edo in c. 1830-1843. (Hida, 1998:37).

they clearly provided the general public with a version of 'the shock of the new' (Hughes, 1980). Here we think of the performance of the ballet *Scherazade* with its orientalist themes in Selfridges in 1910, along with other exhibitions of art and musical performances. As Nava (1998) points out the tango, the new shocking dance, was performed in Selfridges. The stores, then, could have an important mediating function in introducing new styles, fashions and artistic material to a general audience, and then capitalise on this innovation by reflecting the themes back throughout the store in terms of décor, displays and motifs.

Fifthly, the display of goods, can be linked to the 'dream world' aestheticization aspect of stores noted by Benjamin (1999; see also Rosalind Williams, 1982). Stores were aesthetic both in their external and internal architecture and in the display and siting of goods for sale. This sensitivity to design and display provided opportunities for new cultural intermediaries in design commercial art, advertising and marketing occupations (see Featherstone, 1991: ch. 5). Displays were often extravagant, spectacular and exotic; they had also to be changed frequently – at considerable effort, if the whole store endeavoured to pick up on a particular theme. Hence department stores sought to stimulate dreams and desires, and follow the modernist impulse of preoccupation with 'the new'.

Sixthly, department stores can be seen as utilizing theatricality. If the design and display produced the sets (the stage and backcloth) the customers and shop assistants were the actors and audiences. They engaged in new forms of interaction and identification in which shop assistants not only sold goods through persuasion (the sales talk; but also through their style of presentation, the fashionable clothes they wore, their sophisticated demeanour). In short, the department store was a place of embodied encounters, of sensory stimulation of bodies, of imitation and identification. A place to look and be looked at.

Seventhly, the department store also formed a world. It contained not only many different types of goods from fruit and fish to furniture and fashionable clothes, it provided seemingly off-stage and back-stage areas: the café, restaurant, restrooms, and even exhibition space, libraries along

with education programme reading rooms. Porter Benson (1981:85) has drawn attention to the ways in which stores functioned as a substitute 'woman's club,' by providing spaces in which they could spend all the day: dining, viewing an exhibition, attending a lecture, planning a vacation at the travel bureau, leaving the children in the play areas, or even refreshing themselves with a hot bath. The level of personal service and attention (greetings by the doorman, attendants taking coats, shopping wrapped and delivered) could also be seen as akin to a club. The stores also sought to develop a sense of community, of inclusiveness and belonging, through the sense of participating in a project. In short the stores managed to get customers to identify with the store and develop strong loyalty.

This can be linked to an eighth factor, paternalism. Many of the stores were family-owned and played-off the image of being more than a pure market institution – they offered some collective support and solidarity. Employees were made to feel part of a family. In the case of Selfridges in London, workers were also involved in democratic forms of representation with their own 'parliament' or council (Nava, 1996). Likewise customers were encouraged to develop loyalty through accounts, stamps, and saving schemes. We can find a similar paternalism in Mitsukoshi. To develop solidarity and reinforce loyalty amongst its 1500 workers, it provided employees with leisure programmes which included day trips for employees and a sports day (1909) (figure 2.10, figure 2.11 and figure 2.12).[9]

Ninthly, and finally, department stores were gendered spaces. They were sites in which women predominated both as customers and salespersons. Although in some instances men made up the majority of sales assistants in the initial phase the long term trend was for women to dominate (see Porter Benson, 1988 on the United States; Miller, 1981 on the *Bon* Marché, France; Lancaster, 1995:125ff on England; and Yoshimi, 1995c on Mitsukoshi and Shirakiya

[9] The third sports day in 1911 had already become a big annual event for all employees, according to the *Mitsukoshi* magazine, December 1911. They went to by a train, which has 29 compartments, which was longest train put together at that time (*Mitsukoshi*, 1911, 12:5-6). Each compartment was occupied by a particular section of the department store. Each section was supervised by a head of team to march properly to get to the ground. The sports day was composed 37 games and matches so that all employees could participate (*Mitsukoshi*, 1911, 12:15). The Mitsukoshi's sports day was reported widely by newspapers (*Mitsukoshi*, 1911, 12:4) and was very good for corporate identity, employee solidarity and the public image of the store.

(白木屋) in Japan. Saleswomen were seen as possessing the female characteristics of empathy and responsiveness, which were described as the keys to success in selling.[10] In effect the occupation of saleswoman was premised on emotional labour (Hochschild, 1987; Bendelow and Williams, 1998). The stores also frequently provided spaces which were for women only: ladies powder-rooms; sitting-rooms etc). Hence it can be argued that the department store became a new women's public sphere, or more accurately a new form of hybrid public/private sphere.[11]

It offered relative freedom of movement and identification outside of the usual forms of male surveillance and power relationship found in factories and the domestic sphere. At the same time we should not necessarily see this as only a gain in new freedoms. It can be argued, that the new consumer codes, dispositions, forms of habitus, and self-presentation which shop assistants and customers learned in these new more theatrical spaces, were also forms of subjectification which entailed disciplinary regimes and forms of governmentality (Rose, 1989; Miller and Rose, 1997).

In effect, it can be argued that, women exchanged one set of constraints for another, with the beautiful dream worlds in actuality being 'gilded cages' which trapped women in endless body maintenance and consumer culture classificatory forms of learning and display. Nevertheless, this latter aspect does point to the possibility we will investigate further, that the department stores were important sites in the development of women's greater independence. Hence, this entailed some shift in the balance of power between the sexes, however limited and of short

[10] Porter Benson (1988: 130) suggests that managers found much to recommend in women's gender characteristics; she remarks: 'Certain aspects of women's culture dovetailed with managers developing conceptions of skilled selling. If class was a diverse factor in the clerk-customer relationship, gender was a unifying one. Qualities which had for a century been encouraged in women – adeptness at manipulating people, sympathetic ways of responding to the needs of others, and familiarity with things domestic – fit nicely into a new view of selling. Managers encouraged saleswomen to transfer skills from their domestic to their work lives.'

[11] Matsuzaki Tenmin (松崎天民) explained that it was not always the case that department stores employed women as salespersons. For example, Matsuzakaya, one of old department stores in Japan was very hesitant about employing women, as they were anxious about shop-girls giving advice to customers, who might be offended. Whereas, Mitsukoshi took a positive attitude towards employing women as shop-girls, if they showed a good capacity to sell goods. Hence, to employ women as salespersons was controversial for department store managers (Matsuzaki, 1915 cited in Yoshimi's article in 1995c).

duration this shift might have turned out to be in the long run.

2-2) Japan's first department store

2-2-1) General characteristics of Japanese department stores

Department stores have come to assume a crucial role in Japanese society. Indeed it has been argued that they achieved a stronger and more central role in Japan than in the West (Clammer, 1997:9). While our specific interest is in the rise of the department store, we should be aware of their long term historical trajectory. Yet, despite the decline of the department store sector as a whole in Japan with the economic recession of the 1990s, department stores still occupy an important role in social life.

It can be said that department stores in Japan have two main definitive aspects: they offer a very high level of personal service and a very wide range of merchandise. It is also important to stress that in addition to the physical products and services they offer, consumers understand department stores as conferring prestige and added-value to purchases. This puts the department store at the top of the retail hierarchy in terms of the respect they receive. There is also a hierarchy among department stores themselves, with each department store holding a particular position in a prestige ranking system shared by consumers and other retail companies. It would seem that this hierarchy is based on the evaluation of consumers who tend to accord more prestige to department stores which have a long history and occupy a central urban location (e.g. Mitsukoshi, Takashimaya, and Matsuzakaya).

History and location also figure as the central classifying division between two main types of department store. Firstly, there are the traditional department stores, which opened in the Edo period, which are seen as the most prestigious and high class retailers of all. Secondly, there are the newer department store companies founded after the First World War, which have less prestige. Most of these began as private railroad companies and while there are fewer than the

traditional department stores, all are now large concerns (e.g. Seibu, Hankyu and Odakyu). The older department store are invariably located in central city centre areas, while the newer stores have taken a more flexible strategy, being located where they can access the highest flow of customers (e.g. rail terminals) (figure 2.13).

In terms of economic and social power and position in prestige economies, it can be argued that the top department stores in Tokyo and Osaka are on the same level as Harrods in London, or Bloomingdales of New York. The largest are Mitsukoshi, Takashimaya, Daimaru, Isetan, Matsuzakaya, Sogo, Matsuya. All seven companies have very large stores in the centre of Tokyo. All originate from very old retail companies which dealt with mainly kimonos, the traditional Japanese dress.[12]

When we compare Japanese department stores such as Mitsukoshi and Matsuzakaya, to those in the West a number of differences emerge. Firstly, the stores developed more closely in relation to governmental elites and the powers that be. Whereas Selfridges took a stance which encouraged women's liberation and strongly support the suffrage movement in England (Nava, 1996), going against the government policy of the day, it is hard to imagine Japanese stores doing likewise. Rather, the stores always maintained a sensitivity to governmental policies and would offer to help with the implementation of campaigns (e.g. the reform of everyday life and thrift campaigns in the early decades of the 20th century. Of the stores, Mitsukoshi was always identified as being closest to the government, maintaining influential politicians (e.g. Inoue Kaoru who ordered the store to open a branch in Seoul after the Japanese occupation) on its advisory board.

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[12] Given that the traditional department store had their origins as high-class kimono stores, they were used to providing valued customers with personal accounts and personal service. The original *gaisho* (lit. outside seller) salesmen would take samples of kimono cloth to the homes of rich customers. (Koyama, 1970) This *gaisho* business expanded to include the whole range of merchandise available. Normally the *gaisho* salesmen had their own special list of key customers, who were largely upper-class, especially long-standing or aristocratic families. The traditional department store must have had many wealthy families as their special customers. A family which had their own *gaisho* salesmen could be seen as occupying a high position in the prestige economy of families. (Katsuta,1972:27). In this sense, it can be argued that department stores played an important role in acting as a marker of people's social status.

Secondly, the top stores such as Mitsukoshi, had a special salon for international guests (VIPs) so that they could be help the government's diplomatic activities through lavish entertainment in sumptuous surroundings with ceremonial gift giving (see Moeran, 1988). For example, the English crown prince (the future George V) visited Mitsukoshi on behalf of King Edward VII in 1906 and was invited to the ceremonial tearoom and given gifts including traditional Japanese dolls (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:46).[13] He is quoted as 'very impressed with Mitsukoshi' and returned to visit again in 1912 and 1918.

Thirdly, Japanese department stories function as repositories of specialist goods for gift-giving. Clammer (1997) mentions Befu's observation on gift-giving in Japan that 'it is well know that Japan, pre-eminently among the industrialized societies of the world, is very much a culture in which gift exchange continues to play a very major role and has done so despite (or because of) the rapid modernization experienced since the 1960s' (Befu, 1968, cited in Clammer, 1997:16).[14] Traditional department stores are favoured for this gift-giving custom, because they have a lengthy experience and can advise on the range of gift-giving customs and also many long-term customers.[15]

Fourthly, like Selfridges in London and some of the largest stores around the world, the main Japanese stores developed a range of additional activities beyond selling commodities. This range was often much larger in the case of the Japanese stores. Not only exhibitions, along with

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[13] 'The Record of Mitsukoshi,' is an abbreviation to refer to *The 85 Years Record of Mitsukoshi*, a celebration volume about the department store published in 1990, which contains much useful information.

[14] Clammer goes on to point out that gift-giving seeks to establish stable and lasting relationships between groups or individuals (Clammer, 1997:16). In particular gift-giving is still the social norm in Japanese society, (for instance there are complex sets of relations between companies, within companies, between the neighbours and within school, and so on). The nature of gift-giving in Japan is different from in the West; as Tobin (1992:45) points out 'Gift-giving acknowledges the embeddedness of individuals in groups, the importance of social hierarchy, and the centrality of *giri* (duty and obligation).

[15] It could be argued that the role of the traditional department store is to act as arbiters of traditional Japanese customs which originated in the strict social hierarchy of the Samurai domination prior to the Meiji Restoration. To some extent the traditional-orientated Japanese department stores can be seen as still promoting and serving this form of social bond.

artistic, charity and educational activities were important, but also the stores were seen as performing like amusement parks in the middle of the city. Mitsukoshi, for example had a small zoo on the roof along with merry-go-round for children – also a traditional ceremonial tearoom (*kuchuan* 空中庵*)* (figure 2.14).

2-2-2) The rise of Mitsukoshi

As mentioned earlier, the department store has become a key site of consumption and a key institution for the cultural reproduction of women and the new middle class in Japan. It is generally accepted that the Mitsukoshi was established as the first Japanese department store in the 1905. Mitsukoshi was originally a drapery store, 'Echigoya' founded by Mitsui Takatoshi in 1673. He opened drapery shops in Kyoto, Osaka and Edo (Tokyo) to expand his business, which was not only a drapery shop, but also had banking activities, in 1683 (Katsuta, 1972:33). The banking and 'tax farming' business provided strong financial support for Echigoya. Echigoya (later Mitsui Gofukuten) become part of the Mitsui group (*zaibatsu*).

Echigoya had already developed its own unique style of merchandising, when it began fixed price merchandizing in 1683.[16] The slogans used were: 'cash payment only - no credit' (*tanasaki genkin kakine nashi/gennkin yasuuri kakene nashi* 現金安売掛値なし) and 'You can buy the exact amount you need' (*kowake ikahodonitemo urimasu* /小裂何程にても売ります) - buying by the yard or small divisions was perfectly acceptable (Katsuta, 1972:20). The latter helped to expand the customer base from the samurai and merchant groups down to tradesmen and other lower groups. They sold goods at a low price but in large quantities, an innovative and successful new form of merchandising at the time.

Echigoya went through a number of name changes and different management policies before being transformed by Takahashi Yoshio, who was transferred from the Mitsui Bank in August 1895 and made managing director of Mitsui Gofukuten (Moeran, 1988:145), which had been

[16] This is considerably in advance of European modes of retailing. Shopping in Europe (France) at that time involved haggling and it was not until the 19th century, when *magasin de nouveautes* appeared, that the system changed (Koyama, 1970; Jinno, 1994).

formed in 1893. In 1904 the name again changed to Mitsukoshi Gofukuten（三越呉服店）(Jinno, 1994:39). The same year, a very important event occurred, with Hibi Ousuke becoming executive director, being transferred from the Mitsui Bank (The history of Mitsukoshi, 1990:43). Mitukoshi Gofukuten, was itself changed into Mitsukoshi（三越） in 1928, the name it has retained ever since (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:100).

Mitsui Gofukuten announced that 'it had changed its name to Mitsukoshi and that it would henceforth increase the variety of goods it stocked and sold, and become like an American 'department store' (*departomento sutoa)*, this being the actual phrase used) (Moeran, 1998:143). This was Mitsukoshi Gofukuten's famous 'Department Store Declaration' made in December 1904 in the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun* (東京日日新聞) newspaper and subsequently in the *Jiji Shinpo* newspaper（時事新報） in January 1905.[17]

> Mituskoshi Gofuten Department Store Declaration 1905
>
> Greetings,
> Upon the succession of this store to the operation of the unlimited partnership of the Mitsui Dry Goods Store, the store employees will devote their full attention to the main Tokyo store, studying and pursuing the convenience of our valued customers. While we will of course exert ourselves to the utmost to meet the needs of the customers, as has been our practice up until now, we shall also earnestly redouble our efforts. With this in mind, we will endeavour to carry out the following:
>
> 1. The main Tokyo branch will renovate its appearance, upgrade its products, and add improvements in every quarter in order to enhance the *aesthetic experience* (*bikan*, 美感) [emphasis added] of the visitor, and to provide every possible facility for making the act of purchase pleasant.
> 2. Our design division will provide a pattern reference room. For customers who wish to make a special order, this room will offer various old and new samples for viewing in order to facilitate selection.
> 3. We have also increased the variety of products sold at this store; we are now equipped to supply

[17] In Japanese, the term for 'department store' is '*hyakka-ten*' (literally 'one hundred different goods shop'). Kuwatani Sadatoshi (桑田定逸) who was a chief editor of *Shogyoukai* (商業界) (business world) is credited with using *hyakka-ten* first (Hatsuda,1993 :61). This was a result of Yokokawa Tamisuke's (横河民輔) visit to America to check out dry goods shops, such as Bloomingdales in 1896-97, who wrote a report in which he used the term, *zakka chinretsu hanbaijyo* (雑貨陳列販売所 ,variety display shop), which meant department store. Before this time, in late Meiji, the most common term used was *kouri daishouten* (小売大商店 , big retail store). Department store was often used in the adapted English form 'departmento sutoa' from early Showa (1926) onwards. The Japanese department store, developed from draper shops, such as Mitsukoshi Gofukuten. Although *kankoba* flourished just before the growth of department stores, their business policy was similar, selling a wide variety of goods and encouraging people to come and look.

most items related to clothing and adornment all under one roof. In short, we shall constitute a department store like those in the United States.

4. In the spring and fall, we will hold special exhibits of new patterns, promoting new products from makers all over Japan. At the same time, we will hold artistic exhibits, which, in addition to demonstrating advances made in design, will present unparalleled displays of goods for our visitors to choose from.

5. The Kyoto warehouse will undertake further improvements to stand at the forefront of fashion, including expanding its dying and weaving facilities and manufacturing the very latest elegant fashionable goods.

6. The regional sales division will, with care and skill, endeavour to meet the needs of customers living far away, filling orders for and sending patterns for metropolitan fashion goods as depicted in our monthly journal *Jiko* （時好、Vogue）.

For the purpose of the store enhancements along the lines mentioned above, our employee Hayashi Kohei （林幸平） has been sent to the United States. Upon his imminent return, the cutting edge methods of improvement he will bring back will gradually be implemented in this store. These are our intentions which we would like to declare, declare despite the impertinence, on this occasion of our announcement of the store's incorporation.

December, Meiji 37
Mitsukoshi Dry Goods Store Inc. (Mitsukoshi Gofukuten)
(cited in Noriko Aso, 1997:ch.4:7)

For our purposes there are three particularly important points made in the Mitsukoshi's department store declaration. These are as follows. Firstly, 'Mitsukoshi will renovate its appearance in order to enhance the aesthetic experience of the visitor and to provide facility for making the act of purchase pleasant'. Secondly, that 'Mitsukoshi will deal with a variety of products, just like the American department store'. Thirdly, that 'Mitsukoshi will provide exhibitions to demonstrate advances made in design'. These will be discussed in detail in the following section.

3-1) Westernization, modernization and the department store

In order to generate the intended aesthetic experience for visitors and customers, Mitsukoshi used western design in both the exterior and the interior of the building. In addition, Mitsukoshi held a variety of exhibitions aimed at introducing new lifestyles, which were based on a new aesthetic sensibility. (It should also be mentioned that these were further designed to educate Japanese people on how to be good citizens). At this time, with the impact of Meiji modernization still very strong, 'western taste' and goods were accepted as 'more advanced,' 'more modern' and also 'more exotic'. There are a number of historical and political reasons

behind this image of the West for Japanese people.

3-2) Westernization: an image of the west

For many centuries Japan had looked to China as its dominant significant other, adapting many Chinese cultural institutions and aspect of material culture. In the Meiji period (1868-1912), however, the role model shifted from China to the West. The Japanese had been importing Western material goods, information about lifestyles and ideas since the mid-sixteenth century, but this was predominantly in the context of the Japanese governing leaders' policy of enforced seclusion, which closed Japan to the outside world for the two and a half centuries of the Edo era. After Japan's reopening to the outside world in the Meiji period, the Meiji government become preoccupied with how to deal with the Western powers and how to gain the technological expertise and economic power, to enable independence from the West to allow Japan to pursue its own project of modernity. Hence, 'from the beginning of Japan's modern history the white western world become the model to emulate; it represented a standard by which to gauge Japan's progress and modernisation' (Carrier, 1995:142).

The terms *fukoku kyohei* （富国強兵）, the slogan 'wealthy nation, strong army' that was to gain currency later in the nineteenth century become a cornerstone of Meiji government policy (Cobbing, 1998:10). To learn how best to achieve this end a long process of travelling abroad to accumulate knowledge of the West began in the years leading up to the Meiji restoration of 1868 (see Miyoshi, 1994, for an account of the first Japanese mission to the United States). The fist overseas travellers in the 1860s initially ventured abroad on missions directed by the Tokugawa *bakufu*, and later in parties of *bakufu* students (Cobbing, 1998:18). On 23 May 1866, the *bakufu* finally bowed to foreign pressure and rescinded the long-standing ban on overseas travel.[18]

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[18] International exhibitions were particularly favoured in this learning process and seen by the Japanese as some sort of 'materialised encyclopaedias,' elaborate source-books from which to learn the classification system and accumulate useful knowledge about the West. The Paris International Exhibition of 1876, for example, attracted significant numbers of diplomats, students, merchants and even circus artists who sought to participate in this education process (Cobbing, 1998:28). Georg Simmel (1997b) wrote an interesting account of the Berlin Trade Exhibition 1901 in which he made a number of points linking exhibitions and consumer culture (see also Yoshimi (1992c on exhibitions).

With the end of the civil war, following the overthrow of the Tokugawa regime (1869), the importance of learning from the West gained wide recognition throughout the country and hence the number of Japanese travellers going overseas rapidly resumed and surpassed those of the immediate pre-Meiji years. Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiyo Jijo*（西洋事情）(The Condition of the West), which was already in circulation in 1866 and other introductory works on Western civilization, were being distributed to wide acclaim, marking the onset of the age of *bunmei kaika*（文明開化）, 'the Japanese Enlightenment' (Cobbing, 1998:162). Fukuzawa was the leading scholar of the Meiji Enlightenment movement and his book *Seiyo Jijyo* (three volumes) provided a mass of information about the West based on the knowledge he had acquired in three trips abroad (1860–67).[19]

Throughout the book Fukuzawa sought to explain Western political systems, particularly the concepts of liberty and human rights. The book had a powerful influence on the Japanese public of the time. Fukuoka Takachika, a drafter of the Charter Oath and of the *Seitaisho*, the Meiji government's proto-constitution later mentioned that he and his colleagues had relied almost exclusively on the *Seiyo Jijo*（西洋事情）in formulating ideas for a new political structure. It is clear that Fukuzawa was hoping his work would help to form a great nation in the East, which would stand counter to Britain in the West (Cobbing, 1998:185). To this end, Fukuzawa tried to introduce the strong points of what was seen as the civilized and developed culture of the West through his books and new educational institutions such as *Keio gijyuku* (慶応義塾) (known as Keio University today).

Fukuzawa intended to institute a programme of reform in Japan to make it not just the leading nation in Asia, but also a member of the civilized western countries. Hence, for the Japanese

[19] The work consisted of: Volume 1 (1867) discussions of numerous Western institutions: schools, newspapers, libraries, government bonds, orphanages, museums, steamships, telegraphs — in short, those aspects of modern Western life that Fukuzawa hoped Japan would emulate. Volume 2 (1868) contains translations of excerpts on government and economics from a popular British series, *Chambers' Educational Course*. Volume 3 (1870) presents general material by the British jurist Sir William Blackstone (1723–80), on human rights and by the American educationalist Francis Wayland (1796–1865), on taxes along with supplementary data on Russia and France (see further discussion of Fukuzawa in chapter 4, below).

people, the otherness, which was the West and the rest of Asia, could act like two reflecting mirrors to shape Japaneseness. Here he had three kinds of audience in mind: firstly the West, secondly the rest of Asia, and thirdly, the Japanese people. Westernization then, meant not just to become 'a Western-like country' and to show the West that a new 'civilized Japan' had been achieved. It also meant to develop into a 'civilized country,' which had accumulated the economic and military power and international status, to enable it to act toward the rest of Asia and in turn civilize them. Furthermore, the image of Japan as a 'well-developed country' could be fashioned for internal consumption, to serve to build-up a stronger Japanese-self identification and self-confidence as a major force in the destiny of the world. (for a discussion of the complexities of Japan's relationship to the West and Asia and its ambiguous status in relation to colonialism see Sakamoto, 1996; Tanaka, 1993).[20]

It is interesting to note that at the very same time as Japan was marshalling these ambitions, the West expected Japan to fall in line with 'Japanese exoticism'.[21] This was strong in the arts and penetrated into popular culture and everyday objects, as we find in the popularity of 'Japonisme' (Takashina, 2000). This also meant that Japan was often forced into the role of representing itself in terms of the western imaginary exotic other at International Expositions (see Harris's [1990] discussion of the Japanese pavilion at the Philadelphia 1876 Exhibition). This suggests that there was a large gap between the self-understanding of Japan's position in the world and that of the West. Japan wanted to become a member of the key reference group of civilized countries, but the West did not want to acknowledge Japan as a civilized country and at best operated a dubious double standard of encouraging Japanese to modernize and develop in very limited ways, which would make it dependent on the West.

For many in the West, Japan invariably remained as exotic, as a curiosity and stimulus for the

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[20] For a discussion of Japan's sense of global mission and the shift from China to the West as its significant other, and the development of a 'Japanese globalization project' which culminated in the Kyoto School debates in the early 1940s, see Sakai (1989, 2000).

21 The ways in which Japan used a wide range of strategies, legalisms, pseudo-legalisms and delaying tactics to avoid Western penetration of institutions, communications systems and commerce which would have made it a virtual colony, have been discussed a great deal (see Kokaze, 2000).

imagination. After the International Exposition in Paris in 1867, there was a boom in Japonisme in western countries (ukiyo-e woodcuts, especially, had a strong impact on the artists who developed impressionism) (figure 2.15).

Hence Japan was seen as an interesting repository of novel perceptions, many of which could be taken up and developed into the various styles, fashion and 'modern' designs in the West. At the same time, for the ruling groups in Japan, some were just happy to have the West acknowledge Japan's presence in any way possible, because this amounted to the first step towards recognition, a step forward on the way towards the goal of eventually becoming able to join the reference group of civilized countries and be treated 'equally' by the West as a bone fide member.[22]

Hence through these historical and political processes, the term 'the West' inevitably came to mean 'something advanced', 'something superior', and 'something new'. The image of the West was identified as the epitome of 'modern'. It provided Japanese people with 'an image of a dream world', which was 'the ideal future world.' Yet the connection between the two aspects should be seen as more nuanced, for the West was presented more as 'the imaginary future world', rather than 'a fantasy world.' The West, then, was not seen totally as an exoticised 'dream world', but rather as a realisable world, the world which Japan would become capable of catching up to in the future.[23] Hence, the meaning of the future loses its sense of contingency, and is incorporated into a planned process and takes on a more general definition, which indicate 'an ideal world, which will be materialized', a world which at the same time in many ways will look like the West.

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[22] For a range of discussions of the concept of recognition see the *Theory, Culture & Society* special issue on Recognition and Difference (Lash and Featherstone, 2002). See also Sakai (1989).

[23] Yoshimi formulated the relationship between the meanings of the foreign and the future. The formula, 'the foreign = the future' is discussed by Yoshimi in the context of *sakariba* (entertainment districts). He illustrated that this formula, which literally means 'festive, out of everyday life, excitement, space' should not be used to just direct us to focus on 'the sense of space', to the neglect of 'the sense of time'. The focus should be on 1) the dynamics of the interactive processes happening at the site, 2) the location of these processes within the wider historical process, not just the characteristics of space, the site itself (Yoshimi, 1987: 179).

The historical process of generating a positive image of the West had a deeper meaning for the Japanese. In order to integrate Japan and form a common identity as part of the Japanese state formation process, the governing elite sought a range of modernizing social reforms by importing western ideas. It endeavoured to create a 'new public atmosphere,' and had to fulfil the expectancy of generating something 'new', of bringing the new values to life. This meant that Japanese people had to become made aware of their identity as individuals, and at the same time as a member of the nation. Individualism was important as the Meiji reformers wished to destroy the *ie* and *bakuhan* systems which were seen as preserving group loyalty (to clans, families, intermediate associations). Individualism, was also seen as having positive economic benefits (self-help etc.), but it was clear that this individualism should not clash with the interest of the nation-state, or descend into selfish egoism.

Hence both projects of individualism and nationalism, were seen as integrative processes which needed to be established.[24] Both projects of individualism and nationalism worked on levels above and below many of the previous intermediate group identifications (*ie*, clan, or village loyalties). In this process, then, not only western ideas were imported into the new identity constructs, but also 'tradition', the meaning of the past had to be constructed and re-invented to provide a sense of the past which best fitted the needs of the Meiji State (see Gluck, 1985, 1998; Harootunian & Miyoshi, 1989; Robertson's, 1997 discussion of *furusato*).

Of more immediate interest for our purposes is the ways in which the construction of a positive image of the West came to be linked to new forms of consumption. The Meiji Enlightenment which Fukuzawa and others proposed and was undertaken enthusiastically in the 1870s and 1880s, culminated in demands for a wholesale set of reforms of Japanese society, economy and government (some of which were embodied in the new constitution of 1888). This amounted to a process of state formation and institutional reform which also necessitated the reconstitution of the classificatory schemes for specialised and practical knowledge operating in a wide variety

[24] For a discussion of the introduction of individualism into Japan under Meiji and how this was managed alongside the importation of Western paternalism (see Wada, 1990).

of domains.

The process of learning how to institute and operate new classificatory codes took place not only in law, commerce, land ownership, industrial production and agricultural techniques. The need to learn, integrate and supplant new classifications, penetrated into everyday life and consumption too. Into the systems of everyday objects and how to practically know and handle, an enlarged, shifting and often confusing, new 'world of goods' (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979). This also entailed various learning processes involving the adoption of new lifestyles, the familiarity with new objects which were to be put on the body (western clothes and adornments) as well as new objects which reconstituted living space, that surrounded the person in the space of the home, the office, the street and other reordered public spaces. All these required surmounting a learning curve and the development of a new form of pragmatics in everyday living. Not least they involved the generation of a new 'aesthetic sensibility' a capacity to interpret and make sense of a new range of 'aesthetic experiences'. As we have mentioned earlier, international exhibitions provided a cornucopia of new goods, lifestyles, technologies in materialised form. These were ordered, classified and coded in ways which were both encyclopaedic (lists) and also more overt material manifestations and hierarchizations of western power (systems).[25]

It is clear that in Japan this was a much longer term process than is usually acknowledged. Meiji Enlightenment reformers had an interest in painting Tokugawa Japan as decadent and tradition bound, and focusing attention on the potential greatness that awaited Japan in the future through successfully harnessing the benefits of western modernity. Western ideas had penetrated into Japanese society much earlier than has often been assumed (Cobbing, 1998:8). As Keene (1952:123) pointed out 'by the end of the eighteenth century the Japanese were better

[25] For a discussion of this process in England and other European countries in the 17th and 18th centuries and the difficulties of trying to maintain a sense of order and system for knowledge, given the accumulation of new knowledge at an engulfing rate – which clearly has parallels with some of the characteristics that have been labelled the 'postmodern condition' (Lyotard, 1984; discussed in Featherstone, 1991) see the writings on Enlightenment knowledge and encyclopaedism by Yeo (2001) and Siskin (1998), Burke (2000) and Porter (2000).

acquainted with European civilization then the people of any other non-Western country' (see also Proust, 2002). Moreover, scholars were already beginning to suggest in the tone of their works that Western civilization might actually have some ethical foundations. In contrast, intellectuals in nineteenth-century China persistently refuted such challenging notions because ultimately, 'to admire the ethical basis of western civilization was to sound the death-knell of the Confucian world-order' (Keene, 1952:123). This suggests that the selective adoption of aspects of Western civilization, which is seen as characteristic of the formation of the nation state in the early Meiji era, had significant forerunners.

Department stores also sought to provide scaled-down versions: spectacular spaces, catalogues of the world of goods, in which classification systems could be admired and learned. But the classifying impulse here was more directly practical, in the sense that the objects to be looked at were not just on display, but were for purchase. They were there to be bought and taken home, to be worn, to be inserted into existing living space, to transform living space. The practical sensibilities needed in order to know what to buy, how to consume it, how to wear it, how to put it in an ensemble, a suitable context with other goods, were complex. In short, this required the effort to learn a new 'good taste'. To learn and naturalise a new set of sensibilities with which to organise experience, along with the skill of how to juggle this in relation to existing ones which still were operant. To this end, department stores provided learning spaces and pedagogies through a whole range of activities, along with suitable narratives, on what it meant to be modern in the Japanese sense. The next chapter will consider some of the processes which lead to the generation of the new aesthetic experience.

Chapter 3: Aestheticization and the Design of the Dream Worlds

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter we discussed how social engineers, intellectuals, and members of the governing elites produced a particular image of the West to generate 'an imaginary future world' for the Japanese people. In this chapter the central focus will be on the ways in which the department store became a key site for the attempted materialization of this imaginary future. Yet, the department store was more than just a repository of material goods, a materialization of the resources needed to become modern. The new goods and experiences, which the department stores offered, had to be classified into a taste hierarchy, which provided a new sense of legitimate taste. In one sense because they were displayed in the department store, goods were effectively validated. Yet they had to be made sense of; people wanted to know how to consume them in appropriate ways. Hence department stores offered people a guidebook, with demonstration lessons on the education into modern taste. Learning to handle the new classifications and taste hierarchies also involved more than positional play and moving markers around in abstract classification systems.

It also involved practical work of bodies moving in time and space. On the one hand people needed to develop a broader set of aesthetic judgements and new tastes, but on the other hand they had to experience new practical aesthetic sensations as they moved through the consumer spaces. These spaces were aestheticized in a number of ways to the extent that we can speak of an 'aestheticization' of everyday life. The department stores have frequently been characterised as 'dream worlds,' pointing to the sensory shifts and new forms of gaze they are seen to encourage. Hence it can be argued that this more sensory practical aesthetic experience and the switching to the more practical calculus of value attribution (both in terms of taste hierarchy and monetary value), are important aspects of the cultural form generated by the department store.

It can be argued, then, that the department store played an important role in the constitution of a 'Japanese modernity,' through the introduction of images and goods taken from the West, using 'Western design' and 'Western taste'. Aesthetics has an important role in this process, not as formal aesthetics, but more in terms of practical aesthetics, the learning and practice of the judgement of taste. This entailed the capacity to discriminate, to adopt practical principles, which allowed people to operate classifications in flexible ways to select and order the objects in the world. In many circumstances with a relatively stable social structure, this capacity to adopt a set of flexible dispositions and classifying devices is developed unconsciously, it becomes sedimented into our habitus as we grow up (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984).[1] Under conditions in which cultural worlds clash, or where the supply of new information or new material goods is increased, maintaining a stable judgement becomes more problematic. This is the condition which is seen as characteristic of modernity, the difficulties of living in a world beset by the new, by fashion, in which the parameters of everyday life are shifted and the bonds which bind generations through common experience are loosened (see Featherstone, 1991).

This is the modern condition, which famously has been referred to by Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) as one in which 'all that is solid melts into air' (see Berman, 1983). Yet while, this over-supply of new cultural material, and continual re-working of existing knowledge and practical schemata, may well be a characteristic condition of modern times, captured in the Western tradition by 19th century artistic modernism, with poets such as Baudelaire, and many other painters, musicians, novelists, also seeking to identify this condition (Clarke, 1985; Featherstone, 1983, 1988). In addition we can point to the attempts to theorise the nature of modern experience as generated in urban life by social and cultural theorists, such as Walter Benjamin (1999) and Georg Simmel (1997c).

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[1] Bourdieu's notion of habitus is well known as the set of stable dispositions which operate in a stable way beneath the threshold of consciousness, which acts as a modus operandi to provide a 'practical mastery of the world's regularities which allows one to anticipate the future without even needing to posit it as such' (Bourdieu, 1990:60). For a critical discussion of Bourdieu on habitus, see Bouveresse (1999), Longhurst and Savage (1996), King (2002). Elias (1994) also uses the concept habitus in *The Civilizing Process*. Elias's focus is more on the dynamic of habitus change, or reformation, rather than reproduction. Hence his focus on manners books which provide advice on new forms of civility, etiquette and ways of relating to others and the ways in which these codes need to become habitual, sedimented into bodies, so that they act in unconscious, non-reflexive ways.

At the same time while artistic and intellectual groups are more preoccupied with theorizing the encounter with modernity and the theorization of modernist forms in the arts as intellectual questions, other groups encounter the changes in more direct ways in their everyday lives. Those large numbers of migrants to the city in the late nineteenth century, those who worked in the new emergent service and consumption occupations such as white collar workers, and the growing numbers of working women, directly experienced modernity and its effects (see Seidensticker, 1983, on Tokyo).

For such groups modernity is experienced by the body, by the eye, the ear and via tactile sensations (the shocks, the noise, jolts, rapid movements of vehicles, crowds of people Benjamin speaks about) (see Benjamin, 1999; Frisby, 1985; Taussig, 1991). While such overload of stimuli can lead to neurasthenia (psychic overload) and its defence of the blasé attitude (see Simmel, 1997c; Singer, 1995; Featherstone, 1998, 2000), the problem of how these new experiences are to be classified and ordered into a relatively stable habitus remains. The media is important here, through providing advice and guidance on how to select from the confusion of new sensations, experiences, material goods and ideas which continue to emerge. But the media is also part of the problem, as it provides news of the new, of the latest fashions and caters to the fascination with the new. Yet it can be argued that there are other sources of media-tion, of opening up and closing the valve through which flows new cultural material, to help control the process of de-classification and institute pragmatic, albeit temporary, working forms of re-classification.

It will be argued that department stores have an important mediating function here – they not only provide interpretations of new things and how to use them, but also act as theatres, as rehearsal spaces with front and back stage areas where one can watch the performance, try out for oneself new roles in front of the sympathetic critical gaze of trusted advisors. In one sense department stores provided a microcosm of the world of goods, along with trusted advice on classification problems, and how to handle and perform with new material, all in a familiar

comfortable and secure setting. In short department stores did not just offer a text, printed words on 'how to do it,' but placed the new consumer in a hybrid academy/theatre in which learning how to perform became represented as a new and exciting game.

If we try to think through these questions in relation to the Japanese context, we should not make the mistake of assuming a *tabula rasa.* That western modernity was embraced by the Meiji Enlightenment elite and all that went before became discredited. While the early Meiji reformers such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉) and Taguchi Ukichi (田口卯吉) sought to represent Edo culture as a restrictive and decadent tradition which had to be broken with and forcibly overcome if Japan was to pursue its own path to modernization, this perspective of the Meiji reformers may often obscure some of the continuities (see Gluck, 1998: 265). If as we have argued above, our interest is in practical aesthetics, it can be argued that this process was firmly embedded in Edo culture. Indeed as an urban culture, given the size and relative stability of Edo as the largest metropolis in the world in the 18th century, it can be argued that certain groups in Edo were also was familiar with the problems of operating, or trying to work out how to operate, the control levers to open and close the flow of new cultural experiences.

2. Architecture and the materialization of the 'dream world'

> The railroad reorganised space. In architecture, a similar reorganisation occurred with the introduction of glass and steel as new building materials. The railroad machine ensemble multiplies speed and capacity of traffic; steel and glass multiplied the capacity of roofed structures. Both the railroad and the glass buildings were direct expressions of the multiplied productivity brought about by the industrial revolution.
> (Schivelbusch, 1986:45)

According to Wolfgang Schivelbusch, the first true large-scale realisation of glass and steel architecture was the Crystal Palace, which was erected for the Great Exhibition in London 1851. Its vaulting was covered with an enormous expanse of glass. People in those days, who were unaccustomed to such an amount of interior light, were amazed by the huge glass ceiling. In the

following decades, in the wake of the Crystal Palace, this style was adopted in the grand buildings of the Universal Expositions, which were held in many cities in Europe and the United States. This was the same time as department stores developed in a number of cities. Department stores were amongst the first to follow in using the new glass and steel technology to make possible relatively huge, bright and airy consumption places (see Williams, R.H., 1982).[2]

Department stores in 19th century Europe have been variously described using terminology such as 'cathedrals of consumption' (Crossick & Jaumain, 1999); 'the democratization of luxury', 'dream worlds' (Bowlby, 1985; Williams, R.H., 1982) and 'panoramic' space (Schivelbusch, 1977). This terminology which emerged contemporaneously with the birth of the stores draws attention to the struggle to describe a new cultural form, which stretched the imagination in a number of ways.

The first department store, generally accepted as the Bon Marché, was founded by Aristide Boucicaut in Paris in 1872 (Miller, 1981:19). It rapidly became very famous for the theatrical forms of the interior, which was seen as extraordinary spectacular architecture at that time. As Bowlby (1985:4) remarks

> Interior of the Bon Marché, 1880. Like the grand railway stations built during the same period, department stores utilized the newly available steel and plate glass techniques to construct an image of openness, light and visibility. The palatial gallery with its chandeliers and tasteful arranged luxury merchandise produces a spectacle of aristocratic ease, where customers are flattered by their own implicit inclusion. (figure 3.1)[3]

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[2] This form of grandiose architecture was also quickly adopted in railway stations, exhibition halls, and museums, which led to a dramatic intrusion of new design into urban space.

[3] Department stores rapidly became a global phenomenon, with similar impressive architectural structures springing up in Paris, Berlin, London, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. They had similar origins in the *magazines de nouveautés* and dry goods stores, with these earlier forms, themselves bringing about a revolutionary change in retailing by having many different commodities for sale under the same roof. The US magazine *Harper's Weekly* referred in 1857 to the crowds in terms of 'The dry-goods epidemic,' and 'shopping mania' (Harris, 1990:178). For a discussion of the formation of the US department stores and the role of entrepreneurs such as John Wanamaker and Marshall Field see Leach (1984, 1993).

Japan's first department store, Mitsukoshi Gofukuten, built a new headquarters 'flagship' building in central Tokyo, with construction beginning in 1910 in order to develop with many new technologies of architecture.[4]

The new headquarters was completed on September 15, 1914. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Mitsukoshi's famous 'Declaration of Intent' of 1905' had outlined a very ambitious programme and the design of the new building, which utilized the most advanced architectural technology of the day, was very much in line.[5] The new building was referred to as 'the greatest architecture to the east of Suez,' and is still regarded as a masterpiece in the architectural history of Japan.

The exterior structure is based on the use of white brick (figure 3.2). The format of the building is comprised of an underground floor and five stories with a total area of 13,210 square metres (figure 3.3). The building was equipped with elevators (figure 3.4), escalators (figure 3.5) and sprinkler system for extinguishing fires. Two bronze lions were placed at the main entrance, to symbolise the grace and the high reputation of the shop (figure 3.6).

Inside the store, the most striking aspect was the central staircase and the huge ceiling which let in a lot of light. The massive form of the interior and scale of the space was said to give rise to a solemn atmosphere (figure 3.7). The main hall had a huge stained-glass roof reminiscent of the Crystal Palace International Exhibition in London in 1851, and also the interior of Bon Marché. There were an elegant dining room and an elaborately outfitted common room for both staff and customers. On the rooftop there was a tea-room, built in authentic Japanese style, garden and a tower as a symbol of Mitsukoshi (figure 3.8).

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[4] Mitsukoshi (Echigoya) already had shops in Tokyo *(Edo Honcho)* since 1676. They moved into Suruga in Tokyo in 1683, after a major fire (*Yaoya oshichi no taika,* 八百屋お七の大火). Mitsukoshi (Echigoya) also started banking activities at that time (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:24).

[5]Mitsukoshi first announced their declaration of intent to construct a department store in 1904, to their customers and business partners. The 1905 declaration was published in major newspapers, such as *Jiji Shinpo*（時事新報）(The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990：43, 45）(see text in chapter 2 above).

Hence the new Mitsukoshi department store changed not only the ways of selling, but also the form of the retail space, through providing grandiose architecture and theatrical forms of lighting and display. The aim was to make a 'spectacular space,'[6] a site not just for the provision of commodities, but for entertainment along with sensual and aesthetic experiences. Hence for the new Japanese customers, the new store could aptly be referred to as a 'dream world' (Williams, R H, 1982 ; Yoshimi, 1996a). [7]

There are also similarities between the department store and the cinemas which emerged in the early decades of the 20th century. As Leach (1993) and Desser and Jowett (2000) indicate there were many influences of the new cinema production and marketing techniques on the department store in terms of stagecraft, lighting, settings, spectacular display etc. There was also the use of celebrities and stars in marketing and special promotions, and of course in the provision of lavish, comfortable surroundings for the customer/viewer.[8]

The new cinematic spaces have been referred to as 'dream palaces', sites in which audiences (the majority of which were women), watched movies manufactured in the 'dream factories' (Hansen, 1991) and 'dreamscapes' (Desser and Jowett, 2000) of Hollywood. Both the department store and cinema were types of spaces in which the consumer, or spectator, could enjoy the pleasures of looking without the expectation of one's gaze being returned. A new mobile type of gaze which could enjoy the pleasures of sensation and voyeurism, and lack of the immediate attentiveness and alertness demanded in more formal and rigidly coded modes of everyday interaction. This new way of seeing, also provided a whole repertoire of a secondary

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[6] The term spectacular space is derived from the concept of 'society of the spectacle,' which Guy Debord (1970) regarded as the key feature of contemporary consumer societies (he was writing in France in the 1960s). The concept however clearly goes back much further and could be applied to the panoramas and dioramas (Friedberg, 1994), arcades, railway stations and exhibitions (Buci Glucksmann, 1994; Benjamin, 1999) of the 19th century and earlier baroque spaces such as cathedrals, country houses and spectacular events such as bullfights (Maravall, 1986).
[7] The term 'dream world,' was used by Walter Benjamin (1999) in his discussion of department stores as one of the key aestheticized spaces which came into being with the development of the modern city, such as Paris in the mid-19th century, is appropriate (Buck-Morss, 1989:ch 8).
[8] For a discussion of the similarities between cinema and shopping, see Friedberg (1994), Desser and Jowett (2000). There are similarities between the cinema screen, the car windscreen, the department store display window, the railway carriage window. Each encourages a form of mobile gaze which has some similarities to that of the *flâneur* (see Featherstone, 1998).

advice sources in magazines and newspapers to discuss how ordinary women could remodel their appearance and demeanour to gain something of the 'the look' of movie stars (see Addison, 2000, also discussion in ch. 7 below).

This was the type of woman who not only learned a new type of gaze, but also how to react to the anticipation of being looked at in a different way, to present a different 'look', so that her appearance and demeanour had a doubled mannequin or cinematic quality to it. In effect women began to learn the process of 'female impersonation.'[9] This entails the capacity to 'switch' and move relatively smoothly between different persona and masks, with the new front-stage persona role models being the cinematic stars and department store fashion models[10] and the women in advertising images. It also entailed the development of the backstage skills of assembling the image (make-up, dress, demeanour etc), also provided by advice from department store assistants along with women's magazines, cinema fans' magazines and department store magazines etc). Department stores and cinemas hence provided new aestheticized spaces and experiences and incorporated the dream setting along with actual and auxiliary rehearsal spaces, role models, powerful images and textual material and advice on how to navigate the new learning processes and modes of identity transformation (for a discussion of these aspects of cinema stardom and 'the look' see Dyer, 1979; Gaines and Herzog, 1990; Gledhill, 1991; Stacey, 1994; Kuhn and Stacey, 1999; Kuhn, 1996).

3. The transformation of merchandising

The new Mitsukoshi Gofukuten department store changed not only the nature of the consumer

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[9] For a discussion of female impersonation see Gaines and Herzog (1990). The archetype case is often cited as the American singer/film star, Dolly Patton, seen as the *female* female-impersonator – a woman (not a man) impersonating a woman. This can be related to the broader form of female self-fetishization, as we find in the line in Alban Berg's (1920s) opera *Lulu,* in which the central character, the prostitute Lulu, declares 'When I looked at myself in the mirror I wished I were a man – a man married to me' (cited in Ewen, 1976:48).

[10] Department store fashion models were called '*manekin garu'* (mannequin girls) in the late 1920. Takashimaya began to use mannequin girls in 1928 (Wada. H, 2002:120). See also the discussion of use of models in the stores and store magazines in chapter 8 below.

space, but also the form of merchandising. In line with its statement in the 1904 Declaration of Intent that 'we shall constitute a department store like those in the United States,' Mitsukoshi adopted Western business management systems, and as the leading store in Japan it had a very strong influence on other stores. From 1906 onwards, Mitsukoshi began to enthusiastically adopt many of the methods of western business retailing practice. For example, it offered the new spacious spectacular architecture with goods on display at fixed prices, so that customers were encouraged to wander around and look. There was a huge range of goods available, with many specialist displays in the store and for the public at large via the street show windows. Gift-tokens were issued. A mail-order service was introduced. Mitsukoshi also employed a high number of women staff.[11]

4. Corporate identity and corporate image

Yet while Japanese companies borrowed the western concept of the department store, this should not be taken to mean that they could apply the western concept totally.[12] The Japanese department stores must also be understood as having a longer trajectory and not just as creations of the Meiji period (1868-1912). Their corporate identity was still grounded in their long-term role as kimono merchants. Although, new tastes in western clothes, western-style room décor, and many western artefacts and commodities had spread in Japan by Meiji 30 (1897), these were largely adopted by the upper classes and the well-educated strata. Many ordinary Japanese people, especially the vast majority of women still wore kimonos, and had yet to adopt many other western styles and customs.[13]

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[11] After 1923 customers were permitted to enter the store with 'shoes-on.' Shirakiya was the first store to do this in 1923, followed by Matsuzakaya in 1924 and Mitsukoshi in 1925 (Yamamoto et al, 1999).

[12] In fact, Mitsukoshi marked out Harrods as the model of department store it would follow. This is because it was generally believed by Japanese at the time, that the department stores in Europe were much more elegant than those in the United States (Jinno, 1994).

[13] If we look at photographs of the Meiji era, it in the Emperor, Empress, courtiers and government officials who stand out as wearing western dress. But school children also were made to change to western clothes. While businessmen and other occupations followed, women apart from court ceremonial occasions, wore kimonos. Both men and women also wore kimonos in the home and non public situations. See photographs in Gluck (1985: 132 ff) and Keene, (2002:330ff).

Hence, despite its Declaration of Intent of 1905 with its innovation and westernization, Mitsukoshi still had to retain its long-established corporate identity as a kimono merchant in order to keep in tune with the predominant Japanese taste. Of course, 'Japanese taste' did not always mean 'traditional Japanese taste', it also meant a good eclectic balance between traditional Japanese taste and western taste. Hence a new syncretic or hybrid taste became the established practice and it is interesting to note that it became known by ordinary people at the time as 'Mitsukoshi taste' (*Mitsukoshi gonomi* 三越好み) (see discussion in chapter 9 below). Given this, it was logical that Mitsukoshi taste should be used to generate the 'Mitsukoshi brand' image.

At the same time while Mitsukoshi sought to brand itself in terms of catering for the tastes of the majority of ordinary Japanese people in order to develop a larger market, it also wanted the patronage of prominent people, including members of the upper class, too. Here Mitsukoshi was playing a deliberate distinction game to cultivate a more high-brand image for its commodities and the company image in general, by being able to represent itself as up-market. Hence, Mitsukoshi sent out regular invitations and sought the patronage of prominent people in 'society', the fashionable world was not only the distinguished upper classes and even the Royal family, but also the top figure from a variety of different backgrounds, including writer, artists, journalists and other celebrities. Mitsukoshi also invited foreign VIPs to its shows and promotional events.[14]

Mitsukoshi had invested in building a prestigious company image, and expanded its share of the market. Its appeal spread to the new middle class who had invested in educational qualifications and office and technical skills. The majority of the new middle class in Tokyo in the early

[14] Mitukoshi worked as international saloon, which invited famous foreign people, such as the nephew of the British King Edward 7th (コンノートン、他), and diplomatic people from abroad. Mitsukoshi was symbol of civilization of Japan. There was a strong relationship between the government officials and Mitukoshi executives, such as Hibi Ousuke. Mitukoshi set up a branch in Seoul, on the suggestion of Inoue Kaoru, the prime minister at that time. The aim of this branch was to demonstrate to Korean people the extent of Japanese civilization and political power.

decades of the 20th century were made up of new arrivals who had come from the provinces to find a job in the city. This meant they were more likely to be ambitious to rise up in the world, and hence to identify with successful people above them as their imaginary 'reference group'. Hence Mitsukoshi was able to develop lines of transmission between the tastes of the upper classes and rising class fractions, such as the white collar workers in the expanding service and consumption sectors, people who belonged to the new middle class and who had a disposition to adopt a learning mode towards life as they were travelling upwards, rising in the social space and had to engage in a good deal of anticipatory socialization and investment in habitus reform (Bourdieu, 1984; Murakami、1984). These groups were in effect perfect consumers, who needed to observe, learn and purchase in order to develop the appropriate social skills needed. For them the department store provided a many layered compendium of practical guide-books, etiquette manuals and rehearsal spaces.

After the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the war's boom led to changes in people's lifestyles. Their tastes changed too and the general sense of confidence in the victory over Russia, was echoed in the desire for a more grand design.[15] More Japanese people had begun to gain an interest and feeling for western styles and lifestyles. This contrasted with traditional Japanese aesthetics based on minimalism, which follows the virtue that 'simple is beautiful,' which was manifest in more subdued and sober colour-combinations and shape-design than found in the West.

There are two main reasons why the new middle class started to develop a desire for western styles. Firstly, they followed their role models in the upper classes, who were keen on western lifestyle.

Secondly, they believed that western styles were more rational. In their work, they had adopted many aspects of western work practices and had become accustomed to the notion of

[15] There was a 'Genroku Boom', engineered by Mitsukoshi's Takahashi Yoshio, in the wake of the victory in which the early Edo renaissance style *'date moyo,'* showy patterns (flowers and butterflies on a yellow background) became wildly popular for a brief period (see discussion in chapter 4 below).

rationalization. If their western-influenced educational, technical and work systems were seen as superior, it was but a short step towards adopting western dress and artefacts and practices in other everyday life spheres, in effect to feel relatively at ease with sampling western-types of lifestyle. Yet as will be discussed in more detail below (see chapter 8 section on the reform of everyday life), this belies the different gender reception of this process and the ease with which men adopted work practices and western dress, whereas their wives remained within more traditional Japanese modes. As we shall see, the movement of larger numbers of women into the workforce began to change things, yet the structures of a patriarchal society meant that speed of change for women, still seen as part of the family, was restricted. In addition, the government sponsored 'reform of everyday life movement' sought its own conservative hybridization of traditional women's role, domestic science and a thrifty version of modern consumer culture to channel and restrict the changes to nutritional knowledge and operating home technical gadgets and household appliances (see discussion in chapter 8 below).

Hence there were certain carrier groups attracted to new tastes and western tastes, given their aspirant position in the class structure and identification with not only the lifestyles of upper class groups, but sense of 'the new and emergent,' that as a group they are on an upward trajectory, in contrast to others who might remain conservative in terms of lifestyle and more tradition bound (e.g. farmers and agricultural workers) given their social base economically and numerically, was under attack.[16] Hence Mitsukoshi, then, had many customers with an interest

[16] See Bourdieu (1984) for a discussion of the trajectory of class fractions over time and the influence this has on the formation of their world view as optimistic or pessimistic. See also Elias's (1983: 262-4) discussion of the middle class as a dual-fronted class, who experience particular emotional restraints in terms of the tensions and conflicts they experience from below and above. These insecurities were particularly the case with white collar groups, who identified with the bourgeoisie above them, but were always in danger of falling into the working class below them. Many studies of white collar workers have drawn attention to this dynamic. One of the most famous studies in the interwar years *Die Angestellten* (1930) by Sigfried Kracauer, was based on interviews and cultural analysis in Berlin, which he characterised as 'the city of decidedly white collar culture' (cited in Frisby, 1985:164). Kracauer brings out the tensions we have mentioned, but was sceptical about their capacity to remain in the new middle class and asserted that 'the proletarianization of white collar workers cannot be doubted' (Frisby, 1985:165). To cope with these insecurities and maintain the illusion the white collar workers (which included many women) 'must adopt a 'rosy veneer.' This made them vulnerable to concerns about appearance; as Kracauer remarks 'The rush to the many beauty salons also springs from anxiety about existence, the use of cosmetic products is not always a luxury. Out of anxiety of being removed from use through being an old commodity, women *and* men dye their hair, and forty-year-olds engage in sport in order to remain slim. 'How Can I Be Beautiful?' asks the title of a

in exploring Western taste. Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that Mitsukoshi should attempt to create a 'new Japanese taste' (*shin nihon shumi*) and hybridise and formulate its own blend, 'Mitsukoshi taste' (*Mitsukoshi gonomi*).

What is important here too is that the concept of Mitsukoshi taste became central to the marketing image of the company. This process became associated with all aspects of their company-wide activities, that is, from decor and internal decoration, the design of the commercial facilities, publicity in the mass media, the house style, the type of prominent people they sought to attract as regular customers etc. Some of the component items of Mitsukoshi style can be brought out in the two posters below and the table which follows, which enables us to compare a Mitsukoshi advertisement with the Selfridges original on which it was based.

MITSUKOSHI TASTE

COMPARISON OF POSTER

Selfridges: She seems to be a goddess who is the embodiment of London, (receiving its newest institution). The legend states that Selfridges is 'dedicated to women's service' (figure 3.9).

Mitsukoshi: She seems to be a *sekai ni sasageru* (loyal gift-bringer), in traditional kimono and *nihon gami* hairstyle who serves Mitsukoshi all over the world (figure 3.10).

'A beautiful woman of the East is dedicated to provide Mitsukoshi service all over the world.'

These posters are very interesting from a gender perspective: in the Japanese poster, the woman is a gift-bringer, while in the English poster, the woman is a goddess representing London.

MERCHANDISE

Mitsukoshi veil (figure 2.11): A blend of the West and Japan. This looks like a western-style veil and was very popular among Japanese women, because it was regarded as having high aesthetic quality. Furthermore, it was seen as very useful for protecting against dust and keeping the hair-style in place (Japanese women at that time still had a unique hair-style, *nihon-gami.* It is interesting to note that this style of veil can be found as a fashion item in Yoshiwara in the Edo period (Yoshiwara, being the pleasure quarter of pre-Meiji Tokyo and the fashion leader in Japan, see Siegle, 1993).

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journal recently thrown on the market, to which the newspaper advertisement adds, that it shows the means 'by which one looks attractive for the moment and permanently' (Frisby, 1985:166). The nascent consumer culture offered to supply answers to this group, which expanded dramatically in many societies in the early decades of the 20th century. Aono Suekichi (1890-1961) published *Sarariman: kyôfu no jidai* (1930) at the same time as Kracaeur's book and also highlighted the vulnerability and panic of Japan's new middle class (see Harootunian, 2000: xix).

Hence Mitsukoshi took a good deal of care in generating its own specific taste and publicising this as not only the image of their merchandise, but embedding it as central to company identity. A strong and distinctive company image made it easier to attract customers. This type of company loyalty, the identification with a department store as 'your own' store a characteristic of stores in general, was particularly strong in Japan.

It follows that Mitsukoshi sought to provide a particular unique form of popularization of modernity as something western and at the same time as something exotic, but also as something Japanese. This image included commodities and ideas which originated from both Western and Japanese traditions (many of the latter rescued from the oblivion of Edo culture which the Meiji era ruling elite had sought to bury them) (see Gluck, 1998, on the different images of tradition, backwardness, 'protomodernity,' fostered onto Edo).

In addition Mitsukoshi taste in common with other department stores, encouraged the 'trickle down effect' of higher cultural tastes, to achieve a greater 'democratization of luxury' (R H Williams, 1982:14). This meant that potentially everyone could enter the store and would be encouraged to view, find and purchase the commodities appropriate to their lifestyle. At the same time, the achievement of a scaled-down version of luxury was within the horizon of possibilities of some groups more than others, and as we have emphasised above the new middle class were particularly important aspirants and carriers here. In this sense, Mitsukoshi sought to provide a new inventory and classification, an encyclopaedia of modern lifestyle for those who needed a good reference guide. At the same time they sought to be more than encyclopaedic in the ways they wanted to highlight and promote a particular set of tastes, Mitsukoshi taste, which stressed that modern lifestyles included a sense of the importance of aesthetics in everyday life as well as a sense of rationality and efficiency. As Corrigan remarks

> The (department) store became a sort of great book of etiquette where the proper objects for the proper people in the proper contexts were prescribed. They managed to impose an idea of what it was to be middle class.
> (Corrigan, 1998:60)

Furthermore, it was clear that the symbolic and material space of Mitsukoshi was the world of modernity (the 'new' combined with the world turned into exotica). Mica Nava's observation is relevant here:

> Modernity draw attention to an environment characterised by continuous flux and frequent encounters with strangers, in which signs and appearance acquire a new importance and substitute increasingly for traditional narratives of social and geographical belongings.
> (Nava, 1996:38-39)

Hence Mitsukoshi stood as 'an icon of the modern world', a point of security in a confusing world of appearances, which were constantly changing. In effect its brand image stood for a trusted standard, for the power of an intermediary to stand between the familiar and the new, to filter out the trivia, dangers and embarrassments, yet retain the excitement, stimulation and promise of the modern. Much more, then, than an opulent and an enjoyable dream world to retreat into and equally an education in practical aesthetics and taste management. Mitsukoshi provided a new sensitivity to practical aesthetics through new objects, new ideas, and forgotten traditional designs. All things Mitsukoshi provided were 'exotica'.

At the same time, Mitsukoshi supplied 'modernity', which was seen as a more sophisticated, futuristic, and idealistic world. Hence, Mitsukoshi taste, manifest both in its general company image, the goods it selected for display and sale in the store, along with the ancillary cultural and educational programmes it ran, was seen as a trusted guide to an exciting yet troublesome, imaginary future world, by the Japanese people.

5. The aestheticization of everyday life

The process of aestheticization of everyday life could be seen in a number of dimensions. It was evident in the urban landscape, the architecture, the street ornamentation, the advertising posters, the neon lights, the show windows of department stores, the shop front decorations, the billboards, the magazine covers and brightly coloured adverts for cigarettes and confectionery

that adorned the kiosks, the abandoned tickets for travel, the theatre, cinema or an exhibition which blow around the streets. For Walter Benjamin (1999) the saturation of the surface of the modern city with signs and images produced a set of hieroglyphics, broken allegories, which awaited decoding, but whose meaning was beyond our capacity to resolve or stabilise. Hence Benjamin spoke of the ways in which the modern city threw up bizarre juxtapositions, images in the urban landscape which triggered off half-remembered memories which fired off chains of association, which were quickly forgotten and superseded as one encountered the next set of sensations (see Featherstone, 1991: ch 5; 1992, 1998, 2000).

This sense of aestheticization processes discussed by Benjamin runs counter to the canons of established aesthetics, the judgement of artistic value, standards of beauty and good taste. From the perspective of aesthetics, following Kant's notion of aesthetic judgement, pure taste is seen as disinterested, as involving a 'purposiveness without purpose.' In terms of art, this means that art objects do not have a direct function or utility; this means things, which have a use – craft objects such as chairs or tables-cannot be classified as art. Yet we know that the Art Nouveau movement (*Jugenstil* in Germany) around the turn of the 20th century, sought to expand the definition of the aesthetic and take it back via the construction of highly crafted and aestheticized objects into a 'beautification' of everyday life (see also the work of Macintosh in Glasgow, Escritt, 2000:186-187). In his famous essay on 'Style,' written in 1908, Georg Simmel (1991b) complained that the contemporary tendency was to aestheticize every domestic object including pots and pans. Simmel was very much aware of the expanding field of what he called 'objective culture,' cultural productions made by human beings and the ways in which the process was being globalized (see essay on Berlin Trade Exhibition, Simmel, 1997b). What Simmel (1997d) referred to as 'the tragedy of culture,' was the fact that he held that the accumulation of culture, our interest in absolutely everything produced a futile race to accumulate and master cultural information and objects, to enjoy ranges of sensations and feelings, which were beyond the capacity of any individuals to take in and organise within the constraints of the human lifespan.

Hence consumer culture and the print media, radio and cinema were increasing the supply of new cultural goods and meanings. These goods were increasingly stylized, designed and aestheticized. The problem then was twofold. How to order and classify this information in way, which made life liveable, i.e. the classificatory schemes became to some extent familiar, habitual and routinized. Secondly, which 'maps' to use, which authorities to trust, and which standards of good taste to follow. Hence the problem of the aestheticization of the urban fabric linked into the question of the aestheticization of everyday life. But both questions also related to the practical question of selectivity and how to assemble trusted repertoires to live by. In a confusing world one needed to know what good taste is and how to recognise it. In short questions of aesthetics were necessarily linked to taste.

According to Featherstone (1991: ch 5), we can identify three senses of the aestheticization of everyday life. Firstly, we can refer to the historical avant-garde and Surrealist movements in World War One and the 1920s, e.g. Dadaism. The important thing here was a double moment: firstly, the use of ready-made objects (Duchamp's urinal) in the gallery, to break down the boundary between art and everyday life; and secondly, the suggestion that commonplace everyday objects were aesthetic and afterwards the everyday world would become seen in a different way - mundane objects would now deliver as aesthetic charge. Now the everyday world became seen as full of artistic potential. This meant that everyday objects (Marcel Duchamp's 'ready-mades', Warhol's Campbell's soup cans, were now seen in a different way. These artistic strategies rapidly became taken over by the mass media, advertising and consumer culture as ways of displaying of commodities. Hence, these ideas were taken up by commercial art and the consumer environment becomes deliberately 'doubly' aestheticized as attempts were made to deliberately play with these new perceptions (on Duchamp see Panofsky, forthcoming; Gell, 1998).

The second sense of the aestheticization of everyday life Featherstone (1991: ch 5) mentions is

to do with the proliferation of art and artistic forms from a relatively narrow culture sphere to other sectors of social life. This form of aestheticization is generated by artists, but also by the commercial artist and design professions who work in the advertising industry, and shops, such as department stores, also in the fashion, media and cultural industries. This group of people is an important and expanding fraction of the new middle class, the group Bourdieu (1984) refers to as the 'new cultural intermediaries'. They bring greater publicity to the idea of an aesthetic way of life and the sensibilities of artists and intellectuals who are their heroes, in effect they are would-be artists who also seek to recycle bohemian lifestyles and themes in their work.[17]

They are also interested in the 'artists of life,' those people who do not paint, but who have artistic sensibilities and seek to form and aestheticize their bodies and demeanour or their living space in distinctive and original ways. People who sought to turn their lives into works of art. The ideal aesthete's life has 'the dual focus on a life of aesthetic consumption and the need to form life into an aesthetically pleasing whole on the part of artistic and intellectual countercultures,' (Featherstone, 1987). Here we think of dandyism and the *fin-de-siècle* aestheticism of Oscar Wilde or des Esseintes described by Huysmans (1959) in his novel *Á rebours* [*Against Nature*]. A stance on the part of those who are attracted to the possibilities of new ways of life, based on a greater sense of sensory and aesthetic invention and creativity. They sought to explore and invent new lifestyles based on a greater sense and value for style and the aesthetic. The aesthetic way life did not provide only one style, but asked people to have a greater sensitivity to style in their own lives, which could give them 'personal affectation' and 'aesthetic enjoyment' (Featherstone, 1991:67).[18]

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[17] On bohemia see Siegel (1986); Wilson (1998, 1999, 2000). Daniel Bell (1976) argues that the transgressive aspect of bohemianism and artistic modernism became central to consumer culture in the 1920s in the United States. He discusses the influence of Malcolm Cowley (especially his book about the 1920s, *Exile's Return* [Cowley, 1994]) and other members of the New York avant-garde.

[18] The aestheticized life can take many forms, involving the project of making 'life a work of art,' through one's deeds and consistent conduct in the sense of the heroic life; or it can mean engaging in an 'adventure' (Simmel, 1997a) in which an episode is lived in a time-frame separate from the everyday, in which things and events take on their own narrated necessity and are injected with a sense of fatefulness (see Featherstone, 1995: ch 4). It can also mean the cultivation of the body and persona, as in the perfect grooming and demeanour of a Beau Brummell or Oscar Wilde, whose appearance and wit expresses a particular 'para-aristocratic' sense of distinction (see Campbell,

Thirdly, the aestheticization of everyday life referred to the rapid flow of signs and images which saturate the fabric of everyday life in modern urban society. This is the world where commodities can provide personal affectations and aesthetic enjoyment through not only 'exchange value' but also through ersatz 'use-value' in advertising. Hence the urban landscape is aestheticized through 'the expansion and extension of commodity production in the big cities which has thrown up new buildings, department stores, arcades, malls and so on' (Featherstone, 1992:76).

The urban landscape has become aestheticized and enchanted through not only the architecture, billboards, and advertisements which form a kind of stage setting, but also the embodied persons who move through these spaces and act on this stage. These are the people 'who wear, to varying degrees, fashionable clothing, hair-styles, make-up, or who move, or hold their bodies, in particular stylised ways' (Featherstone, 1992:76). For people who have developed their personae, who are skilled in cultivating a particular look and presentation of self, the city can be seen as an enchanted field of possibilities. Replete with spaces for adventure and excitement, where the expectancy of romance and the sexual *frisson* are just around the corner. A world of mixing and strangers, a world of possibilities.[19]

1987. Benjamin (1973) also discusses dandyism in Paris at the time of Baudelaire. The dandy was totally devoted to fashion and sought to develop a 'disciplined pursuit of happiness and pleasure,' a life in contrast to bourgeois boredom. Dandies are as Lefebvre remarks 'spontaneous (as opposed to professional) artists,' (cited in Frisby, 1985:19). This concern with the outward show of life, reached a high point with late 19th fin de siècle aestheticism and decadence in the dandy figure of des Esseintes. This central figure of Huysmans' (1959:35) novel [original 1884] saw 'travel as a waste of time' and engaged in a disciplined cultivation of the senses and imagination in his own apartment in which the aestheticized interior, smells, displays and the imagination could substitute for the tiresome necessity of locomotion. In the Japanese context we should also mention the dandyism and aestheticism which flowed from the philosopher Kuki Shûzô (1997), whose *Iki no Kozo* [orig. 1930] was influential. His notion of *iki* (wit/style) is particularly difficult concept to translate and relates to everyday aesthetics. *Iki* can be traced back to the Edo era which had particular periods of stylistic flourishing such as the Genroku era (1688) along with a general appreciation of aesthetics, beauty, stylish presentation, dandyism in a variety of domains, including the 'floating world.'

[19] The cityscape itself can be sexualised and seen as a space full of possibilities for adventure and expressivity, with the perpetual chance of the sexual *frisson*. Since the 1960s, the notion of 'gay cities' as exciting and eroticised, has reworked many of these themes (see Bech, 1998).

For our purposes it is the third aspect of Mike Featherstone's delineation of the aestheticization of everyday life which is the most relevant. This is because the department store provided a new aestheticized urban space in the modernizing Japanese city. At the same time, the second aspect is also significant as it points to the importance of stylizing one's life, the ways to actively fashion one's body and life into both an aesthetic unity and lifestyle.

We also need to consider the gender dimension of this process. It has often been argued that being a woman is a form of theatre. They have been brought up to develop a greater sensitivity to appearance: the face, the body, 'the look,' the appreciation of beauty and style and the ways in which bodies acts as communicators. Consumer culture has often been seen as a women's sphere as women carry out most of the shopping and purchasing (Campbell and Falk, 1997). Hence it can be argued that women in particular have had to make a project of how to learn how to move through and appreciate the new aestheticized urban spaces of consumption.[20]

6. The development of a women's public sphere

The following section examines the relationship between the new aestheticized spaces and the development of a women's public sphere, the urban sites outside the home in which women were able to move around and interact in relative freedom and safety. The term public sphere was developed by Jürgen Habermas (1989), who charts the decline of public life from a high point in the 18th century, to a greater retreat from public participation into the intimacy of the private sphere in the 19th and 20th centuries. In Habermas's view the public sphere formation process depends upon the construction of sites for political and theoretical dialogue and debate, which develop public modes of civility and manners and encourage a sense of active involvement and equal participation. The examples Habermas (1989) gives are the coffee

[20] On the notion that women's life is a kind of theatre see Sontag (1978), also J Gaines and C Herzog (1990). On reading the face, 'looks' and beauty see: Talmach Lakoff and Scherr, (1984), Hatfield and Sprecher, (1986), Marwick (1986), Scarry, 1999; Featherstone (1982). On the ways advertising utilize this knowledge of gender advertisements see Goffman (1973).

houses, salons and literary societies of 18th century Europe, which he sees as central institutions in the development of the bourgeois public sphere. These were spaces of formal discourse and argumentation, of strict rules and conventions in terms of good manners, ways of attentive listening, turn-taking and debate. At the same time it is clear that the public sphere depends a good deal on the development and extension of print culture - the growth of newspapers, magazines, journals and literary reviews.

While Habermas (1989) emphasises that the 18th century public sphere was a bourgeois one, it is also evident that it was gender-specific, being largely a dialogue between middle class property-owning men. It was also racially specific as it excluded blacks and other ethnicities. The many critics of Habermas have pointed out that his assumption of a single, universal public sphere is flawed, rather it makes more sense to imagine a range of competing public spheres, or counter publics, based upon social movements (Calhoun, 1992; Robbins, 1993), the working class (Kluge and Negt, 1993), women (Fraser, 1992; Felski, 1995; Hansen, 1991), ethnicity (Baker, 1994).

It is the possibility of a women's public sphere, which is of interest here. But it should be noted that in drawing attention to the women's public sphere we are not restricting out interest to institutions and sites which sought to encourage more equal public debate and democratic representation for women (such as the Suffragette Movement). Rather we wish to focus on a broadened conception of public sphere, which could well be better conceived as 'public life' (see Featherstone, 2000b).[21] Kracauer also sketched out a theory of the public sphere in the 1920s, and saw the cinema as providing an *alternative* public sphere, which could only realise itself through the destruction of high culture and the arts. Unlike many of his contemporaries in

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[21] Habermas's notion of the public sphere would seem to value: linear reason over everyday wandering arguments, consensus over sociability, communicative ethics over aesthetics, the mind over the body. Indeed with regard to the latter it has been suggested Habermas tends to reduce language to its cognitive dimension, that communication is essentially a linguistic act, and misses 'the communication before communication,' the energies, flows of forces, moments of warmth and possibilities of violence which open bodies for communication and represents a substratum which can never be entirely eradicated (Noys, 1997; Crossley, 1997). Hence public life is a more useful broader notion which does not restrict the notion of public to rational communicative potential.

the 1920s he had a positive evaluation of the mass and mass culture, and the potential of the cinema for a new type of public life (see Hansen, 1995).

A further aspect of the women's public sphere should also be noted. It can be argued that the emergence of women in public life should not only be related to the expansion of women's employment, with much greater numbers of women working in the early decades of the 20th century (see discussion in chapter 5 below) but that it can also be linked to the development of the department store and the creation of women's 'dream worlds' of consumption. There have been numerous debates about the capacity of women to move around freely in public in late 19th century Europe. Janet Wolff (1985), for instance, has argued that the concept of the *flâneur* is a gendered one and pointed to the invisibility of the *flâneuse*, with women unable to move freely through the male dominated crowds and locales of 'dangerous cities.' Elizabeth Wilson (1992, 2000) and Mica Nava (1996, 2002) have criticised Wolff's depiction of public life with reference to London and disputed the nature of the emergent women's public sphere. Middle class women were not totally confined to the home and ventured out to engage in charity work in working class areas. There were also relatively safe spaces such as public parks, railway stations and department stores with attendants and facilities for women. Mica Nava, in particular, emphasises the ways in which women developed their own form of cosmopolitan public space in department stores such as Selfridges in London in the early decades of the 20th century.

It can also be argued that shopping can be seen as another form of *flâneuring*, generating especially in the form of window shopping and 'just looking' a form of mobile gaze which became closely associated with women. This, then, can be contrasted to the suggestion that the subject of the city is exclusively male (Bowlby, 1985; Campbell and Falk, 1996; Friedberg, 1994; Bech, 1998). Hence the process of the feminization of the *flâneur* can be linked to the rise of the department store in that it was an attempt to move some of the qualities of the stroller in the street into safer more luxuriant interior space.[22]

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[22] In Tokyo '*Ginbura*' was developed as a term in the 1920s to refer to a form of idle strolling around the Ginza. A

The great size and huge range of the new stores meant that it was possible to wander about for hours, fascinated by the inventive displays of this palace of fantasies (Corrigan, 1997:50). As environments of mass consumption, department stores were, and still are, places where consumers are an audience to be entertained by commodities, where selling is mingled with amusement, where arousal of free-floating desire is seen as important as immediate purchase of particular items (Williams, R.H., 1982:67).

6-1) Centres for women's leisure and entertainment

As mentioned earlier, the department store was an imaginary future world for Japanese people. It was also a new world for women, with 'leisurely women celebrating a new rite of consumption' (Miller, 1981: Intro.). It is interesting here is to compare Mitsukoshi with Selfridges, a store which was established in London in around the same time (1909). The publicity slogan of Selfridges was to 'spend the day at Selfridges', which suggested that Selfridges was not just a shop, but a sort of community centre. In effect that department stores had become 'entertainment centres and meeting-points' (Nava, 1996:51).

Selfridges provided 'supervised children's areas, toilets and powder-rooms, hairdressing courts, along with ladies' and gentlemen's clubs and writing rooms, restaurants and tea-rooms, roof gardens with a pagoda, zoos and ice rinks, libraries, picture galleries, banks, ticket and travel agencies, grocery provision and delivery services (Nava, 1996:49-50). These amounted to a wide variety and range of facilities to enhance not only the convenience, comfort, and pleasure of shopping, but also to make possible the enjoyment of 'female leisure and entertainment' and to get a chance to advance one's education through these facilities.[23]

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form of Japanese *flâneur* activity which became commented on by critics such as Gonda 権田 (1931), Ando 安藤（1931） who wrote *Ginza Saiken* (銀座細見、Ginza Study), and Kon Wajiro 's *Kougengaku* (考現学、モデルノロジオ、social phenomena study) whose famous study of Tokyo street life and urban types has become highly influential. All three were fascinated by the stroller and wander in the city, which is the *flâneur*. See also discussion in Harootunian, (2000: 184ff).

[23] In 1893 it was estimated that 20,000 women were paid officials and an astonishing half million were voluntary workers engaged in philanthropic projects dedicated to improving the lives of the urban poor (Nava, 1996:44).

Many of these features appeared in the new Mitsukoshi store which was built in 1914 (rooftop garden, restaurant, tearoom, and observation platform etc) and the experience of Selfridges and the US department stores such as Marshall Fields and Wanamakers clearly influenced Mitsukoshi (see Leach, 1993 on the rise of the US department stores).

According to Kon Wajiro's (1928) (今　和次郎) research, both men and women went to Mitsukoshi, but women stayed in the store much longer than men. One typical pattern was for women to go to Mitsukoshi to have *oshiruko* (sweet azuki soup) with rice cake, which was a popular tea time snack, and just look around without buying anything. In terms of broader education programmes and governmentality, Mitukoshi supported birth-control and had consultant services available for: maternity and child-care, marriage preparation and arranged marriages.

6-2) Theatrical space, theatricality and women

> Boucicaut excelled, enveloping his market place in an aura of fascination that turned buying into a special and irresistible occasion. Dazzling and sensuous, the Bon Marché become a permanent fair, an institution, a fantasy world, a spectacle of extraordinary proportions, so that going to the store became an event and an adventure.
> (Miller, 1981:167)

As a new building Bon Marché was itself designed for maximum effect as a fantasy, spectacular world and theatrical space. As Miller elaborates

> Provided with a stately façade of stone and topped with cupolas, the exterior belied the commercial machine within. This was particularly true of the main gateway on the rue de Sevres. The impression was that of entering a theatre, or perhaps even a temple. Inside, the monumental and theatrical effects continued.
> (Miller, 1981:167)

Hence, women participated in 'social activities' and 'public activities' outside of the home and Nava strongly contests the view that women were confined to the private sphere.

Hence, the spectacular designed interior and exterior architecture can be seen as generating not only practical convenient space for shopping, entertainment and educational opportunities, but also as having an effect on women's sensual and aesthetic feelings by encouraging a sense of luxury, opulence.[24]

The design on the interior setting of the department store can be seen as a form of theatrical space with much of the main floors areas seen as 'front-stage' (Goffman, 1971) where women needed 'on-stage' performative skills. Some areas of course provided the opportunity for more a stylised entrance, such as the sweeping Mitsukoshi staircase. This suggests women were aware of the performative nature of the store, that it offered an escape from the routines of mundane everyday life, largely free from men's surveillance. It also held out the opportunity to enjoy a more playful and adventurous social life and forms of masquerade.

At the same time, department stores also provided 'back-stage' spaces in the changing rooms and powder rooms where women could try things on and experiment with their face, body, and persona. They could also get a vast range of information and advice to help enhance their presentation skills and playful attempts to become would-be-actresses. In addition, women could not only get information, but also gain access to a complete package of resources for identity construction and appearance maintenance through purchasing the commodities, which were needed to 'get into role,' and participate in the front-stage drama. Hence while department stores offered themselves as spaces, which permitted new forms of independent action outside the control of men, they at the same time reinforced the traditional stereotypes of femininity with their emphasis on dressing up and making-up skills. This is not to say that the dramaturgical skills which reinforced the 'theatrical and display side of women' did not themselves represent some enhancement of women's power over men in certain circumstances.

[24] The French novelist and intellectual, Émile Zola noted that: '...the department store tends to replace the church. It marches to the religion of the cash desk, of beauty, of coquetry, and fashion. [Women] go there to pass the hours as they used to go to church: an occupation, a place of enthusiasm where they struggle between their passion for clothes and the thrift of their husbands; in the end all the drama of life with the hereafter of beauty' (Zola, NAF10278:88-89 cited in Miller, 1981:177).

Additionally, the back stage areas, the women's reading and writing rooms, provided opportunities for women to meet and confide in friends, to gossip and exchange information with acquaintances, or to write up one's private thoughts, or a letter to a lover (see discussion in Nava, 1996).

Rather than just a women's public sphere, department store such as Mitsukoshi should be considered as a family public sphere, a popular cultural space and public entertainment site. At the same time, the department store could be adventure spaces for women, which generated new opportunities to encounter men, some of whom could potentially be their future husbands.

In fact, some saleswomen dreamed of marrying a man who was one of their customers. Some good-looking saleswoman could well have had the chance for upward mobility through opportunities to meet, relate and eventually marry an upper class man. Nevertheless, opportunities for saleswoman to flirt were very limited as they had a very strict code of conduct and were closely watched by their section supervisors and managers (see discussion in chapter 6, footnote 29).

6-3) A place for romantic encounters and the chance of love

In western accounts the emphasis is upon the possibilities of engaging in role play, flirting with the idea of being a would be-actress, could help women to escape and forget what for many of them was a relatively featureless everyday landscape interspersed with the monotonies of domestic work. The department store was seen as providing the potential to play a variety of games, not just merely an imaginary dream world, but also a theatre of intrigue, with spaces for flirtatious glances, coquetry and perhaps romance. Places which held out the possibility of greater sexual freedom and expression. Hence the dream world was seen as sometimes offering up adventurous, thrilling, and exciting encounters. This aspect encouraged women to develop the capacity to switch codes easily: to move from the careful shopper who hunts the bargain to the day dreamer who lets her fantasies run move freely.[25]

[25] The opportunities for sexual liaisons were evident in Paris, according to Miller (1981:192) 'The husband who

As Miller (1981:192) comments 'Female clients had their own affairs, occasionally seduced by clerks, or, more often, using the reading rooms to write letters to their lovers.' Department stores, then, in both reality and the popular imagination generated the possibilities of illicit encounters between men and women. Although, this could potentially damage the reputation of the department store, it has been argued that 'the relaxation of socio-sexual prohibitions, though in some respects risky, were considered necessary for the social appeal and commercial success of the stores and were likely to have been justified insofar as they were modern' (Nava, 1996:53). Furthermore, in the case of the early publicity from Selfridges, 'the possibility of 'pleasure' and 'recreation' in the company of a gentleman was deliberately presented as part of the allure of the store (figure 2.12).

6-4) Japanese department stores and women's public sphere

In many ways it would seem that the Japanese department store had a similar sensual effect and capacity for the stimulation of desires and theatricality, to those we have discussed in relation to western department stores, such as Bon Marché and Selfridges. But, it remains doubtful and at best unclear, if Japanese department stores would have considered the possibility of pleasure and recreation in the company of a gentleman and romantic or sexual allure as useful vehicles for publicity in the manner of Selfridges.

One piece of evidence here is that Japanese department stores were very concerned about the dangers of illicit relationship between male and female staff. Japanese department stores had very strict rules on sexual relationships. All clerks were made to sign a special declaration, which involved a sworn oath that they would never have sexual relationships within the department store. Sexual relations between staff, and between staff and customers were

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has driven his wife to the great bazaar, who leaves her for long hours as prey to the seductions of lace, who leaves her to go on and on in the wonderful storehouse of attractions where she empties her purse, her eyes on fire, her face reddened, her hand shivering, placed on that of a gloves salesman, while he goes off during this time with shady women to the furnished hotels of the eighteenth rank.'

considered highly dangerous to the reputation of the store. In some ways these concerns 'out-Victorianized the Victorians' and can be seen in part as a reaction against the more permissive sexual atmosphere of Edo (see Siegle, 1993 on Yoshiwara). The Meiji reformers wished to emphasise that Japan had overcome its decadent sexual past of the pleasure quarters, and strove to enforce new higher 'more civilized' formal standards in work and public life.

Chapter 4: Mitsukoshi, Social Engineering and Cultural Reform

1. Social engineering and the construction of the department store

The context for the development of the Japanese department store was the decision to expand the economy after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. The Japanese governing elite's first goal was to avoid colonial status and subordination to the West (Kokaze, 2000); and secondly, to make Japan into a world power. The first aspect involved active resistance to western economic domination through legislation and promotion of Japanese companies to carry out functions which were already in the process of being conducted or controlled by western companies, such as the mail service and railways. This also, of course, involved building up military power (the army and navy) through gaining knowledge of western best practice and technology. This relates to the second factor, the desire to become a world power, which could only become possible by learning from the West, by achieving some protected space for economic and technological development, and formulating a plan on how to mobilise the entire Japanese society to this end (Gluck, 1985). The Meiji reformers, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi[1] (figure 4.1), along with various foreign advisers, such as William Elliot Griffis,[2] sought to develop policy recommendations to this end.

Hence Japan tried to find its own particular rung, below the West, yet above Asia, in the hierarchy of nations (Sakamoto, 1996; Tanaka, 1993). This meant Japan, like the West, should

[1] Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) was an influential educator, writer, and propagator of Western knowledge during the Meiji period. He was the founder of Keio Gijuku (now Keio University) and the newspaper *Jiji Shinpo*, and was the key writer on the art of public speaking in Japan. His collected works, written over a period of 30 years, amount to 22 large volumes and covered a variety of subjects ranging from philosophy to women's rights. (See discussion of Fukuzawa, in chapter 2, section 3.2).

[2] William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928), an Englishman taught Science and Chemistry at Daigaku Nanko (大学南校), which was the predecessor of Tokyo University. When he came to Japan again in 1925, he became a member of *Rokumeisha* (the Meiji six society) (Nakano, Yamamuro, 1999:466).

have colonies, to generate raw materials and act as a market for products, which necessitated military strength and the development of industries. It should also be a constitutional state, with an effective education system to further national integration and productive loyal citizens. The Meiji reformers thought that all these conditions were required to be civilized country (Yoshida, 1979:442).

One important aspect of this strategy, then, was to learn from and imitate the West. As mentioned above in chapter 2, this process started in the final years of the Tokugawa regime with missions going out from Japan to the rest of the developed world from the 1850s onwards (Miyoshi, 1979). World exhibitions were particularly fruitful sources for knowledge of the latest western achievements and 'best practice'. Under the impact of the Meiji Enlightenment reformers, such as Mori Arinori （森有礼）, Fukuzawa Yukichi（福沢諭吉）, Katou Hiroyuki （加藤弘之）, and Nishimura Shigeki（西村茂樹）, there was an eagerness to learn and implement new policies as part of the process of modernization and state integration.[3]

The background to Fukuzawa Yukichi's reform policies

In this context of reform, the Meiji reformers developed a strong interest in western social engineering and the working of social, economic and political life. One important visit to England took place in 1862, from what became known as Eikoku Tansaku, 英国探索 (investigation of England), referred to as 'The Takenouchi Mission'（Shiina, 椎名、1989 : 20） The member were Takenouchi Yasunori (竹内守保), Fukuzawa Yukichi（福沢諭吉）, Matsuki Hiroyasu（松木弘安）, Fukichi Genichiro (福地源一郎) (Yoshimi, 1992:109). Takenouchi, the leader of the mission, spelled out his intentions as 'to investigate the conditions

[3] Japan, had only become integrated into a nation-state with the Meiji Restoration. Only approximately 25% of the country was ruled by the Edo Bakufu (van Wolferen, 1993:48). The governing elite enjoyed tremendous power over the population, relatively little effective opposition to their policies. This was particularly so after the suppression of *Seinan Senso* (西南戦争), the last major armed uprising against the new Meiji government and its reforms, carried out by former *samurai* of the Satsuma domain (now Kagoshima Prefecture) under the leadership of Saigo Takamori（西郷隆盛） in 1877. Its suppression proved the effectiveness of the government's new conscript army in modern warfare (see Keene, 2000:270-84).

abroad of anything that might be of value to Japan' (Cobbing, 1998 : 173) (see Chapter 10 below). Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901) was one of the interpreters. The tour provided a mass of information about the West, especially for Fukuzawa Yukichi, which he published in his book *Seiyo Jijyo* (see outline of contents in chapter 2, footnote 14). One of the important ideas which Fukuzawa gained from the West was the centrality of private enterprises, whose role should be not just making money, but to feed back money into society for social improvement (paternalism, philanthropy).

Fukuzawa's business policy: 'spirits of samurai, talent of merchant' (士魂商才)

Fukuzawa suggested to his pupils at the new Keio Gijyuku (now Keio University) that the growth of commerce and industry was vital to the development of Japan. Business people needed to contribute to improve society and should not just seek their own selfish gain. Japan needed to be both a rich country with a strong army to avoid subordination to the West. For Fukuzawa, building a strong economy was the first step on this road (Hoshino, 1951:68).

In this context, Fukuzawa had a strong impact on Mitukoshi's founders in terms of the establishment of a business policy which had the sense of a mission not just providing the goods for the improvement of people's material conditions, but to engage in a process of cultural formation and education into appropriate lifestyle tastes (e.g. Mitsukoshi went on to organize numerous art exhibitions, music concerts and special displays). Fukuzawa, had a typical sense of mission found in many intellectuals in the early Meiji era, in seeking to open up 'the world of knowledge' to the Japanese people. His interest in intellectual and cultural matters was the opposite of 'art for art's sake' positions, and always sought out the practical benefits of cultural policies. Yet although his views were very influential, he was the only one member of the *Meirokusha,* 明六社, (Meiji Six Society)[4] who never become a government official.

[4] The Meirokusha, 明六社, (Meiji Six Society) was formed in 1874 as a pressure group from Meiji intellectuals for the modernization and reform of Japanese society. It has its own journal *Meiroku Zasshi*. Many of this group were in close contact with the governing elite and helped in policy formation (Yamamuro and Nakano, 1999:433).

One of the major findings of *Eikoku Tansaku* (the 1862 inspection tour) was the discovery of organizations called 'companies' or 'enterprises.' 'Throughout Britain', it was noted, 'railways are established not by the government but by organizations known as companies, or groups of business partners' (Cobbing, 1998:180). This tendency to see private enterprise everywhere sometimes resulted in misunderstanding: it was assumed that the Bank of England was entirely unrelated to the government, and that the volunteer militia was completely independent of both the regular army and the government. Despite these misunderstandings the mission took back a picture of the leading industrial society, England, as being dominated by private enterprise. These ideas became central to Fukuzawa's conception of social engineering and his former students and followers who became founders of Mitsukoshi, closely followed his views on business and cultural policy.

2. The founders of Mitsukoshi: Takahashi Yoshio and Hibi Ousuke

Mitsukoshi is typical of the major Japanese department stores in having a long history of family ownership. Mitsui Takatoshi (三井高利) founded Echigoya (a draper's shop in the Edo era) in 1673, which eventually become the Mitsukoshi department store in 1904 (figure 4.2). The Mitsui family was one of the leading merchants families who had a successful banking business which had exclusive contacts with the *Bakufu*, the ruling governing group of the Tokugawa shogunate. [5] Mitsui had a very large information network through their business activities, which provided valuable knowledge of conditions all over Japan. Mitsui also had a large amount of disposable funds, which it used to support Satsuma (薩摩) and Choshu（長州） in their efforts to reform the political system (Katsuta, 1972:47).

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[5] Towards the end of the Tokugawa era, and in the early days of the Meiji era, Mitsui （三井） supported the Satsuma-han (Kagoshima prefecture) and Choshu-han (Yamaguchi prefecture) in order to dismantle the *Baku-Han system* (the Japanese political system in the Edo Period, 1600-1868) and reinforce the 'emperor system' which was central to the new Meiji order (Yamaguchi, M, 1995:6).

After the Meiji Restoration, Mitsui become the exclusive financial advisors to the Meiji government and was able to dramatically expand its business into many new sectors. The first private bank, Mitsui Bank was established in 1875, followed by the Mitsui trading company (*Mitsui Bussan*) in 1876, and the Mitsui mining company in 1888. Mitsui had undergone a process of development from a draper shop and provider of financial services to a major capitalist enterprise operating across a number of sectors (*zaibatsu*). Banking and financial services continued to be the central strength of the company, and enjoyed success to the extent that in the Meiji 20s (1890s), the Mitsui Gofukuten (draper shop) was almost expelled from the Mitsui *zaibatsu* because of reservations about its profitability. Mitsui Gofukuten only survived as an entity with the recognition that it needed to radically reform its business policy and management. Consequently, Takahashi Yoshio was asked to transfer from the Mitsui Bank to take charge.

In the formative phase of Mitsukoshi, two of the most important people were Takahashi Yoshio（高橋義雄）(figure 4.3) and Hibi Ousuke （日比翁助）(figure 4.4) with both having been strongly influenced by Fukuzawa's business policy. Takahashi Yoshio was a former manager of the Osaka branch of the Mitsui Bank, and was appointed as a director of Mitsui draper's shop (the direct forerunner of the Mitsukoshi department store) in 1896 （Katsuta, 1972:54, Yamaguchi,1995:7）. Takahashi had previously been at the Keio Gijyuku (now Keio University). After his graduation, 1881, he become a journalist in *Jiji Tsushin(sha)* （時事通信社）, the news agency founded by Fukuzawa Yukichi. The latter's philosophy had a strong impact on Takahashi's business policy. When he took over Mitsui Gofukuten in 1896, Takahashi's business plan was based on the following slogan *'datsu a nyu ou, kan min chouwa'* 脱亜入欧、官民調和, ('Let's catch up with the West, through cooperation between the government and the private sectors working together).'

Another key influence on Takahashi's business policy, was the period in 1887-8 he spent studying business administration at Wanamaker in Philadelphia, one of the leading department

stores in the United States, after his resignation from the *Jiji Tushinsha* news agency.[6] He also visited Britain in 1888, returning to Japan 1889 (Yamaguchi, 1995:8). This period reinforced the merits of Fukuzawa's business policy. In addition, Takahashi became interested in not only the training programme for employees, the financial department and architectural design, but also in the ways to display goods, especially the 'show window.'

Another important figure was Hibi Ousuke (日比翁助), who was chosen by Takahashi to become a key member of the Mitsukoshi management team. Hibi, like Takahashi graduated from 'Keio Gijyku'. Takahashi preferred to employ people with higher educational qualifications, such as 'Keio Gijyuku' graduates, partly because he wanted key staff in Mitsukoshi to share the Fukuzawa's business policy mindset. In fact Hibi had been recommended by Nakakamikawa Hikosaburo (中上川彦三郎), the nephew of Fukuzawa Yukichi. Nakakamikawa Hikosaburo was a central figure in the development of the Mitsui *zaibatsu*. He had been asked to become a director of a number of components of the Mitsui *zaibatsu*, such as the Mitsui Bank, Mitsui Trading company, Mitsui Mining company, and Mitsui draper's shop, by Inoue Kaoru (井上馨),[7] who was one of the most powerful politicians of the day. Nakakamikawa had also worked as a governmental official and had developed a close relationship with Inoue.

This indicates the importance of the social networks which connected Meiji reformers, businessmen and politicians. This network was crucially important in the development of the *Mitusi zaibatsu* and subsequently the Mitsukoshi department store. The various intersecting and interlocking relationships between Takahashi, Hibi, Fukuzawa, Inoue and Nakakamikawa were reinforced in the long Meiji reform process. Takahashi and Hibi had the same education in Fukuzawa's ideas at Keio (*gaku batsu* 学閥). Inoue and Nakakamikawa worked together in the

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[6] After his resignation from *Jiji Tsushin sha*, he went to New York to study commerce and investigate the stock market (Yamaguchi, 1995:8).
[7] Inoue Kaoru (井上馨) came from Choshu-han (local government in Yamaguchi prefecture) and had been active in the opposition to the Baku-han system. He held a string of important posts in the Meiji government, such as foreign minister, finance minister, secretary of state for home affairs, minister for agriculture.

Meiji government. There were also strong family and political network ties connecting this set of politicians, businessmen and intellectuals. As we will see Takahashi and Hibi also had a huge network of artists and intellectuals, which they drew upon for the formation of the Mitsukoshi think-tank.[8] They helped to design Mitsukoshi's cultural education project for Japanese people and also fashioned its role as a showpiece of Japanese civilization used to impress foreign dignitaries.

3. The Mitsukoshi think-tank, 'Ryukokai' (trend analysis research group)

In order to understand the ways in which the business policy which made possible the decision to develop a department store, we need to consider the aims of the key influential people mentioned in the previous section, 'the founders' and their associates. In this section, we will examine how the founder's main policy aims were developed and how they sought to guide the commercial and cultural activities in the store.

Bourdieu (1984) has discussed the importance of 'the new cultural intermediaries', those in media, design, fashion, advertising, and 'para' intellectual information occupations, whose jobs entail performing services and the production, marketing and dissemination of symbolic goods. They seek 'to produce new symbolic goods, and in addition provide the necessary interpretations on their use' (Featherstone, 1991:19). When we attempt to understand cultural innovation in modern societies, we need to investigate the intersection of culture and economy and this group of cultural intermediaries who work in culture industries have become increasingly important with the opening up of the service sector on the back of the expansion of the industrial sector. This has the effect of making culture itself assumes a more central role in the economy through the expansion of consumer culture, and the greater emphasis upon the

[8] This pattern of think-tanks became common with other department stores. Matsuya (松屋) had Seibikai (済美会)、Takashimaya (高島屋) had Hyakusenkai (百選会). Many novelists or artist such as Yosano Akiko, Yosano Tekkan were member of Hyakusenkai (Wada H, 2002:127:129).

display and marketing of goods along with the upgrading of the experience of purchase. A process reinforced by the development and expansion of the popular media with features-based newspapers, popular women's magazines, the cinema, the radio becoming significant alongside the development of culture industries catering for leisure and mass consumption.[9]

Hence the expansion of a consumer culture in the early decades of the 20th century meant not only an expansion in the numbers of cultural specialists and intermediaries in employment (many of them women), but also a greater interest in cultural policy on the part of business and government. Consumer culture became seen as an expanding field of opportunity for business, and also one which the government and its advisors should take the lead in steering, in devising policies which should fit in with the national aims.[10]

The Mitsukoshi Ryukokai (流行会) (figure 4.5) played an important role in higher level cultural intermediation. Organised by Hibi Ousuke, the think-tank who sought to follow Fukuzawa's policy of trying to improve the 'national culture' (*kokumin bunka* 国民文化) in order to make Japan one of the independent civilized countries in the world. Hence, Hibi insisted that 'department stores have the responsibility to develop a 'national culture.' He thought that department stores should work not only for business success, but also contribute to the nation (Jinno, 1993:51; Katsuta, 1972:88). The department store as an enterprise clearly was linked to the improvement in the Japanese people's standard of living manifest in their capacity to purchase its goods. But it also had a responsibility to improve their broader quality of life, and with it the development of the nation. In this way, the department store did not just provide material goods, but also symbolic goods to improve the people and the nation's 'cultural capital.' Part of this process was clearly to do with efficiency, spreading the message about more rational personal and household techniques and technologies. But this sense of good

[9] For an account of the growth of the mass media in Japan, which emphasises its close development with the Meiji state, see Kasza (1988).
[10] As we will see below in chapters seven and eight, this did not always result in an integrated policy. At times the government was suspicious of the expansion of the consumption, entertainment and leisure sectors, seeing these as in direct conflict with its reform of everyday life policies and thrift campaign. For a discussion of the complex interaction between consumption and saving, see Garon (1997, 1998).

organization shaded into good taste, into aesthetics and lifestyle construction. The new consumer lifestyles were not just to be based on practical instrumentality, the new gadgets, hygiene, domestic science and self-improvement. Potent as this message was, it was difficult to disentangle from the aesthetic messages of goods and an overall lifestyle ensemble in which good taste and sense of style carried their own social and psychological rewards.

The Ryukokai (流行会), (trend analysis research group), which was in effect a think tank expected to create the company's cultural policy, was established by Hibi in June 1905. Not just to develop 'new fashions' and new lifestyles, but to research out trends and explore developments in the new popular culture arena. Hibi's slogan '*gaku zoku kyôdô*' （学俗共同） (sharing knowledge between experts and ordinary people) is still cited in Mitsukoshi's business policy today.[11]

Hibi's intention, following his insights from Harrods, was that the Ryukokai should propose a range of cultural activities which would publicise the store and contribute to developing its image (Yamaguchi, 1995:51; Jinno, 1993:123). The Ryukokai was comprised mainly of journalists. It also had novelists, artists, intellectuals, geisha, and politicians. Its remit was to discuss how to develop appropriate 'modern fashions' and 'modern lifestyles' and integrate these into a viable business cultural policy for the whole store. A number of artists were important in the development of Ryukokai, especially Ozaki Kôyô[12] (尾崎紅葉) and his associates (Jinno, 1993: 134).[13]

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[11] After establishing the Ryukokai, Hibi visited Harrods in 1907. He was very impressed with Harrods' business policy and administration. He decided that 'Mitsukoshi should follow Harrods and become 'a second Harrods,' 'the Harrods of Tokyo' (*Jiko,* May 1908).

[12] Ozaki Kôyô (1867-1903) was a novelist and a notable stylist and taste leader. He was widely seen as a 'Japanese dandy,' who sought to follow '*iki'* (see footnote 18 in chapter 3, on Kuki Shûzô and the notion of *iki).* A friend of Ozaki's, Iwaya Sazanami (巌谷小波) remarked that 'Kôyô himself was a fashion'.

[13] According to Hamada Shirô （浜田四郎）, editor of *Jiko,* 'the initial member of the Ryukokai were mainly journalists, because at that time there were no other authorities on fashion. Hence it was assumed that some journalists, or performance arts critics, might have good knowledge and taste of fashion. Presumably, journalists and artist also had more chance to go abroad to learn about foreign fashion and the arts. The initial members of the Ryukokai were also largely contributors of *Jiko* (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:45).

Kôyô was a very influential person who was able to contribute to the Mitsukoshi Ryukokai to help to generate 'good taste,' the taste which was to be eventually identified as 'Mitsukoshi taste' （三越好み） which became famous all over Japan and consolidated the Mitsukoshi brand. Hence along with others, Kôyô helped to forge this new relationship between artists and business people to create new effective business cultural policies. In addition we should note that the success of the Mitsukoshi department store also elevated the social standing of the retailing industry in the Japanese business world. Hence the department store managerial and advisory group gained a good deal of public attention and were of constant interest to the wider public and influential people: in effect they surpassed their role as cultural intermediaries to become cultural policy formers and fashion leaders.

4. Developing the Mitukoshi image through exhibitions, events and advertisements

In this section we will discuss the aims of the Ryukokai as manifest in the various kinds of advertising campaigns, exhibitions and other events which it devised and organized. The think tank also spent considerable time in developing the Mitsukoshi house style and image and producing an image for the store which was itself a fashion.

Mitsukoshi was one the foremost innovators in advertising and marketing in Japan in the early decades of the 20th century. In part this was a result of the awareness of the managing director, Takahashi and his close associate Hibi, of the practices of the leading United States and European stores. It was also a result of their particular personal dispositions and interests in the arts and intellectual life, which was clearly evident in the setting up of the Ryukokai. This background was evident in the emphasis they placed upon visual display (figure 4.6) in the store and show windows (figure 4.7).

They hired a new director, Hamada Shiro,[14] to take charge of the advertisng and brand image development of the store. He had an intellectual and artistic background and was one of the first people employed in image marketing in Japan. Suigiura Hisui, was another important figure who worked on the Mitsukoshi house style and brand image and produced many *art nouveau* inspired designs (figure 4.8, figure 4.9). Mitsukoshi's developed a campaign which included posters, billboards and newspaper advertisements.[15]

The advertising was invariably sophisticated, distinctive and up-market. For example, a page advertisement appeared in the programme of the Imperial Theatre in 1901 which had an *Art Nouveau* style pattern, with the slogan '*kyo wa Teigeki, asu wa Mitsukoshi*' (today the Imperial Theatre, tomorrow Mitsukoshi (figure 4.11). The idea was to suggest to the public that they should see Mitsukoshi as an equally impressive tourist site to the famous theatre, Imperial Theatre (1901), which was the first theatre to have an authentic Western style sumptuous interior. Both buildings were constructed within a decade of each other, near the Ginza.

The success of the campaigns in raising the store's profile and in stamping the Mitsukoshi brand as the mark of excellence was such that they were able to proclaim that the term Mitsukoshi and fashion had become synonymous. Again a full page advertisement appeared in *Mitsukoshi Magazine*, with the slogan '*Tegeki o mizushite shibai o danzuru nakare, Mitsukoshi o otozure shite ryûkô o kataru nakare,*' (you shouldn't talk about the play if you haven't been to the Imperial Theatre; if you haven't been to Mitsukoshi, you shouldn't talk about fashion.'[16]

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[14] Before he joined Mitsukoshi in 1905, the year the Ryokokei （流行会） was set up, he was chief editor of *Taiheiyo* (太平洋、Pacific), the leading business magazine in Japan. He was a close friend of Hibi, who persuaded him to join Mitsukoshi. His first job was to edit *Jiko* (時好, fashion), the store's house magazine. From the start he held that the magazine should retain its function as a high quality literary magazine, but also should be upgraded to present a positive image of Mitsukoshi as the leading style and fashion centre in Japan. See discussion in chapter 8.

[15] One clever newspaper advertisement involved a large block of empty space with a small box in the centre which announced 'Mitsukoshi Gofukuten will advertise here tomorrow.' This appeared in the *Jiji Shinpô,* 19th December 1906 (Figure 4.10).

[16] Moeran's (1998:151) romanji here seems to be incorrect. Rather than *otozure*, it should read *towazushite.* In fact Moeran only cites the last half of the advertising slogan couplet. The full text should read '*Tegeki o mizushite*

Aestheticization and *modan raifu* (modern lifestyle)

A visit to the theatre, like a visit to Mitsukoshi became seen as part of the modern lifestyle. Mitsukoshi invested strongly in the concept of '*modan*' (modern) lifestyles and sought to introduce 'western taste' throughout the store. It is interesting to note that Mitsukoshi (Mitsui Gofukuten) initially tried to establish a men's Western clothes section in 1888, which failed and was closed, because there was little market at this time. It was reopened in 1906, the year after the formation of the Ryukokai, with a British tailor, Alexander Michel (figure 4.12) invited by Mitsukoshi to attend the event (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:47).

A more important form of activity was the various kinds of exhibitions devised by the Ryukokai, which had an impact on ordinary Japanese people at his time.[17] For example, there were exhibitions on theatre plays (figure 4.13) and also travel in 1915 (figure 4.14). The intention of the exhibition on theatre was to introduce the public to both theatre arts/theatre plays by using traditional Japanese theatre, such as Kabuki and western play. Costumes, setting, photographs of actors etc., were exhibited and displayed in such a way to emphasise that the world of theatre should be regarded as above all an 'art' form. The other 1915 exhibition on travel aimed to inform people about new leisure and entertainment ideas (Jinno, 1994). Important here was the notion of 'vacation'. This exhibition promoted new leisure concepts, such as taking a trip to resorts.[18]

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shibai o danzuru nakare, Mitsukoshi o otozure shite ryûkô o kataru nakare,' (you shouldn't talk about the play if you haven't been to the Imperial Theatre; if you haven't been to Mitsukoshi, you shouldn't talk about fashion.'

[17] Exhibitions and exhibit displays had been used in stores in France, England (see Nava, 1996 or Selfridges use of Oriental themes) and the United States. The oriental theme was popular in Parisienne fashion and became a powerful trope which was taken up in Europe and the United States (see Leach, 1993:104ff) in the years leading up to the First World War. Leach (1993:101ff) mentions an extravagant exhibit on the French Revolution put on by Wanamaker's in Philadelphia in 1906 with display glass of replicas of the severed heads of Louis XIV and Marie Antoinette along with crowns and robes. The first fashion show was put on by Ehrlich Brothers in New York in 1903, and spectacular themed shows on Parisian, Persian, Chinese and Russian fashions followed. The Wanamaker's show in 1908 employed models and mannequins in elaborate *tableaux vivants.* In 1917 New York Wanamaker's staged the first 'sports fashion show.'

[18] The travel exhibition was so successful that Mitsukoshi set up a travel agency inside the store. Around this time seaside resorts and hot springs resorts began to develop. One of the most famous was the Takarazuka review with all female performers, founded in 1913 by Kobayashi Ichizo (1873-1957), the manager of the hot spring resort of

Until this time ordinary Japanese people had little sense of the vacation or leisure 'habit', and had no notion of going to resorts, travelling in order to take a rest, staying at resorts as a form of entertainment. It was a new lifestyle, which entailed a whole new learning curve of information gathering, what to wear, what to do, how to tune to the new experiences and sensations.

Mitsukoshi through the policies of the Ryukokai sought to introduce new ideas to Japanese people, but not in an abstract way or through lectures or the printed word, but through actualization, through presentation of originals and simulations, which was the keystone of the exhibition format. People could look, touch, handle and enter the material space of the cultural worlds to be presented. In effect it was a show, but also an invitation to see the backstage assembly areas and gain all knowledge about the process of actualization.

Hence Mitsukoshi tried to introduce new western ideas by not simply importing them, but by re-interpreting them for the Japanese cultural context. As a result, Mitsukoshi generated its own form of taste, 'Mitsukoshi taste,' (三越好み) which we discussed in the previous chapter, and this became identified with the 'Mitsukoshi brand'. A form of taste, which was a careful and imaginative combination of western taste and eastern customs.[19]

Many of the numerous events organized by the Ryukokai took up topics related to traditional Japanese culture, such as the exhibition of *Edo Taste* in 1915, the lectures on the nature of Edo

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Takarazuka, and founder of the Hankyu railroad and department store and impresario and twice cabinet minister (Robertson,1998:4) The Hankyu railroad (Minomoarima denki 箕面有馬電軌) developed a new railroad from Umeda to Takarazuka and re-developed it into a 'modern hot spring resort.' The Takarazuka Revue (Takarazuka Kagekidan 宝塚歌劇団) was established as a marketing strategy to generate a *modan* image for the new resort (Watanabe, 1999:18). It went on to become a much celebrated attraction with cult status, bringing in women from all over Japan.

[19] Mitsukoshi tried to introduce and expand the variety and range of 'objects', which could be appreciated and enjoyed by people in a more aesthetic way. The Japanese already had a strong sense of aesthetics since earlier times, such as the Heian, Kamakura and Edo eras. Although Japan did not experience the formal development of aesthetics as a branch of philosophy, as was the case in 18th century Europe, it can be argued that it had a sophisticated educated urban culture since the Edo era. The Japanese aesthetic sensibility had a highly nuanced sense of style, fashion and good taste, good manners and appropriate behaviour. This was coupled with an appreciation of *iki* (wit and style in presentation of self, demeanour and conversation.

taste in 1912, the lectures on Japanese taste before Samurai culture (*Bushi-do*) in 1913 (See Jinno, 1994:156ff). One of the most significant events was to generate 'the Genroku boom' in 1905 (see chapter 9 figure 9.22; figure 4.15). [20]

5. Formation of gender identity and the beauty ideal

From the 1890s onwards Mitsukoshi (Mitsui Gofuku Ten) began to use mass media publicity such as posters at railways stations, advertisements in newspapers, and their own magazines.[21] One particularly successful campaign was the *bijinga* (beauties) posters, featuring famous *shinbashi geisha*, which were displayed in full human size in the waiting rooms of railway stations from 1899 onwards (See Chapter 9, figure 9.23). In these sources they used mainly Japanese women, especially, women who were regarded as conforming to the Japanese ideal of beauty. Yet the Japanese ideal was not a singular standard. Although it drew on the beauty of high class women, there was also the additional standard of '*shinbashi geisha*'. In the Edo period, courtesans in the pleasure quarter 'floating world' districts such as Yoshiwara, had attracted a great deal of public attention as stylish women (*iki na onna* 粋な女). This standard somehow managed to survive through the attempts to supplant it with a more formal Victorian value code (at least in the public discourse). Hence in the early 20th century, people did not always have a negative image of women of the 'floating world' (Hibbett, 1959; Mitchiner, 1983;

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[20] Prize contests for textile patterns had been held by Mitsukoshi since 1899 and in 1905 it held a prize contest for Genroku patterns, which generated the boom for Genroku patterns. The idea for this came from Takahashi Yoshio, the newly appointed managing director, who asked the Mitsukoshi think-tank, Ryukokai, which formed a '*Genroku kenkyu kai*,' that is the Genroku period culture research group, established in August, 1905 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:45). The Genroku era occurred in early Edo, around 1688, being a time of the flourishing arts and fashion, with a boom of 'large and showy' patterned kimonos designed using sumptuous fabrics. In the wake of the victory in the Russo-Japanese war 1905 this style was revived. Genroku patterns became the rage and were applied not only to kimonos, but also popular song, dance, ties, *tabi* (Japanese socks), combs and so on (Yamaguchi, 1995:53).

[21] Echigoya opened its first Mitukoshi (三越洋服店) (the predecessor of Mitukoshi's western clothes section) tailor's shop in 1888. Echigoya advertised the opening day in newspapers in 1887 (Katsuta, 1972:57). Further adverts followed in *Tokyo Nichinichi* newspaper (東京日日新聞) in 1890（The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:31）.

Siegle, 1993).[22]

In this way, it can be seen that the form of advertising used by Mitsukoshi managed to take into account the traditional Japanese sense of aesthetics. This is a good example of the ways in which Mitsukoshi managed to create a style which drew on a number of separate and seemingly incompatible elements montaged together – a form of syncretism which is itself found in Japanese aesthetics and craft design. The intention was not primarily to innovate and adopt a Western sense of beauty, but also to take over elements drawn from the repertoire of traditional Japanese ideas of beauty. Japan already had a strong sense of aesthetics and style as we find in the appreciation of *'iki'* (style) *and 'inase'* (style).[23]

At the same time it should also be said that Mitsukoshi did not always work systematically to turn their customers into stylish 'ladies' and 'gentlemen'. Mitsukoshi's main interest was not only in replicating 'bourgeois lifestyles,' but also in providing 'modern' lifestyles. Hence, the primary formative influence on their construction of women's identity was the concept of 'modern life.' The focus then was not directly on reworking what it meant to be a woman, her appearance, sense of presentation and style, manifest in the clothes and make-up she wears; Mitsukoshi did not primarily seek to create a new form of femininity. Rather, this new image of being a woman came about through the placement of women in the midst of a new set of

[22] The image of women in the floating world changed a good deal over time. In early Meiji (the 1870s) 'women in the floating world' were defined as immoral women, as part of a process to define the previous defeated Tokugawa era as decadent, while at the same time presented Meiji Japan as embracing the civilized standards of the West. Fukuzawa Yukichi and Mori Arinori and other Meiji reformers were central to this redefinition. As part of the redefinition of marriage on a more egalitarian basis, in response to the attainment of civilized standards and also under pressure from Christian movements in Japan, prostitution was cast in a negative light. Some member of the *Meiroku* (明六) Meiji Six Society (Meiji reformers) insisted on a new evaluation of marriage and the place of women's rights within marriage, (see articles written by Mori Arinori (Vol.8,11,15,20,27), Katou Hiroyuki (vol.31), Fukuzawa Yukichi (vol.31) and articles on the abolition of prostitution, written by Tsuda Sadamichi (津田真道) (Vol. 42) in *Meiroku Zasshi* (明六雑誌) (Meiji six society magazine).

[23] The term *inase* originate in Edo and referred to the hairstyle of young workers in the fish market (*tsukiji*). They developed a reputation as urban or street, fashion leaders in the lower class, which became more widespread. The term *iki* also originated in Edo in the pleasure quarters such as Yoshiwara (often referred to in Western accounts as 'the floating world') and was associated with a particular stylish form of presentation of the person, which was not seen as an inherent quality a person is born with (e.g. a beautiful face), but having its source in cultivation, a result of a learning process and accumulation of sensitivity, grace and wit (see reference to Kuki Shûzô's (1888-1941) *Iki no Kôzô* above).

activities, artefacts and objects, which circumscribed the space of her activities. For Mitsukoshi, the modern woman, became a modern woman not through inculcating a specific set of ideologies or beliefs, but through adapting herself to live within the space of modern lifestyles. To operate and maintain them required new ways of acting, moving, thinking and organizing: and from this ground a new type of modern woman could emerge.

In a similar way, Mitsukoshi did not set out to create a new form of masculinity, but to create the formation of a 'modern' male gender identity through the encouragement of the adoption of modern lifestyles. Through its introduction of modern goods and contextualising them in terms of modern lifestyles, Mitsukoshi became seen by the public as a sort compendium of modern lifestyles.

There could be a number of reasons for this decision to emphasise modern lifestyles. Firstly, when Mitsukoshi sought to modernise their business and management practices, given the experience Takahashi had in his time at Wanamaker, along with the growing prestige and influence of U.S. commercial and service industries, they decided to follow the United States. Here the main doctrine was that in order to make the sales procedure more efficient, managers should pay systematic attention to the organisation of the selling space and the arrangement of stock (see Leach, 1993 on Wanamaker's). Hence, the department store itself was subjected to the latest business and managerial practices of the day and can be seen one of the test-beds for the modernization process (adopting techniques which were seen as the epitome of efficient, rational, systematic).

This can be summarised as involving a number of dimensions. Firstly, it was not just in industrial production, or the demonstration of military hardware or the inauguration of the latest transport technologies that modernity became manifest to Japanese people. Modernization became actualised in an area, which was usually seen as outside the normal state-economy-military areas of application: the everyday life world. The department store provided the materials, which furnished the domestic sphere, which provided the comfort systems of care and

maintenance in which women sought to provide emotional labour, healthy sustenance and habitus maintenance. By seeking to modernize the household, the home domain, via rationalized shopping and the publicity and demonstration of modern lifestyles (albeit blended with elements retained from the Japanese traditional practices and imagery) the reformers radicalised the potential for more extensive modern practices in Japan.

Secondly, many department stores were built in the centre of metropolises. Hence, many stores were positioned in and around the Ginza[24] in Tokyo after the 1923 earthquake.[25]

Edo-Tokyo had long been a major metropolis, and was expanding as rapidly as the main Western cities in the early decades of the 20th century. It reached a population of 3.35 million in 1920, more than doubling its size in two decades (Harootunian, 2000:8). It had a sophisticated and well educated urban public. The Ginza area was designed by the Japanese government (and rebuilt after the 1923 earthquake) to stand as an ideal modern city centre.[26]

In the 1920s Japan became preoccupied with the meaning of this modernity, the understanding and interpretation of the rapid change, the speed of urban life, the new institutions, sites and technologies of modern life such as the automobile, the cinema, the department store, the dance-

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[24] Ando (1931) discusses the rise of the Ginza around 1930 in his book *Ginza Saiken* (銀座細見). 'Formerly, the Ginza was not as popular as Nihonbashi, Kagurazaka, and Hongo, but when it became more popular the top three department stores, namely Mitsukoshi, Matsuya, and Matsuzakaya opened new branches there' (Ando, 1931:20-21) .

[25] Mitsukoshi, Matsuya, Matsuzakaya was already opened as draper shop in Ginza before earthquake. After the 1923 earthquake, Mitsukoshi opened in 5-chome Mamiki in Ginza on 22nd of November 1923 (Kaminogou, 1985:79). The current Mitsukoshi store built its branch in the Ginza in Tokyo in 1930 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:104). The current location of Matsuzakaya opened in 1938 and Matsuya opened in 1934 (Kaminogou, 1985:79).

[26] The term 'Ginza' originated in 1869. It was rebuilt after a fire in 1872 and redeveloped by the mayor of Tokyo-fu, Yuri Kimimasa with the intention to present it as 'the face of Japan.' When it was rebuilt, with prestigious brick buildings designed by a British architect, it was the first area in Japan to have pavements for pedestrians, and hence soon became associated with the stroller and *flâneur* (later, in the 1920s to be referred to in the popular vernacular as *Ginbura*). It became famous as a business area with newspaper headquarters and residences for foreigners. It also had many stores selling imported goods (Saegusa: women and children's clothes, Kimuraya: Western style bakery, Hattori clock shop, Shiseido parlour: ice cream soda, Itoya: stationary) (Kaminogou, 1985 : 76; Yoshimi, 1987:221) . Hence, Ginza became the symbol of the *modan* (modern) for all Japan.

hall, the café. A new popular public culture was emerging in Tokyo, with new personae, the *moga* (modern girls), the *mobo* (modern boys), the Marx boys, and the Engels girls. Young people began to adopt western styles and fashions more readily. Everyday life was changing and modernizing at a dizzy rate and the topic of intellectuals, novelists and artist who endeavoured to make sense of, to celebrate, or find a way out of the Japanese configuration of modernity (see Harootunian, 2000).

6. Practices: Exhibitions and events

Mitsukoshi developed a regular programme of exhibitions and events on a variety of themes such as: the arts, culture, modern lifestyles, travel, fashion, domestic science and housework, interior design, child care. The first cultural exhibition was 'Korin's posthumous works' (Japanese drawings)「光琳遺作作品展」in 1904 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:42). As mentioned above in the discussion of the Ryukokai, there was an effort to develop exhibitions which fitted in with the aim to brand Mitsukoshi taste as the style leader in Japan and hence there were numerous exhibitions on art, décor, lifestyles and new consumer leisure pursuits such as travel.

At the same time, some exhibitions were influenced by the government ideology *'fukoku kyouhei'* (rich country, strong army). For example, child care was one topic, so that women would bring up children to be healthier in line with the governmental desire for a strong and healthy population who could be mobilized for Japan's national project (efficient workers, soldiers, and healthy mothers). The government reform of everyday life campaigns were also featured to provide women with knowledge of nutrition science, hygiene and practical education. In line with the eugenicist theories of the day, reproduction the expansion of a genetically healthy national stock was seen as important (see Robertson, 2001).

Hence department stores were expected to play their part by encouraging people to get married

and have healthy families. This entailed providing information, events and exhibitions to encourage mothers to bring up healthy babies, and to encourage wives to restructure their domestic work to adapt to the new modern family. Department stores such as Mitsukoshi, given the close ties of their managers with the government, were eager to cooperate in the rationalization of everyday life. Although, in some of the campaigns this seemed to be anti-consumption (e.g. the thrift campaigns), for the stores this could easily be deflected into more carefully planned purchasing and rational consumption.

Main Exhibitions of Mitsukoshi 1900-1930

1904 Korin's art and drawings.
1914 Exhibition of advertisement and design (広告意匠) by Ryukokai.
1915 Exhibition on theatres and plays by Ryukokai.
1915 Bicentenary exhibition of Korin's works 光琳２００年忌と遺品展 by Ryukokai and Mitsukoshi jointly.
1915 Exhibition of Edo taste by Ryukokai
1915 Travel Exhibition.
1915 Exhibition on Kouyou's works (紅葉山人遺品展覧会) by Ryukokai.
1916 Exhibition of children's goods.
Mitsukoshi provided advice on the 'method' of child-rearing, and displayed children's clothes, toys, study aids etc.
1916 Mountains and hot springs exhibition (山と水展覧会) by Ryukokai.
1917 Exhibition of Meiji era lifestyles by Ryukokai （明治風俗展覧会）.
1919 Participated in Exhibition of Memorial Peace of Family （平和記念家庭博覧会）.
Proposal for western style rooms with mannequins).
1920 Participated in Exhibition for the Reform of Everyday Life (*seikatu-kaizenn).* Proposals for a 'new form of wedding ceremony' (more economical wedding).
1920 Western-Japanese style of furniture (和洋家具新作品陳列会).
1922 Sports Exhibition.
1924 Baby contest (Mitsukoshi Osaka Branch).
This was not just a contest. The contest was devised to attract women in and the structure also involved a form of 'seminar' or 'class' with advice and instruction on baby and infant healthcare.
1925 The new style kitchen showroom.
Mitsukoshi designed and featured a kitchen based on the latest western style and provided demonstrations using mannequins (dummies).
Mitsukoshi instructed how to use 'new style of kitchen' in the context of everyday life.
1927 First fashion-show (kimono).
First use of term: fashion-show.

7. The department store classificatory system and gender

How far were the Japanese stores such as Mitsukoshi predominately women's spaces? According to Kon Wajiro (1986:206) who carried out research on the gender composition of the customer base of Mitsukoshi in 1928, the ways in which goods are classified does not usually reveal sufficient data to make judgements about the gender of the purchaser. However, it could be ventured that the intention of the think tank in designing the layout of goods, the exhibitions and the emphasis upon modern lifestyles was aimed at encouraging both men and women to participate in the full range of activities of the store and enjoy Mitsukoshi in similar ways. Unlike some of the descriptions of department stores in Europe and the United States which emphasised the predominance of women and the ways in which the stores were designed as women's public sphere spaces (see discussion in previous chapter, especially in relation to Selfridges), the Japanese stores, at least in the first two decades of the 20th century had a more even gender balance.

The statistical evidence on the Mitsukoshi customer base shows that nearly the same number of men and women came into the store. Although, the number of men and women customers were almost the same, the duration of time spent in the department store was different. Women stayed longer than men. Kon concurred with the general impression that there were more women than men. Yet in fact there was not so big a difference in numbers. The difference between perception and reality lay in the fact that women stayed in the store twice as long as men, leading to an overestimation of the number of women (Kon, 1986; original research 25th November 1928).

7-1) The segregation of commodities and gender segregation

The goods available on display in department stores such as Mitsukoshi in the early decades of the 20th century were part of a complex classification system, in which the conceptual boundaries and divisions, and the penalties of transgression, were clearly manifest as one moved

around the store. In strongly gender coded societies, certain goods such as clothing, accessories, body maintenance and grooming aids and devices are clearly marked.[27] Hence commodities also have sexual meanings and boundaries between the sexes.

> Maintaining these meanings and boundaries were fundamental to the organisation of department store goods, sales personnel and profits. The rules governing the arrangement and sale of men's and women's commodities implicitly instructed customers in masculinity, femininity, sexuality and socially acceptable forms of relationships between the sexes. (Reekie, 1993:63)[28]

7-2) The organisation of department store goods

The unspoken rule of retailing was that women's goods were sold in distinctively female space, and men's in male space (Reekie, 1993:83). Men's and women's commodities were separated, not just horizontally into discrete departments, but also vertically on different floors of the building (Reekie, 1993:84).

The men's departments were usually located on the ground floor because, according to retail trade exports, a man preferred to do his shopping 'in the few minutes he has to spare on his way back to the office from lunch'. Male departments - and ladies' gloves, reportedly bought by men as gifts for women - were therefore located separately from drapery, and made easily accessible

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[27] On one level material goods can be considered as utilities. Yet they are also clearly symbolic entities, in which the symbolic value can seemingly override the material use-value, as we find in advertising and publicity for goods (an extreme version of this argument being that the expansion of publicity, has led to an overload of signs and images, an unstable field of 'floating signifiers', which become detached from material goods so that any meaning can be attached to any good (Baudrillard, 1983; see discussion in Featherstone, 1991). Yet while we do not need to follow the logic of this argument which is best applied to 'media saturated' societies (those some would designate 'postmodern'), it is possible to understand the development of consumer culture as leading to greater instability in the symbolic value, or sign value of goods, to the extent that goods cease to become straightforward objects, but are progressively more unstable temporary amalgamations of objective and imputed characteristics (see Appadurai, 1986; Dant, 1999). Yet one of the areas where this type of argument about the instability of goods as 'material-symbolic' entities runs into difficulties is with regard to the gender coding of objects.

[28] For example, a man's straw boater did more than keep the sun from its wearer's head. It also functioned as a sign of youth, social position, sartorial propriety and leisure. Above all, a man's boater represented masculinity. A lady's straw sailor hat may have been almost identical in appearance except for the addition of a decorative ribbon. But those few inches of ribbon transformed a masculine hat into a clearly feminine one. Despite similarities in function, different sexual meanings attached to a man's umbrella and a lady's parasol; a man's cravat and a lady's shawl (Reekie 1993:63).

from the street. Men disliked having to walk through the women's departments and found it an ordeal to 'pass under the gaze of rows of lady assistants through departments where are displayed women's garments, very often of an intimate nature.'[29]

7-3) Female desire and male desire

The majority of commentators have emphasised the close relationship between department stores and women (for example: Nava, 1996, 1997; Miller, 1981; Bowlby, 1982; Chaney, 1983). Department stores were not only seen as depending on women customers, but as providing specially designed spaces for women, in effect a rudimentary women's public sphere. Furthermore, these arguments were most likely to be linked to assumptions about the reform of women’s gender identity and the emergence of new representation of femininity.

Yet we should also consider the possibility for stores to have a potential role in the reformation of male identity and in generating new representation of masculinity. An examination of the case of the English store Selfridges might help to provide some answers to this question. According to Laura Ugolini, who carried out an investigation of ‘Retailers' adverts, men and masculinity, c.1890-1914,’ Selfridges had a 'gentleman's department' in 1909. She stated that there is little doubt that most of publicity was aimed at attracting women to the store. Gordon Selfridge himself saw much of his success as based on his ability to attract female customers' (Ugolini, 1999). In her conclusion, she pointed out that 'adverts of Selfridges played upon masculine anxieties and fears of failure, particularly in the workplace, as well as on desires to escape from the confines of the domesticity.’ She continues,

> but more importantly, and more pervasively, adverts - whether they were selling clothes

[29] This marked aversion to the accessories and spaces of femininity led the *Draper of Australia* to suggest in 1915 that proprietors consider having separate men's and women's entrances to their store (Reekie, 1993:85). Lancaster (1995) also mentions that Bainbridge’s in Newcastle actually instituted separate men’s and women’s entrances in the late nineteenth century. Apart from men's aversion to being caught in female space, sales experts also stressed that effective marketing and display needed to be sexual-differentiated. Retail trade journals advised proprietors that they could not expect to operate men's department in the same way as women's; they should be run separately and on different principles.

suitable for everyday were, or for leisure activities - played on aspirations towards a 'gentlemanly' life-style, with all it connotations of ease, luxury and social superiority, which I think is as revealing of late Victorian and Edwardian masculine identities, as it is of retailers' merchandising techniques. (Ugolini, 1999)

This example taken from Selfridges advertisements makes it clear that men went shopping to department stores in order to pursue a form of male desire, such as to be 'gentlemen'. Selfridges provided an ideal type of positive image of the gentlemen through its advertisements. This particular notion of being a gentleman not only constituted 'male gender identity,' it also helped shift this identification towards the new representation of 'manhood'.

8. The ratio of male customers and female customers in Mitsukoshi

Kon Wajirô provided a systematic investigated into 'the Mitsukoshi customer base,' using ethnographic and observational data techniques involving counting, timing, and the used of coded categories on dress and presentation. He carried out his research on Sunday, 25th of December, 1928 (it was sunny day), in front of the main Mitsukoshi entrance, observing for a 30 minutes period (between 15:00 and 15:30 pm) and reported in *Fujin no Tomo,* January, 1929. Kon also investigated the classification of commodities in Mitsukoshi and reported that it was structured in terms of floors.

The Organization of Goods in Mitsukoshi	
Basement -	everyday goods (down market)
Ground floor -	foods, cosmetics, and souvenirs
1st floor -	'*gofuku*' (expensive *kimono*)
2nd floor -	more expensive commodities such as wedding goods and top kimono
3rd floor -	western clothes, jewellery and accessories
4th floor -	furniture, electrical products, radios, musical instruments, restaurant
5th floor-	western chinaware plus exhibition space
6th floor-	hairdressers, theatre, gallery

Mitsukoshi's directory floor plan 1926 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:95)

He reports that the higher class tended to be go the higher floor, which displayed luxurious

goods, while the lower class were most likely to go the lower floor, such as the basement which sold the necessities of everyday life (food etc). Hence it is clear that there was social class segmentation between floors. Kon's research showed that the number of male and female customers was practically equal.

<<Table 4.1>> Characteristics of Mitsukoshi's customers 1928: Age

Years old	Man(%)	Woman(%)
0	9.0	12.5
10	8.0	17.0
20	27.0	25.4
30	24.5	19.6
40	16.3	16.3
50	12.5	7.2
60	2.2	Under2.2

(Source: Kon and Yoshida (1930) 'Kogengaku', reprinted in 1986 by Gakuyou Shobou:206-212)

<<Table 4.2 >> Characteristics of Mitsukoshi's customer 1928: Types of men (475 people)

	Number	Rate
Gentleman	145	30.5%
Others	110	23.2%
Student	97	20.4%
Child	51	10.7%
Merchant	36	7.6%
Rural Person	27	5.7%
Soldier	9	1.9%
Foreigner	0	0.0%

(Source: Kon and Yoshida (1930) 'Kogengaku', reprinted in 1986 by Gakuyou Shobou:206-212)

<<Table 4.3>> **Characteristics of Mitsukoshi's customer 1928**: Types of woman (488 people)

	Number	Rate
Housewife	150	30.7%
Child	117	24.0%
Student	81	16.6%
Working woman	46	9.4%
Young girls	44	9.0%
Rural person	20	4.1%
Others	14	2.9%
Maid	13	2.7%
Foreigner	3	0.6%

(Source: Kon and Yoshida (1930) 'Kogengaku', reprinted in 1986 by Gakuyou Shobou:206-212)

<<Table 4.4>> **Characteristics of Mitsukoshi's customer 1928**: Gender and Age distribution

	Number	Rate
Male	1,077	48.2%
Female	1,065	47.7%
Children	92	4.1%
Total:	2,234	

(Source: Kon and Yoshida (1930) 'Kogengaku', reprinted in 1986 by Gakuyou Shobou:206-212)

<<Table 4.5>> **Characteristics of Mitsukoshi's customer 1928**:

Style of dress: Western clothes or Japanese clothes (kimono) (see figure 4.16)

Men -	wearing western style of dress	61%
Women -	wearing Japanese style of dress	84%

(Source: Kon and Yoshida (1930) 'Kogengaku', reprinted in 1986 by Gakuyou Shobou:206-212)

From this field research, we can see that the majority of the customers were in the 20s-30s age group. Many were members of the 'new middle class' who lived in the suburbs of Tokyo (*Yamanote)* and most of them were salaried worker with their families. They were 'newcomers'

to the city, whose origins were from outside of Tokyo and they were away from the surveillance of family and relatives. Hence they were less bound to sets of interdependencies and obligations with their own customs and rituals. They were more attracted to 'the new' and 'the modern.' This did not just mean 'new commodities' (e.g. electrical goods such as washing machines). It could also mean that they enjoyed 'new social experiences' such as wearing Western clothes, taking summer holidays with their immediate (nuclear) family, as opposed to the more traditional forms of pilgrimage, return to *furusato* (or the home, family) Robertson, 1997). It can be argued that this group was more open to innovation and became more ready to adapt to new lifestyles. Hence, it can be said that the new middle class who were among the main customers of Mitsukoshi were intrinsically interested in the 'modern' way of life. Furthermore this suggests that both men and women were interested in exploring the various dimensions of the 'modern' as a cultural form.[30]

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[30] The magazine, *Kindai Seikatsu,* 近代生活 (*Modern Life*) was full of information on the new lifestyles. The first issue was in 1929 and it was very much a practical advice guide to modern living and lifestyle construction. (See discussion of mew middle class modern lifestyles in chapter 8 below).

Chapter 5: Working Women and Governmental Gender Ideology

1. Introduction

It was suggested in the previous chapter that the department store could be seen as a significant site where the modernizing process of Japanese society was made visible. It was also a site in which the everyday classifications with which people handled goods and organized everyday experiences were transformed. In addition it has been argued that the organizing principles of becoming familiar with and sampling new lifestyles and developing a new sense of style and good taste involve practical aesthetic judgements. Department stores provided sites for women to develop a new range of skills with the potential of gaining confidence in their capacities to handle and form tastes which could potentially alter both their family lifestyles and their own identities. At the same time we need to consider department stores not only as consumption sites, but as places where women worked. We need to see the saleswomen as themselves standing for a new type of knowledgeable woman who could develop through experiences outside the home. The new saleswomen, shop girls and other service workers emerged in the city and provided new models for women.

This chapter initially examines the rise in women's employment[1] from a socio-historical

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[1] It is important to remark on the term 'working woman.' In Japanese the term *shokugyo fujin* (職業婦人), began to be used more regularly after World War I. Although it means women who worked, it was not generally used to indicate the generic category. Rather it emerged as a term distinguished from the term *rodo fujin* (労働婦人, literally labouring woman) which also means working woman, but was used to refer to specific occupation such as mining, factory girls, agricultural and fisheries workers. *Shokugyo fujin,* literally means occupation woman, and was used to refer to jobs which involved some mental labour, such as teachers, typists, office ladies, saleswoman, nurses,

perspective, focusing on the period 1900 to the late 1920s. To do this, it is impossible to ignore the crucial impact of World War I on the rise of working women. In fact, World War I led to some demographic imbalance between the sexes. Consequently, women had to engage in men's work as men were dispatched as troops during and immediately after the War. Women become workers who produced weapons and a wide range of industrial goods. Middle and upper class women also became more involved in, and in some cases ran, family businesses such as a director/president of companies - traditionally seen as male occupations (Ueno, 1990:187). A similar pattern of the War enhancing the perceived social value and status of women as that which occurred in England and other participating nations (see Bolt, 1993:236ff). The shift in women's status carried over into the 1920s, a decade in which women were more visible in work, public life, and the new media.

But it was not the direct effects of war alone with job substitution which was the key factor. Rather the indirect effect on the economy was more salient. The First World War effectively removed most of the Western industrial nations from competition in world markets and also the Japanese domestic market, thus creating major opportunities for Japan to substitute domestically produced goods for imports and to increase exports as well (Crawcour, 1988:388). The war was a highly significant event in the industrialization of Japan. As Crawcour (1988:388) remarks

> The result was an unprecedented boom in which all sectors of the economy participated, but those industries in the forefront of modern developments, like engineering, shipbuilding, machine tools and electrical engineering, grew fastest. Despite a postwar slump and a succession of economic difficulties throughout the 1920s, the World War I boom firmly established the viability of modern industry in Japan.

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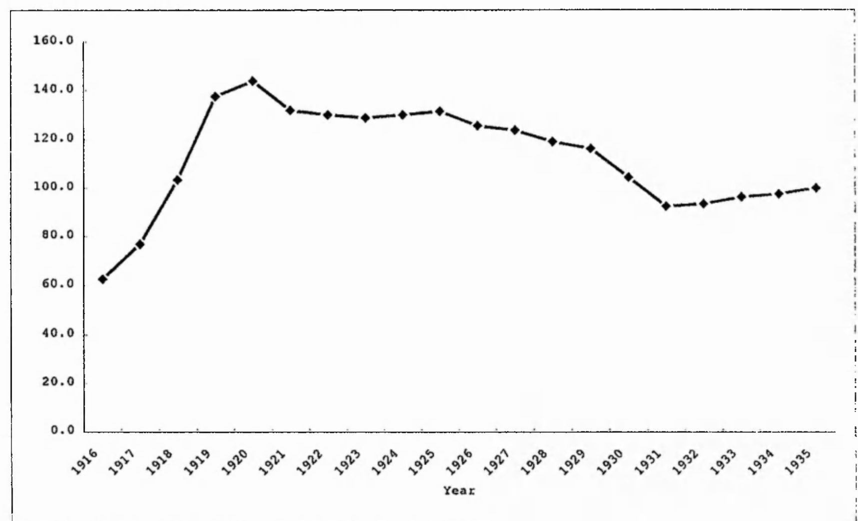
telephone operators etc. The vast majority of these were modern jobs and predominately found in the city. Hence our discussion in this chapter will focus on this latter use of working women, *shokugyo fujin*. It was this group which were prominent and visible in the new urban spaces and who became associated with modern lifestyles and seen as the 'modern girl,' a particular form of the new woman.[1]

An additional factor towards the end of the First World War was the dramatic shift in the consumer price index between 1917 and 1918 (in 1917 prices went up 76.9%, in 1918 103.5% (see Koyama , 1999:71, Table 5.1).

<<Table 5.1>> Fluctuations of the price index

Year	Index
1916	62.7
1917	76.9
1918	103.5
1919	137.7
1920	144.0
1921	132.0
1922	130.0
1923	128.8
1924	130.0
1925	131.6
1926	125.6
1927	123.7
1928	119.0
1929	116.2
1930	104.4
1931	92.4
1932	93.4
1933	96.3
1934	97.6
1935	100.0



(Source: 'Long term economic statistics', Toyo Keizai Shinpousha, 1967 cited in Koyama, 1999:71)

The price inflation hit everyone with one consequence being the rice riots. For the middle class, it became difficult for women to stay at home, and the need to support the family budget forced many into work. Consequently, the dominant image of women began to shift. Women now had to support the family and their income was now primary, not secondary or ancillary. This meant that

it was less likely for them to spend money on themselves (clothes, cosmetics and leisure). Hence, consumption became restricted, and thrift became the dominant ethos.[2]

The first section considers the consequences of the rise of working women to show not only the new tendencies in women's employment, but also the changing social position of working women. In particular, it focuses on the government's role in developing a new gender ideology, which aimed at legitimating women's work under condition of 'national mobilization' during wartime.[3]

In the period 1900-1930 we see a number of shifts in the attitude of the government towards women working. In late Meiji, at a time when demands for women's works were increasing, the campaign to reinforce more traditional gender definitions of women's role was strong. Negative images of working women proliferated in the media and the image and work was presented as leading to the danger of 'loose morals' for women. The campaigns for women to remain in the home were built around the revival of the Confucian doctrine of 'good wife, wise mother,' with its strong gender division of labour. This image gained some positive publicity at the time of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 with the empress and other notables carrying out charity work and caring for victims of the war. It also became part of the education curriculum in the expanding number of girl's schools.[4]

Yet in the middle class too, there was a struggle between the 'good wife, wise mother' ideal and

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[2] The attitude that thrift was centrally important for Japan, persisted throughout the 1920s at a time when consumer culture was developing (it also became a central issue under the military rule in the 1930s). One of the central icons of consumer culture, the modern girls were criticised because of their image as 'pure consumers and 'big spenders'. The '*moga'* was presented as outmoded, as we find in the satire '*Moga-ko* and *Mobo-rou*'in *Fujin Gahou*, which started in 1928 (Ozaki, 1978) (see figure 11.3).

[3] This occurred in both World War I and World War II. Ueno pointed out that it was inevitable that there was a contradiction between the two women's ideologies provided by the government, who wanted to use women's labour and also wanted women to stay at home as a good wife and wise mother. Ueno remarks that there were many posters which delivered the government's message to women: 'you can work like a man, but it does not mean that you'll lose your femininity' in America and Europe during the First World War and the Second World War (Ueno, 1990:185). From this time on, women were able to go out to work in order to contribute to the national effort, something which had previously been impossible. Yet this did not necessarily mean that women became free from the patriarchal family system, or 'patriarchal capitalism' (Ueno, 1990:127).

[4] It was, however, difficult for the working class to accept the doctrine, because working class women had already been in the labour market and needed to support their families. In rural areas, for example, women's labour was very important in agriculture.

the attractions of greater independence of the 'new woman.' The latter, did of course work, and as we will see in the following chapter, some of the new occupations for working women, such as shop girls (who only saw work as a temporary phase before marriage and the role of 'good wife, wise mother,') became seen as attractive and glamorous. It should be added that from late Meiji onwards, the idea of the new woman, and the rights of women to work and have greater freedom, became a socio-political issue which gained support amongst intellectuals such as Tsubouchi Shouyou （坪内逍遥）. Women's rights also gained support from the burgeoning socialist movements and became a public issue, which was debated in the press and (see discussion in chapter 10 below).

2. The rise of women's employment

From 1885 to 1920, the population of Japan increased by 45 percent and the total output of the economy rose 2.6 times (Crawcour, 1988:387). This period saw a shift between the sectors of the economy, with the non-agricultural workforce doubling from 6.5 million to around 13 million, with the biggest increase in manufacturing, followed by commerce, transport, communications and the service sector. One of the most important parts of the manufacturing sector was the textile industries, which was the only light industry to be established using modern technology and organization prior to World War I (Crawcour, 1988:423).

<<Table 5.2>> The changing number of women employed

Year	Number of Factory Workers: a	Number of female factory workers: b (b/a)%		Number of female factory workers in the spinning industry: c (c/b)%	
1914	1,017,619	586,065	57.59%	486,481	83.01%
1922	1,762,905	872,202	49.48%	689,195	79.02%
1924	1,857,003	944,774	50.88%	759,730	80.41%
1926	1,943,657	996,301	51.26%	811,344	81.44%
1928	2,007,936	1,002,850	49.94%	808,582	80.63%
1930	1,884,334	928,614	49.28%	740,944	79.79%

(Source: 'The survey of labour statistics', Cabinet statistical section, 1937 cited in Miki, 1996:25)

Women had been involved in greater numbers in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors of the economy in the Meiji era. They became central to the cotton spinning and textile industry which was one of the most profitable sectors of the economy, and has been regarded as a key element in the spurt to industrialization in the 1890s (Yamamura, 1974:326) (table 5.2). It has been argued that:

> By 1890 women had become the backbone of the developing Japanese industrial economy. Female workers outnumbered men in light industries, especially in textiles, where a work force that was 60 to 90 percent female produced 40 percent of the gross national product and 60 percent of the foreign exchange during the late nineteenth century.
> (Nolte and Hastings, 1991:153)

In the research on working women by Tokyo City[5] carried out in 1922, an earlier Tokyo Recruitment Centre report from 1919 is cited which shows the number of working women at 3,581,183 (Tokyo City Research, 1924:65; Murakami, 1983: 55).[6] With the total number of women in Japan at 27,000,000, working women made up 13% (table 5.3).

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[5] The 1922 data was incorporated in the 1924 report. This is the most significant early data. Although, the increasing numbers of women's workers were noticeable, the Meiji and Taisho government did not conduct research (Murakami, 1983:54). Therefore, it is hard to find reasonable statistical data. In 1923, the Osaka local recruitment centre (大阪地方職業紹介事務局) compiled data from 69 recruitment centre's and made a report on wage levels. This data could well be the first reliable data on working women (Murakami, 1983:55). In his investigation of working women, Murakami focused on the Tokyo City Research Report of 1924, which is the most reliable data on the conditions of working women.

[6] Hereafter this and subsequent research by Tokyo City will be referred to as 'Tokyo City Research.' All the research cited which was conducted over a number of years between 1922 and 1938 were surveys of women's employment. Confusingly, there were also a number of women's employment reports carried out by the Tokyo Prefecture (i.e. larger metropolitan area) which are also referred to by year. Information for further research on women's employment for both Tokyo City and Osaka City is referred to in the same way.

<<Table 5.3>> The number of women employed by sector

Number of employed women by sector, Japan 1919		
Agriculture	1,315,900	36.74%
Manufacturing and mining	980,000	27.37%
Professions (doctors, teachers etc)	429,544	11.99%
Commerce (office ladies etc.)	400,000	11.17%
Marine products	324,000	9.05%
Domestic workers (maids etc)	91,000	2.54%
Construction work	10,200	0.28%
Total	3,581,183	

(Source: Tokyo City Research, 1924)

There are a number of reasons for the increase in working women. Firstly, in the post-war reconstruction phases after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and during World War I (1914-1918), there was an expansion of women's job opportunities. The picture is complicated, as the First World War boom led to rapid inflation and increases in wages with more favourable terms of trade for Japan, but after the war there was a sustained period of deflation and recession in the 1920s (Yamamura, 1974:302).

The first three decades of the twentieth century caught the Japanese economy in a number of cycles whose effects are difficult to evaluate. Yamamura (1974:325) captures the tensions and difficulty of reading the Taisho and early Showa economy:

> The difficulties in evaluating the Taisho period and the early Showa years become obvious when we attempt to summarize significant events of these years. The effects of the First World War boom, with the strong impetus it provided for the industrialization of Japan, must be considered against the prolonged recession of the 1920s. The continued development of the heavy metal, chemical and other industries which made Japan an industrial power must be evaluated against the Rice Riots, stagnant real wages, a hard-pressed agricultural sector, the weak Factory Act, and other 'costs' to the Japanese people. The increased power of the zaibatsu banks and the emergence of a dual structure were an integral part of the Taisho economy.

Ueno (1990:184) argues that war causes a massive rise in both production and consumption. Hence, to fill up the huge shortages of products and labour power, women became seen as cheap labour. This meant that it was possible for capitalists to employ large number of women at low wage levels.[7] A similar stimulation effect occurred after the major Tokyo earthquake of 1923 which took place in an economic recession, with the reconstruction boom generating a wave of prosperity. The same theory can be used here as that which is used to explain the 'war boom'.[8]

Secondly, a new positive perception of working women appeared on the part of some intellectuals, who insisted that women need to be economically independent. For example, the socialist Akaba Hajime (赤羽 一) (1875-1912), was critical of women's economic reliance on men in the *Tokyo Shakai* newspaper, 5th June 1908 (Hayashi and Nishida, 1961 :262). Yosano Akiko, a famous poet and feminist, also entered into 'the controversy on the protection of motherhood' insisting on women's need for economic independence in *Taiyo,* September 1918 (Kano and Kouuchi, 1985: 219-236). However, the dominant view was that working woman were morally irresponsible and they were stigmatised (Kawashima, 1996:114-115, Saito, 2000:90).

The expansion of the economy, especially after the Russo-Japanese War and in the First World War led to the greater use of women as an alternative source of cheap labour. Between 1920 and 1930 the majority of factory workers were women, although by the end of the decade men had established themselves in the better well-paid jobs (Harootunian, 2000:11). The transformations in the nature of urban life, especially after the major earthquake (1923), with an expansion of the service and consumption sector, provided new opportunities for women who became visible in the city both as consumers and workers. They began to adopt new forms of sociability in the new work and public spaces. Women began to pay more attention to their appearance, the possibilities for transformation attainment of a 'new women's attractiveness'. The tendency was for women to be more active and visible, and many were seen as being more sophisticated, refined and stylistic.

[7] Ueno (1990:184) regards war as a necessary 'dumping ground' for an expanding economy.

[8] Women normally worked in more menial work for lower pay, and their position was more that of unskilled or semi-skilled workers. They were not able to work in mainstream business management, but had to be content with the role of assistant or typist. It was very rare that women could become a manager. Therefore, women faced a strong

The new forms of urban life meant working women became more independent. As one critic commented 'shop girls become beautiful and they have own expression' (Kitazawa, 1925:172-178 cited in Yoshimi, 1995c:34).

The expansion of the numbers of working women began to be reflected in the popular culture in the Taisho era which started to cater for their tastes.[9] The vast majority of working women were not committed to their work in any career or professional sense, rather work was a means to gain supplementary income, attain some independence for a few years prior to marriage and enable them to sample some of the new lifestyle on offer. Hence women were not expected to make work a vocation, but to see work as a part of an intermediate exploratory stage.[10]

At the same time we should be aware that the majority of women working in 1919 were in the agricultural sector, followed by a large number in manufacturing, especially the cotton textile industries. Wage levels in these sectors were very low. The conditions of the girls (many of them being recruited from the countryside via indented labour contracts with their parents) in the urban textile factories were very bad with long shifts (12 hours) and closely supervised, spartan dormitory accommodation. According to Crawcour (1988:427; see also Saxonhouse, 1976; Morita, 1958) about half absconded within a few months and only around one in ten stayed for three or more years. There were prolonged struggles on the part of the women to organise themselves and fight for better conditions (see discussion in chapter 10 below). In many ways these were the women who became independent and self-educated in the practicalities of gender politics and capitalism. Clearly, these groups did not have the facilities to become stylish urban working women. Yet, they engaged in a vicarious consumption through passing around magazines and word of mouth.

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limit to their ambitions.

[9] Up to this time, it was generally assumed that women should spend most of their lives inside the confines of the home. For the middle and upper classes in particular, 'a non-working women' was seen as a key sign of bourgeois family status (Kawamura, 1993:191).

[10] See Chapter 6, section 4-2-(1) 'the increase of saleswomen,' below. Maieda discusses saleswomen's length of service in the department store in his book *Working Women's Stories* (「職業婦人物語」) in 1929, remarking that

As the 1920s unfolded there was an increase in the proportion going into the service sector. It was these new working woman[11] in the city which caught the public imagination. New occupations, such shop girls, bus conductresses, telephone operators and cinema ushers, meant that women had to learn the new presentational skills, which we now refer to as 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1987; Smith, 1999:115).

3. The condition of working women (*shokugyo fujin,* 職業婦人) in the 1920s and 1930s

Although the Japan faced a major recession in the wake of World War I, social reconstruction work generated a major economic upsurge, but this was followed by inflation and economic shortages. According to a report from public recruitment centres, women's employment stood at 220,000 in 1922, increasing to 330,000 in 1926 (Maeda, 1929:28).[12] Women's labour tended to be predominately concentrated in the agriculture and forestry sectors at 62%, with commerce at 10.1%, and manufacturing industries at 15.5% in 1920. By 1930, the order had changed with the percentage of women in commerce at 13.8%, higher than that of manufacturing (13.5 %). There was a clear shift from women into the tertiary industries, such as commerce, services and transport-communication industry (shops, offices and communications), rather than industry (factories) (Tazaki, 1990:168) (table 5.4; table 5.5).

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saleswomen did not work for a long time with most of them resigning within one year (Maeda, 1929:141).

[11] See footnote 1 for the distinction between the general category of working women (i.e. all women who work) and the specific category (women working in modern occupations such as saleswomen, secretaries, telephone operators etc).

[12] Throughout the 1920s the tendency was for men to replace women in the manufacturing centre with the men gaining better pay conditions and security. The magazine, *Modan Nippon* (Modern Japan) in its first issue, October, 1930, had an article entitled 'Kaisha, Kaisha, Kaisha' (company, company, company), which investigated top Japanese companies, such as the Mitsui and Mitsubishi *zaibatu* providing details on their salaries, facilities and lifestyles. *Modan Nippon* chose the topic of *kaisha* and salarymen as they were becoming more prominent in the public eye. The *kaisha* were also starting to consider the job for life philosophy (Sato Takeshi, 1982). There was also a movie *A Salaryman's Life* (1929), produced by Noda Kougo (野田高梧) and Ozu Yasujiro （小津安二郎） (Sato Tadao, 1995:213).

<<Table 5.4>> Working population by sector, 1920

	Total (thousand)	Male (thousand)	Female (thousand)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Total	27,202	16,979	10,223	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Agriculture	14,128	7,750	6,378	51.9%	45.6%	62.4%
Marine	558	517	41	2.1%	3.0%	0.4%
Mining	424	328	97	1.6%	1.9%	0.9%
Industry	5,300	3,716	1,584	19.5%	21.9%	15.5%
Commerce	3,188	2,158	1,030	11.7%	12.7%	10.1%
Transport	1,037	975	62	3.8%	5.7%	0.6%
Office worker	1,442	1,134	308	5.3%	6.7%	3.0%
Maid	596	63	533	2.2%	0.4%	5.2%
Others	527	337	190	1.9%	2.0%	1.9%

(Source: The report of the national census in 1920 cited in Tazaki, 1990:167)

<<Table 5.5>> Working population by sector, 1930

	Total (thousand)	Male (thousand)	Female (thousand)	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Total	29,620	19,030	10,589	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Agriculture	14,140	7,743	6,397	47.7%	40.7%	60.4%
Marine	547	501	46	1.8%	2.6%	0.4%
Mining	251	210	41	0.8%	1.1%	0.4%
Industry	5,700	4,269	1,430	19.2%	22.4%	13.5%
Commerce	4,478	3,014	1,464	15.1%	15.8%	13.8%
Transport	1,108	1,029	79	3.7%	5.4%	0.7%
Office worker	2,044	1,692	352	6.9%	8.9%	3.3%
Maid	781	84	697	2.6%	0.4%	6.6%
Others	571	488	83	1.9%	2.6%	0.8%

(Source: The report of the national census in 1930 cited in Tazaki, 1990:168)

The main women's job categories were farmers assistants, housekeepers (maid), commerce assistants, farmers (owner), thread spool assistants, waitress, mechanics, sericulture assistants (making silk), and shop owners. Some of these job were dominated by women, such as thread spool assistants, nurse, waitress, housekeepers, involving more than ten times the numbers of women as men in 1930 (Tazaki, 1990 : 174-175).

With the expansion of the service sector, many new types of women's jobs become popular in the

1920s, such as bus conductresses, department store saleswomen, café waitresses and so on. These new occupations not only improved women's employment opportunities, but also provided ambivalent images of working women. On hand, their image was more active, competent, modern, (and to some extent) glamorous. For example, the women's magazine, *Fujin Kurabu* (婦人クラブ) in 1926 introduced women's new jobs, such as shop-girls (August), and typists (September) (Saito, 2000:46-47). On the other hand, there were negative images, such as in the 1931 report entitled 'The view of working women'(*Shokugyou fujin sensen no tenbou,* 職業婦人戦線の天望) which reported that working women were worried about their negative image and the public's reaction. Some elevator girls confessed that they were looked down on by customers. Bus conductresses reported that people treated them with contempt (Tazaki, 1990:191).

This prejudice against working women in the middle classes persisted in the 1920s, despite an increase in the number of female high school graduates entering work or further education and decline in the numbers who immediately married after graduation. These women's junior school graduates (*jyo gakkou,* 女学校, women's junior school) tended to be middle class. They used to marry after graduation through arranged marriage. The percentage of student who started work in 1917 was 3.4%, rising to 3.9% in 1918, 4.8% in 1919, 4.0% in 1920, 5.0% in 1921. Hence, only a very small number of working women came from the middle class and many of these felt inferior and stigmatised as members of the 'sinking' middle class)[13] (Tokyo City Research, 1924:63-64).

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the self-perception of some of the working women was very positive. One working woman remarked that she only went to work to support her family, and that before this she was negative and in a hopeless state. Once she started to work, her self-esteem increased rapidly (*Jogaku Sekai,* Women's World (女学世界) *1921,* cited in Konno, 2000:76). Some women, then, gained confidence and enjoyed the challenges and difficulties of work. Hence, with the increase in the demand for labour, the attitude of women in

[13] The number of student who entered further education increased from 15.1% in 1917 to 24.8% in 1920 (Tokyo City

the suburbs of cities such as Tokyo changed. Greater numbers of women workers began to flow into the city. For middle class women, work became an attractive option and with the emergence of new types of women's jobs not only a 'new image of working women' was beginning to circulate, but along with it the sense that this was part of a broader process involving the appearance of a more general 'new women'.[14]

4. Perceptions of working women

One working woman commenting on her situation in the mid-1920s, remarked

> When I am in the house, I have to stay in a space about 9 shaku, 2 ken square (around 270 x 360 square cm.), while I feel free when I am working in a magnificent building. (*Fujin no Kuni,* May 1926, , cited in *Gendai no Esupuri*; Tazaki, 1990 : 184)

In this section we will examine the views of working women themselves along with those of some of the intellectuals of the day. In addition, we will also examine the central government's attempts during the early 1900s, to fashion a particular ideology of working women, one which would serve the ends of the rising Japanese nation-state.

The government's policy was caught between encouraging women to go out to work to build up the economy and strengthen the national effort, and asking women to be 'good wives and wise mothers' and stay at home. One compromise position was to recommend women to take up a 'part-time job in the home.' An exhibition on part-time work' was held by the Tokyo City administration in 1918 (Koyama, 1999: 74). The woman's magazine, *Katei Zasshi* (1903-1909) ran features in issue 15 to 32 to introduce women's part-time work in the home (*naishoku*, 内職). Ueno interprets this move as reinforcing the assumption that the key criterion for a suitable

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Research, 1924:63-64).

[14] According to the 1924 Tokyo City research report, the increase in numbers of working women resulted from: the financial crisis of the middle classes, the effects of the women's emancipation movement, and the transformation of the economy producing new types of jobs (Tokyo City Research, 1924:63).

women's job is that it should not disturb domestic family work. Hence, *naishoku* was considered to be the perfect women's job (Ueno, 1994:212).

4-1) Voices of working women

The ideal woman working was a controversial social issue in the early decades of the 20th century. We will examine below some of the media reactions (critical) and some of the voices of working women themselves. Research on working women conducted by Tokyo City Research in 1931 illustrates the ways in which the expansion of female employment and the changes it produced had become a major social issue. Various new female jobs, such as `petrol station girls' (*gasorin garu*) (figure 5.1), 'mannequin girls' (*manekin garu*) (figure 5.2), who performed at fashion shows and 'newspaper girls' who sold newspapers on streets were cited as new women's jobs and used on the cover of the research report.

These new types of occupations were presented on the cover in order to provide a positive and attractive image of working women. In reality the most common job were factory girls, office workers, telephone operators and nurses. Some kinds of technical job, such as telephone operators and skilled occupations such as nursing, required a certain level of education and training and women needed to pass examinations in order to qualify. Although there was a tendency to present working women as a totally new type of women, and some of them might well have been well-educated women, the reality was that working women did not always share a positive view of their work. This is particularly so, if we examine public reactions in the first decade of the 20th century.

Tokyo Nichinichi newspaper (東京日日新聞), 25th June 1902, reported 'Degenerate female students and working women who had loose morals and had become guilty of anti-social behaviour. The reporter went on to identify nurses and telephone operators as also showing the same behaviour as the 'degenerate' female students. The article stated that

> Today's women students, who live in the Hongo area in Tokyo, lead a dissolute life. They

> should be controlled strictly. It was, however, not easy to supervise them, because nurses, and telephone operators and factory girls who also lived in and around Hongo in Tokyo, also lived a debauched life. Most of them did not have a suitable person in *loco parentis* or supervisor. (Tokyo *Nichinichi* newspaper, 25th June, 1902 cited in Kawashima, 1996:116)

It was generally accepted, then, at this time, that working women were often seen as women of 'loose morals' (Murakami, 1983:21; Tazaki, 1990:182). At this time in the early years of the 20th century, even telephone operators could come from the families of samurai or major merchants. They were clearly not working class women. According to an interview with a telephone operator, some of the richer upper class girls even came to the workplace by *Jinrikisha* (rickshaw 人力車). They even had a 'maid' to bring their daily lunchbox to them (Murakami,1977:214; Kawashima, 1996:115). It is worth adding, that even at that time, using rickshaw and house maid were strictly for the middle classes and those above them. Hence many of the women in the new modern jobs were initially middle class. These jobs were often accorded high prestige, they used new technology and although they were usually semi-skilled they carried the aura of the 'new' and 'modern.' In fact, many of these jobs became women's jobs to drive down the wage levels and exclude men. Because there were relatively few men in these occupations, for parents, intent on delivering their daughters safely into an arranged marriage, they seemed a safer option.

This suggests that the target of the article was those working women who came from the lower orders, such as poor farmer's families, who had migrated to the city to seek out work to support their families and were subsequently free from surveillance and control. These were the girls most likely to cause problems and catch the public eye. In contrast, the working women, who came from the new middle class who lived in the Tokyo suburbs and usually had jobs, which required higher qualifications, worked not only to supplement family income, but for job satisfaction (or experience).

A further source on the public's negative perception of working women, is the reactive comments of the women themselves who clearly felt aggrieved that they were associated with 'loose' or 'bad women', just because they had their own jobs and the capacity to make money. One women

commented in the research on working women by Tokyo and Osaka City in 1927 (Tokyo and Osaka City Research, 1927).

> I am very unhappy with the public reputation of working women which is normally very insulting. I hope some of the people who supported ordinary Japanese women and who still dreamed of improving women's conditions a century ago, are able to identify the true evidence about the social position of working women... We always face insulting treatment everywhere we go. My colleagues at work are very poor, but they have good minds. It is very rare to find 'bad girls'. Therefore, the unjust reputation we have gained make me very sad.... I do hope that we can eventually become respected and understood by other people.
> (Tokyo and Osaka City Research, 1927; Tazaki, 1990:192)

We also find a nurse remarking:

> I work very hard and sacrifice for patients, but people give me scornful looks. I fell very sad. (Tokyo City Research, 1924:178)

Another working woman complained that:

> People said that working women tend to be 'bad girls', because 'working men' can tempt women to become 'bad girls'. But really, men should behave with more dignity towards women. (Tokyo and Osaka City Research, 1927:179)

The women themselves, then, argued that in reality they had struggled against many of the temptations of modern life in order to maintain a serious work attitude. They also asserted that the main reason for working had been the desire to improve their social position. Although they held they had strong pride in their work and were keen to contribute to the public good as workers, this strong loyalty and sense of responsibility went unnoticed and unrewarded by the public. At the same time, the increase in the numbers of working women inevitable raised their profile and led their condition to become a social issue.

4-2) Images of working women

The social reaction to working women was ambivalent. We can find many articles about 'new

women', 'the rights of women' and 'good wives and wise mothers' in newspaper, magazines and books in the late Meiji and the early Taisho eras (1900-1920). Shimoda Utako (下田歌子), who was a famous women's educationalist, insisted that the principle of 'good wife, wise mother' was not incompatible with the full development of women's personality and the 'formation of good citizens' in her book *Commonsense Education for Women* (婦人常識の養成)1910.[15]

Shimoda Utako (1910) suggested that

> The principle of 'good wife and wise mother' is based on women's nature. The main differences between men and women are the need for the roles of wife for housekeeping, and mother to produce the next generation. Men cannot carry out both these functions. Hence, women should be educated to adopt the true women's nature: the doctrine of 'good wife and wise mother'.
>
> The virtue of character development and commonsense: it was assumed that all human being should work towards a achieving a good character and should observe ethical behaviour. Ethics in Japanese society was based on the notion of a co-operative spirit and being a responsible citizen of Japan. Therefore, the development of character and personality was bound up with the cultural imperative to educate women as a good wife and a wise mother. (Shimoda cited in Kawashima, 1996:144) (author's translation)[16]

From this perspective reproduction was a very important aspect of being a women and becoming a good citizen. Given the strong emphasis upon the sexual division of labour, the only way women could contribute to the nation, was to help increase the population and produce healthy children (who could become healthy soldiers). Shimoda insisted that Japanese women should be educated to adapt to this Samurai spirit and ethics. She also argued that

> There is a difference in the capacity between men and women. Therefore, it is generally accepted as fact, that women do not need a higher education to the same levels as men. This fact is very hard to change, because it is based on a natural rationality. Hence, it is not

[15] Shimoda Utako (下田歌子) (1854–1936) was an influential educationalist who helped form the patriotic women's society *Aikoku Fujinkai* in 1901 and later served as its president from 1920 to 1931.
[16] Shimoda wrote two books, *Fujin no Jyoushiki* (1910) *and Katei* (family) (1915), about women's education, work and family issues which were very influential for housewives and girl students (Nagahara, 1982:173).

necessary for women to be educated to a higher level as housewives. To limit women's educational level to junior high school would be good enough. (cited in Kawashima, 1996:145)

Shimoda was a very influential women's educationalist at that time.[17] Yet, although she was an educated woman, she still had an anti-feminist and determinist view of women's inherent inferiority. This indicates how strong the conventional discourse of women's subordination was at this time.[18]

Shimoda and Kaetsu's argument seemed to be very much the opinions of upper class women, who were in the peerage, or had court connections. They sought to advocate a neo-traditional blend of adherence to the traditional 'good wife, wise mother' views with a sense of the contribution of women to the nation. Against them were groups such as *Seitousha* (blue stocking society), which was initially a female literary group, established 1911. The public, therefore, also paid attention to 'new women', such as Hiratsuka Raicho and another female poet, Yosano Akiko who were strong feminists (Kawashima 1990: 147).

At the same time there is evidence that there was also considerable support and even admiration for 'working woman' as a form of 'new woman'. Tsubouchi Shouyou (坪内逍遥), for example, lectured on 'new women in modern drama' at Waseda University in 1910.[19] The *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper (大阪毎日新聞) featured summaries of his lectures in a twelve part series from 28th

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[17] At the same time we should be aware that the educational activities of Shimoda Utako were criticised – especially by popular magazines critical of the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine (Miki, 1989:75ff). In a review of her women's school in the magazine, '*Katei Zasshi*' (Family magazine) (家庭雑誌)' in 1906, it was pointed out that she had supported women's rights and equality when she ran her own private school (The Toyo Jojuku) for women in the early 1880s, but when nationalism increased, she quickly shifted her policy to adopt the traditional female ideology (Kawashima, 1996:153).

[18] Another women's educator, Kaetsu Taka (嘉悦孝) (1910), argued that Japanese women should be taught never to forget to follow Japanese ethics. Kaetsu argued that contemporary young women seem to be strongly effected by Western culture. It is not really a bad thing, but young women should not become over-fascinated and disorientated by Western culture. Instead, we should look back to conventional Japanese women in order to know how they were educated and how they can acquire a sense of ethics. Kaetsu was concerned that young Japanese women were being affected by Western culture and new lifestyles which would weaken their sense of national identity (Kaetsu, 1910, cited in Kawashima, 1996:145-146).

[19] Tsubouchi Shouyou (坪内逍遥) (1859-1935), was a notable critic, playwright, translator, and novelist and major

July to 8th August 1910. Tsubouchi insisted that he wanted to discuss 'the type of women who are going to become "new women"'. Tsubouchi introduced a number of contemporary works by influential Western dramatists: Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (1879) and *Hedda Gabler* (1890), Hermann Sudermann's *Hometown* (1893), and George Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* (1893).

Tsubouchi argued that 'new women should resist becoming conventional women, and following the 'good wife and wise mother' doctrine. He suggested that we can find good examples of the characteristics of new women in modern dramas, which he called *shisou geki,* (思想劇) and *mondai geki,* (問題劇) ('consciousness raising drama' and 'thought-provoking drama') (Kawashima, 1996:148).

In his lectures, Tsubouchi concluded that conventional femininity is very much shaped by the viewpoint of men. The growing band of reformist intellectuals sought to promote the production of new women. Tsubouchi continued to emphasise that he agreed with women's emancipation. He argued that men must endeavour to understand the condition of women, and their demands to be allowed to enter into the public sphere. Given that Tsubouchi was very positive about women's need for greater civic participation, we can be fairly certain that he would not have had any objection to women who wanted to go out to work, or get a good education. Hence, it seems indisputable that Tsubouchi's articles, written by a leading academic, would have been highly controversial at the time, and had a strong legitimating effect for aspiring young women who dreamed of becoming a 'Nora' (Ibsen's *A Doll's House*).

One of the problems of the Meiji Reformers, which became more evident towards the end of the Meiji Era (early 1900s) was the selective appropriation of western knowledge. Increasing information flows from the West, along with the spread of education meant that it was difficult to completely channel and censor material. Tsubouchi is a good example, as he started with Shakespeare's translations, which perhaps were not seen as a threat to the new Meiji

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figure in the modernization of Japanese literature at the forefront of modern Japanese literary history.

Enlightenment values, but then rapidly moved onto modernist drama. Clearly translating works such as Ibsen who tackled the position of contemporary women in a highly critical way, was potentially explosive, as had been the case in the West when Ibsen was first performed.

Indeed *Hedda Gabler* (ヘツダガブラー) (1890) was seen as such a volatile play that when it was first performed in Germany patriarchal values were still so strong that they could not permit Ibsen's ending – it had to be changed so that Hedda remained at home. Cultural intermediaries in newspapers, were often students or admirers of leading intellectuals such as Tsubouchi and given the fact that they were also in tune with the political issues of the day in the West, topics such as women's rights, the Suffragettes protest movements with their dramatic events, could hardly have passed unnoticed. They were also good copy and of interest to the burgeoning urban educated strata, which itself was a product of the Meiji reforms, but who could not be totally assumed to be complicit with every aspect of them.

There were also other intellectuals who argued for greater civic and political participation for women. Abe Isoo (阿部磯雄), for example, has argued in his book, *The Idea of Women* (婦人の理想) *Fujin no Risou* (1910) that

> Today in many countries, it is no longer novel for women to have jobs. For instance, women work as maidservants, farmers, and business assistants and business owners. It is a fact that today's women's occupations have expanded to take in many new types of jobs. Japan is no exception. For example, the number of working women in banking is increasing every year. More recently, we know that women have become managers, actresses, journalists, saleswomen and in particular many women become workers in the educational domain. (Isoo, cited in Kawashima, 1990:198)[20]

Abe goes on to account for the increasing numbers of working women as follows: 'The reason was that women become more aware of their changing position in society, along with the potential to develop their own lives in the future'（Kawashima, 1990: 198）. Furthermore, 'Once a woman goes out to work, she necessarily has to engage in a range of new forms of sociability and needs to

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[20] Abe Isoo (阿部磯雄), (1865–1949) was an educationalist who was a member of the Meiji Socialist and Christian

accumulate new types of knowledge for her job.' These factors increased the capacity and need for women to master new forms of practical knowledge as well as the capacity to handle new tasks and manage new forms of interpersonal interactions. This process would help to build their confidence. Hence, the issue of working women is not only a subject for economics, but also a question about character development (人格形成). Abe interestingly mentioned that main reason to work was to develop 'self awareness', rather than pecuniary motives for personal or family reward (Kawashima, 1990:199). Abe went on to remark that the prospects for the working women were very good. In terms of their personality development, he argued that it was crucial for women to go out to work. He also supported increasing participation of women in the public sphere.

A further supportive voice for working women can be found in an article in the *Heimin Shinbun (Heimin newspaper,* 平民新聞) ,[21] which reported a summary of a lecture on socialism for women, which was held on 13th of February in 1904. In this lecture Nishikawa Kojiro (西川光二郎) argued 'the crucial point of women's issues', was to gain equal rights with men and women achieving financial independence.[22] Here socialism was held to be the ideal route, 'which abolish the system of private property, and was for shared land-ownership, so that everybody would work together to make a better life. This would mean we would be able to solve any social problem under socialism. The class differences between the monarchy and the common people, rich and poor people would disappear. Hence, in the same way, sexual differences would also disappear (Sakai Toshihiko definition of 'socialism', 1904, cited in Kawashima, 1996:127). Although the circulation of *Heimin Shinbun* was not large, it was influential amongst the early socialist

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Education Group.

[21] *Heimin Shinbun* (Heimin newspaper, 平民新聞) was an influential socialist newspaper founded by Koutoku Shusui (幸徳秋水) and Sakai Toshihiko (堺利彦) in 1903 (see discussion in chapter 11 below)..

[22] Nishikawa Koujirou（西川光二郎）, (1876–1940) became a Christian while in middle school. In 1903 he joined the socialist-pacifist organization *Heiminsha* (Society of Commoners) and wrote for its weekly, the *Heimin Shimbun*（平民新聞）.

movement, initially with intellectuals and then increasingly with the members of the public at large.

Both Abe and Nishikawa were leading socialists of the day. The Socialist movement was one of the key influences behind the cause of women's emancipation in the 1910s. From the socialist perspective, the oppression of women is caused by capitalism and the struggle between capitalism and socialism is equivalent to a battle for women's emancipation. Consequently, the abolition of the ruling class should lead to the freedom of women (Ueno, 1990:4). Hence, socialists supported working women and 'the socialist women's emancipation theory' became established (Ueno, 1990:3). Consequently, the endeavours of the socialists and their increasing public profile, helped stimulate women's social awareness. Japanese women started to become interested not only in having their own job, but also in participation in politics.[23]

In one sense, this can be seen as part of the emergence of a Japanese public sphere. The discussions of the question of the 'new woman' and whether women should be allowed to work became part of more general debates in newspapers, magazines and journals by socialists, intellectuals, artists and educationalists. This should also be seen as a part of a series of discussions and demands for democratic reform and wider public participation (see Silberman and Harootunian, 1974, on Taisho democracy).

5. The development of a national policy on working women: the invention of gender ideology

It became inevitable that the government had to make some acknowledgement or response to the increasing prominence of working women. In this section, we will discuss the ways in which the

[23] Socialist women's emancipation theory, however, did not succeed in its ambition to release women from social oppression (Ueno, 1990:4). But the struggle became increasingly heated in the 1920s in the wake of the Russian Revolution (1917) and the increasing confrontations between socialism and fascism, which occurred in Europe, the Americas and Asia.

government sought to create and legitimate a specific state policy. Under the Meiji constitution in 1889, there was provision for a new national election system, with suffrage limited to propertied men. Feminists began to challenge that ban on female participation in politics in the last few years of the Meiji era. In the time after the new constitution to the death of Meiji (1911) the state sought to articulate step by step an official definition of the role of women in terms of employment, the home and the national project. The government retained a double standard toward women.

> State propaganda exhorted women to contribute to the nation through their hard work, their frugality, their efficient management, their care of the old, young, and ill, and their responsible upbringing of children. The significance of these functions did not entitle them to political rights, however.[24] (Nolte and Hastings, 1991:152)

In order to enable Japan to hold its own in a competitive world of nation states, an increase in industrial capacity and hence the productivity of labour was vital. Hence middle class women were discovered as a new source of labour (working class women had already been working for some time in the manufacturing sector). Here, the government was ambivalent: it encouraged women go out to work, yet it sought to keep the existing division of labour between the sexes in order to retain the modern family which took over the '*ie*' system (but did not take over the baku-han system), which was invented by the *Meiji* government.

6. The Invention of the 'modern family'

It is generally accepted that the Japanese modern family in the late 19th century was not a continuation of the traditional form, but a new form, adapted from the '*ie*' system invented by the Meiji government (Ueno, 1990:181). According to Ueno, the *ie* system, (the patriarchal family of samurai society), was the basis for the Japanese 'modern family' (Ueno, 1994:129). The doctrine of the Japanese modern family (*kindai kazoku*, 近代家族) was associated with the family-state

[24] Men (over 25 years) were given limited suffrage in 1925. Women (over 20) did not get the right to vote until 1945.

ideology (*kazoku kokka shugi*, 家族国家主義), which functioned to sustain the patriarchal family as the basic unit of state rule (Ueno, 1990: 181; Muta, 1996:60). The modern family, then, was seen as a state instrument for sustaining family-state ideology, as part of the state integration process. [25]

The modern family was also the smallest productive unit in the society. The majority husbands of modern family were employed in capitalist enterprises, while wives were permitted to work as a domestic labour in the home. A strong division of labour between the sexes was established, giving a form of 'patriarchal capitalism' (家父長制的資本制) (Ueno, 1990:180).[26]

Good wife, wise mother

The invention of the modern family (*kindai kazoku*、近代家族) and family oriented-principle made women's roles in the family more significant. Women were expected not just to be models of self-abnegation, but also to be well-educated and respectable women who have capacity to be thrifty, productive and efficient. In short, women were expected to be good managers and educators of family members.

After the China-Japan War (1894-1895), women's education became seen as more important to generate women who had these capacities. In 1899 Kabayama Sukenori, the education minister, proposed a major reform of women's education. He was convinced of the need to extend education 'to middle-class females as well as males precisely because households, which were the foundation of the nation, required good wives and wise mothers' (Nolte and Hastings, 1991: 158). As a consequence a new law to establish girls' schools, was authorised in 1899. The aim of girls' schools was to produce women who would have a refined sense of taste, be thrifty, display a

[25] It should be noted that the modern family could be found throughout the social strata, whereas the *ie* system could only be seen in samurai society (the latter making up around 10% of the Japanese people) (Ueno, 1990 : 131). With the Meiji Restoration (1868), the '*ie*' system was extended from samurai society to ordinary families through the invention of the modern family (*kindai kazoku*, 近代家族), which was usually nuclear, with the patriarchal hierarchy retained.

[26] Furthermore, the *ie* system was congruent with Confucianism. Confucianism ideas were clearly patriarchal. The term patriarchy refers to be a system which men could control women in terms of labour power, so that women are

well-mannered and modest character and have a healthy body. In addition, it was held that women should be taught domestic science along with nutritional knowledge (Table 5.6).[27]

<<Table 5.6>> Comparison of weekly school timetable, 1901

	Junior girl's school				Junior boy's school				
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Moral Training	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Japanese	6	6	5	5					
Japanese & Chinese Classics					7	7	7	6	6
Foreign Language	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	7	7	7	7	6
History・Geography	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
Mathematics	2	2	2	2	3	3	5	5	4
Science	2	2	2	1					
Natural History					2	2	2		
Physics & Chemistry								4	4
Law & Economy									(3)
Painting	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Housekeeping			2	2					
Sewing	4	4	4	4					
Music	2	2	2	2					
Singing					(1)	(1)	(1)		
Exercise	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Total	28	28	28	28	28	28	30	30	30

( ): Optional Subjects

(Source: The history of the development of educational system from Meiji era cited in Koyama, 1991:51)

This new family-state ideology was encapsulated in the new government slogan *ryosai kenbo* (良妻賢母) (good wife, wise mother). This slogan highlighted the significance of the wife's role in the family and promoted the new family form, the modern family, which would better fit capitalist society, yet retain the division of labour between sexes (the division of labour support capitalism: men can go out to work to sell their labour, because women can manage housekeeping work).

seen as anaccessible productive source and also have their sexuality controlled by men (Ueno, 1990:57).

27 Although, this law seemed to correspond to that already established for boys' junior schools, this did not mean that the curriculum of the girls' high school was equal to that of boy's schools (boys' junior school). A good part of the curriculum of the girls' school was associated with domestic work, such as clothing, cooking, and child-care, which were not found in the boy's school curriculum (1901) (see Koyama, 1991:51).

Re-interpretation of good wife, wise mother

The meaning of the phrase 'good wife, wise mother' began to shift around 1914 (Koyama, 1991:93). During the First World War, the government expected women not only to be good mothers and raise children who would be soldiers and/or contribute to the national effort, it also emphasised that it was possible to contribute to the national effort as a citizen.[28] The First World War proved to be an unexpected fortune for Japan, turning it from a debtor nation of 1.1 billion yen in 1914 to a creditor nation of 2.77 billion yen by 1920 (Yamamura, 1974:304). This stimulated the economy and made Japan a major exporter of industrial goods for the first time. Women were drafted in to fill the shortage of labour. [29]

Therefore, the idea of women going out to work became legitimated as a valid part, or even right of women's gender role. At the same time, women were also expected to produce more children in order to increase the population for the national effort. In short, women now had acquired three major roles: housekeeping, cheaper labour, and reproduction. At the same time there was an additional pressure, as 'both western observers of Japan and Japanese reformers concluded early on that the treatment accorded (middle class) women was a measure of the level of civilization of a given society' (Nolte and Hastings, 1991:153). Hence the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine was added to this burdensome gender load Japanese women were now asked to bear (Ueno, 1990:185).[30]

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[28] At this time, the level of activism of the women's movement increased and there were greater numbers of working women, along with new information about women's life in the West from the media, which stimulated the level of consciousness among Japanese women (see Koyama, 1991:95ff).

[29] Men tend to be called up to the armed forces in wartime which leads to shortages of labour. Hence it can be said that 'wars paradoxically generate women's liberation' (Ueno, 1990:185).

[30] Slogans like 'good wife, wise mother' penetrate from the middle class more into the whole social strata just before and during Manchurian Incident in 1930. The Woman's National Defence Association (Kokubou Fujinkai, 国防婦人会)was formed in 1931, at the time of the Manchurian Incident. The ideology of a good wife, wise mother, which defined that wives who contributed to the nation through the defence activities of the women's association, such as nursing the wounded, aiding families of war dead, and holding send-offs for soldiers, as good citizens who contribute to the nation. It was held they should look after and support all members of the family not just husbands, who go to war. The membership of the National Defence Women's Association was widened and opened to all social classes. This contrasts to the earlier Patriotic Women's Association (Aikoku Fujinkai 愛国婦人会、), whose

Women, then, were subjected to major incompatible demands.[31] On the one hand the government, supported by the media, castigated working women as betraying their traditional role in the household. At the same time, the state wanted to take advantage of women's cheaper labour for national purposes. On the other hand in the strongly patriarchal society, which Meiji had become (much more so than Edo), moral panics developed about women becoming too independent. Especially, the family-state ideology、 which was considered the family to be a part of the state instrument for maintaining the slogan, 'good wife, wise mother', faced to crisis.

> By the 1920s, capitalist economic development after the mid-Meiji period had undermined the family as a kinship organisation and as a labour organization for agricultural production. The development of individualism and the notion of the family as part of the private sphere, and not as a public institution dedicated to state ends, further eroded the family-state concept of the nation. (Miyake, 1991:270)

At the same time, the vast majority of women worked hard, identified with their employer or company and enjoyed the new freedoms of venturing into public life in a responsible way. The few cases of women who were seen as having so-called 'loose morals,' were blown up by the media out of all proportion.

Although the 'good wife, wise mother' campaign was an attempt to provide middle class women with a new gender ideology, this is by no means the whole story. There was another avenue

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members were mainly wives of military officers. (This will be discussed in chapter 9, section 1 above).

[31] In the Meiji era family size grew through a series of government measures and campaigns, such as: tax advantages to families with large number of children; baby contests. In the 1920s the opposition to this image of women as the fertile mother grew with the popularity of contraception-birth control. The new type of independent woman, such as the moga did not want to have babies. Here we think of the heroine of Kollontai's novel *Red Love*, Zhenya （ゲニア）, (see discussion of novel in ch. 11 below) who has no interest in babies and had an abortion to keep her job. Such women had developed a strong sense of the new hedonism and lifestyles: in effect they wanted to enjoy their own life and women's right to control their own of sexuality was seen as central. See Robertson (2001) on birth control, genetics and beauty in Japan in 1920s and 30s. Dr. Ogino in Japan (1925) developed a scientific theory of contraception.

opening up in the nascent consumer culture, with its impressive highly visible edifices the department stores. At that time, saleswomen in department were predominantly middle class women who had been educated in the 'good wife and wise mother' doctrine. In this sense they were in tune with their customer base, which was also middle class. Yet, the saleswomen were also workers, which conflicted with the 'good wife wise mother' doctrine. In addition as mentioned in the previous chapters, the saleswomen had to learn to adjust to modern tastes, manners, and customs, they had to sell modern goods and lifestyles. What we discussed in the previous chapter as the genesis of 'Mitsukoshi taste,' a blend of modern and reconstituted Japanese traditional tastes, could be seen as attempting to provide a bridge between modern consumerism and the reinvented tradition of 'good wife, wise mother.'

A further complicating factor was the emergence of active intellectual involvement on behalf of the campaign for women's rights. Here we think of the efforts of Tsubouchi Shouyou and the socialist intelligentsia, discussed earlier, whose ideas also found their way into the media and public sphere. Artistic modernism, which gained support from intellectuals and artists, advocated much more radical and transgressive versions of modern life. Many of its advocates were fascinated by the speed and mobility of the new urban life manifest in the cinema, the motor car, the subway, and the bustle and energy of the city centre crowds (see discussion in Harootunian, 2000). Modern life here required a new type of woman, one who went far beyond the 'good wife and wise mother' doctrine, and one who was strongly involved in modernity.

In short this woman should work. But there were a number of variants. For some, the new woman entailed the socialist reformulation of women on a more equal, yet more serious productive basis, with ideas about reconstituting society and human beings to better fulfil human needs and potentials. For others, the new woman was to be a version of the flapper, the Japanese *moga* (modern) girl, who enjoyed frenetic hedonistic consumption and whose dress and demeanour shouted out a challenge to the traditional women's role. The questions of the new women will be addressed in chapters 10 and 11. In the next chapter we will discuss in detail how saleswomen in department store coped with these conflicting gender messages in the period

1910–1930.

Chapter 6: Saleswomen, Shop Girls and Gender Identity

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the rise of saleswomen in department stores and their contribution to the formation of a new gender identity. It also examines the extent to which they became akin to cultural intermediaries through their knowledge of the new consumer culture lifestyles and tastes. In Japan they had an important mediating role, in educating the public through their capacity to handle, classify and know how to use the full range symbolic and material goods they worked with. Some of them became known as 'shop girls' and were incorporated into the public imagination as exemplars of the new modern styles. There is also some evidence that the shop girls became seen as glamorous in their own right, and presented an important image of the new woman. Indeed some became seen as highly desirable new 'working women,' and associated in the public imagination with the highly controversial *modan garu* (the modern girls).

The nascent consumer culture and the new 'modern jobs' for women in the expanding service sector, which became more evident in the mid-1920s, also presented a very different image of women, which further complicated the picture. Some of the new jobs for women involved hybrid styles of dress, such as café waitresses (they wore kimonos with western style white aprons), and the café culture which they worked in attained a certain risqué atmosphere and notoriety. Waitresses became seen as glamorous and sexy (figure 6.1). Yet the department store saleswomen occupied a different position. They still wore kimonos into the 1930s, they were schooled in not adopting a threatening attitude towards customers, who would be reassured and

relaxed by the familiar respectful styles of interaction the shop girls adopted (figure 6.2).[1]

But this retention of Japanese dress and demeanour, belied or disguised their function. They worked in the key modernizing institution for everyday living, the department store, which was full of the latest goods from the West and their Japanese imitations. It was a professed practical educational institution overtly concerned with spreading to the public the new skills and virtues of consumer culture. Department stores such as Mitsukoshi, sought to teach people how to consumer, how to develop and master the new tastes and lifestyles, which were discussed in lectures, exhibitions and house magazines (the Mitsukoshi one *Jikou,* circulated widely throughout Japan and also had a popular mail-order service).

In short, if Mitsukoshi can be seen as one of the key valves which controlled the flow of western goods and tastes into Japan, and gained a reputation for doing this in a refined and distinctive way through the construction of the hybrid Mitsukoshi taste, which bridged Japanese and western styles, then the saleswomen were one of the key groups who operated and explained this process to customers. They were encouraged to develop knowledge of the new modern tastes and lifestyles and to be informative to customers. But they were also taught to do this in a subtle way, which did not threaten established notions of gender roles. They in effect were caught between contradictory forces, the department store being one such collision point. In effect they not only had to successfully mediate Japanese and the modern western culture, but also had to learn to mediate between the neo-traditional 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine and the exciting style of the new modern girl.

This struggle with its contradictory messages can be seen in the notions of 'romantic love' and 'ideal marriage' which circulated in newspaper's articles, features pages, commentary, and reader's columns, along with women's and other magazine's articles and advertisements, particularly the *Mitsukoshi* department store's magazines. Even in the 1920s, the notion of an

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[1] They were strictly forbidden from romantic attachments with other staff or customers – unlike the café waitress who at the lower end of the market, offered sexual services in addition to her more general glamour and para-sexual demeanour (see Silverberg, 1998; Tipton, 2000; see also discussion in chapter 11 below).

ideal marriage was still predominantly understood in terms of the influential life-guide or manual '*The Greater Learning for Women*' (1716)[2] by Kaibara Ekken (貝原益軒).

This book, which had been very influential in the Edo period, was still central in the Meiji era down to the early Showa era (1920s). It promoted an ideal of marriage based on Confucian philosophy, which emphasised women's subordination and the need to become a 'good wife and wise mother,' and inculcate the accompanying domestic skills and duties. In the 1920s the images of women in consumer culture, popular culture and the new media (cinema, radio, popular music and magazines) started to clash with this ideal. In Japan there were numerous magazine articles, novels and movies which discussed and featured new women's occupations. Their attractiveness and glamour was a noted topic.

The new saleswomen and shop girls, then, gained a symbolic power far outweighing their numbers in employment, and stood as an image of the new modern life. They had the difficult task of learning how to operate in the new world of consumption and mediate this world to department store customers and the wider public. It was a world which involved a complex learning process in order to master the new rites of consumption and their translation and mediation for customers.[3]

It has been often remarked that the department store was a repository of objects, experiences and sensations drawn from cultures around the world. Its scale and comprehensiveness was also accompanied by the expectation that it would always provide not just the exotic, but something modern, something 'new'. Since the systematic introduction of western culture into Japan in the

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[2] A manual of ethics and correct behaviour for women that was widely used in the late Edo period (1600–1868), first published in 1716. This book shows the ways in which women were meant to be regarded in *samurai* families and to some extent in other social classes. Although the authorship is uncertain, the work is usually attributed to Kaibara Ekiken. The book, which consists of 19 chapters, outlines the general principles for the education of women and prescribes a specific code of behaviour. A woman was expected to be obedient and respectful at all times: her place was at home. Its values persisted well into the 20th century.

[3] As Miller remarks: 'The department store was the bourgeoisie's world. It was the world of leisurely women celebrating a new rite of consumption. It was the world of clerks, civil in their manners, respectable in their dress, conscious of the service expected of them, laying claims to bourgeois status' (Miller, 1981:3).

Meiji era, the department store has functioned as a mediator of western culture. As we have argued in chapter 4, this meant not only and education in the new consumer tastes and lifestyles for Japanese but also an education in how to apply western culture to everyday life. Therefore, this double learning curve for Japanese gave department stores an enhanced role as practical guides and lifestyle manuals to both the new consumer way of life and westernization (Moeran, 1998:162; Jinno, 1994:59).

Hence, saleswomen in department store were pulled in a number of directions when this question of the messages of goods and experiences becomes grounded in the everyday practices of dealing with customers. They had to learn about upper class lifestyles, which could well be conventional, but also elaborately coded and distinctive. They also had to learn about new middle class lifestyles, which could well be 'modern', given their fascination through their position class structure, with the new and exotic. In addition, as we mentioned in chapter four, the store assistants had to be sensitive to balancing these two aspects with the governmental initiatives, such as the 'good wife, wise mother' and 'thrift' campaigns, with which the Mitsukoshi senior management was usually happy to comply with and filter down into department store policy. Hence while it can be said that department stores become institutions for the delivery of new tastes and lifestyles, the saleswomen in the stores had an important and at times difficult mediating role. In effect they had not just to deliver a personal service, but had to develop skills as 'cultural intermediaries' too (Featherstone, 1991; Bourdieu, 1984).

The saleswomen also had to be aware that their conduct and demeanour also deliver an image of the department store, how they acted and conducted themselves could enhance or damage the reputation of the store. In effect, they had to become aware they worked in public relations and develop their presentational skills and manners accordingly. At the same time this should be seem as a two-way interactive process. Dealing regularly with certain types of customers, such as members of the upper class, could have a strong impact on saleswomen. They consciously or unconsciously learned to mirror and adopt some of their postures, ways of speaking, intonation, body language and manners of their customers. The practical education of the upper classes

always had emphasised correct behaviour, the sense of the appropriate 'good taste,' and conventions, which were to be seemingly effortlessly and confidently applied in each particular situation.

On top of this more traditional sense of good taste, the saleswomen were expected to know about the new modern lifestyles and how to introduce these in subtle and non-threatening ways. The upper class taste in short, was not just traditional, they had flexible dispositions and an interest in the new and exotic, along with a refined sense of the aesthetic. They also had the time, energy and financial resources to become interested in learning how to know about western tastes. Both to practically use and master them in everyday life, but also in their sense of their role as taste leaders, to reach a judgement about which aspects of western taste to take in, and which aspects to isolate and keep at a distance.

2. The conditions of saleswomen in department stores

Although *jotenin,* （女店員, saleswomen)[4] became one of the new women's jobs which emerged in the late Meiji and early Taisho eras (1900-1920), it was not necessarily a popular choice. The most typical and popular new women's jobs at that time were nurses and teachers. In *Fujin no Tomo* (婦人の友, Housewife's Friend, 1913), which was one of the major women's magazines of the day, the new women's jobs were listed as: typists, dentists, pharmacists, office workers, bookkeepers, telephone operators, shorthand writers and so on. Saleswomen were not

[4] The term saleswoman, became more widely used in the 1920s in Japan. Before this date government and other reports did not have a specific category in occupational classification statistics (see discussion in chapter 5). In English the term saleswoman can be traced back to the late 18th century, but became used more commonly in the late 19th century. The term shop assistant also has a late 19th century origin. In the United States the term shop clerk is often preferred, and can be trace back to the late 18th century to refer to a shop assistant. It is interesting to note that the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd Edition, 1994) does not have an entry for shop girl. This suggests that the term *shop garu* in Japanese developed from the assumption that new women's jobs were predominately filled by girls – gasoline girls, mannequin girls, elevator girls etc, all became common terms in the 1920s. They also were seen to epitomize of the modern, and were often duly accorded a certain attractiveness and glamour.

mentioned in the list.[5]

However, it is evident that saleswomen in department stores, was an occupation which was becoming popular among young women living in Tokyo and its suburbs. For example, Mitsui Gofukuten (Mitsukoshi) employed a small number of women as telephone operators and inspectors for tailoring quality control for the first time in 1900. When Mitsui Gofukuten (Mitsukoshi) put out an advertisement for jobs in 1903, 499 women applied with only 26 eventually selected (The Record of Mitsukoshi、1990:35). This is one indication of the attraction and status that the post of saleswomen in department stores had for women at the time. Although many women applied for the new role as saleswomen, the department stores themselves were not sure whether saleswomen as opposed to men, were suitable for making good relationships with customers. Some department stores were not at all enthusiastic about the employment of women.[6]

Hence saleswomen were not a major occupation for women at this time. The Daimaru department store (大丸百貨店) had a more negative image of saleswomen, and only employed 6 women as telephone operators and office workers. Daimaru was concerned about the attitude of female customers towards saleswomen, that they would make female customers feel uncomfortable. Some female customers did apparently want saleswomen to give them advice on hairstyle, clothes and so on. But the fear was that too aggressive advice might be given which would be seen as threatening to the customer's own tastes. Daimaru thought that women would provide too much personal service and be in danger of over-selling (Yoshimi, 1995c: 33). Hence Daimaru only start to employ women thirteen years after Mitsui Gofukuten in 1913 (Yamamoto, el al, 1999).

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[5] According to research in 1924, working women in commerce can be seen as a growing fourth category after agriculture, manufacturing and professional workers. See table 5.3 in chapter 5 above, which mentions that the number of women in commerce was about one in ten. It should be noted that while saleswomen were counted in this category, the term was not used – although the term *jotenin* (saleswoman) was used in the Mitsukoshi department store since 1906, and can be traced back to the Edo era.

[6] In the case of Shirakiya (白木屋), they started to employ women in 1906 with 37 women: 1 supervisor, 16 bookkeepers, 4 receptionists, and 16 saleswomen (Yoshimi, 1995c:33). Working women in department stores generally were employed in two main kinds of jobs: office workers and saleswomen.

Although, some top managers of department stores did not have a high opinion of saleswomen, the image of saleswomen was being transformed. There are good examples, which show that salespersons in department stores were becoming popular and that they were even becoming recognised as fashion leaders by ordinary people. *Nichiroku shinpo* (two-six newspaper, 二六新報) started a regular column with a series of articles about 'women's tastes and hobbies' (婦人の趣味と家庭) in 1909. In one of them, it introduced the lifestyle of the famous politician's wife, Hatoyama Haruko (鳩山春子). In the same section, various Mitsukoshi sales managers (both men and women) were introduced alongside their photographs, and presented as celebrities, akin to today's television stars (Kawashima, 1996:141).

Here, it is probable that the Japanese stores were influenced by the earlier example of Boucicaut and others paternalistic owners, who wanted to raise up the social position of the salesperson in the department store by providing educational and leisure programmes for employees. In 1872, the Boucicauts began evening courses in English and German. They also sponsored music and fencing classes (Miller, 1981:106-108). The Boucicauts started classic music concerts in the main hall of the department store with the orchestra composed of employees of Bon Marché, as the Boucicauts thought that learning music was one of best ways to become a gentleman and gentlewomen (Kashima, 1991:137).

The same ambitions can be found in Hibi's plans to improve the status of the retailing industry through the development of Mitsui Gofukuten (Mitsukoshi) (Katsuta: 1972:89). He was well aware of the process of transference, whereby the good image and prestige of the store would be passed on to enhance the status of the person working there.[7] Hence, both Hibi and Boucicaut wanted to educate employees to become educated refined people who would have a better

[7] The store was aware of the value of this in enhancing their image, as can be shown in an interesting article, which purported to show that Mitsukoshi did not only seek to make money, but also made sought to make employees into ideal citizens, in *Mitsukoshi Taimusu* (Mitsukoshi Times) in February 1911. This was a letter from an educator Tanaka Chigaku (田中智学), who was impressed by Mitsukoshi's employee's sincere helpful attitude and good manner toward customers.

capacity to understand upper class tastes. Educated salespersons, who were confident in their good taste, could educate customers. Consequently, Miller (1981:97) argues, that department stores were creating not only a new kind of work force but a new kind of middle-class person in their employees and customers.

However, there is no doubt that there were still strong prejudice toward working women. In the early decades of the 20th century, it was still generally accepted that for women to work was controversial and that there were dangers for women's morality (cf. the moral panics discussed in chapter 5). At the same time, people started to gain interest in the private lives of saleswomen. *Fujin Sekai* (Women's World) in 1923 had an article entitled 'a saleswomen's romance in the greatest department store in Asia.' It was the confession of a Mitsukoshi saleswomen, who mentioned that there was a very strict ban on relationships between employees. (This operated to the extent that they were advised to not get on the same train, when they went home.) Therefore, it was very rare for romance to develop with a male employee. Some good looking saleswomen, did of course have the ambition to marry rich men and got many offers for arranged marriage. The store was aware of this and to discourage male customers trying to court saleswomen, they issued a ban on relationships with male customers. This magazine article, then, shows that Mitsukoshi saleswomen were closely monitored and their relations with men severely restricted; in no way could they be considered loose women.

The shift of the perception of working women can be linked to the growth in the volume of women working in the service industries. A leading article in *Toyo Jiron* (東洋時論, Oriental Forum), in 1901 (Meiji 43), comments on 'the sudden increase in women's enthusiasm for work,' arguing that this could be a sign of wider changes in the social structure, because any increase in women's power through work would have a strong effect on the family system, education and other social issues.

Especially, after World War One (1914-1918), the term '*shokugyou fujin*' (職業婦人) (working women), became used as a general term to defined women who worked as professionals and

engaged in new jobs such as typists, telephone operators, office ladies and so on; in one 1920s report they were defined as:

> Women engaged in those occupations considered to be the most suited to women are called '*shokugyou fujin*' (working women). These are not classified by special types of occupational categories, but are basically classified in relation to the characteristics of male occupations. It is natural for women's occupations to expand in the types of jobs, which are most suited to women's special qualities. In short, '*shokugyou fujin*' (working women) were women who engaged regularly in parts of the production process, which might be most suitable for women's qualities. (Tokyo City Research, 1924)

In the 1920s the proportion of women working in commerce and service industries increased (banks, railways and department stores) more rapidly than in the industrial manufacturing sector (factory girls). The service sector in particular opened up many new women's jobs, such as receptionists, bus conductresses, ushers in cinema, and so on. Furthermore, in some of the newly created jobs which appeared through the modernization of enterprises and the adoption of new technologies, men were unable to achieve domination. For example, typists and telephone operators were not administrative jobs, but classified as more lower paid technical job or assistants. Therefore, it was relatively easy for women to gain entry. Once working women achieved a critical mass in some of these areas, and enjoyed the public visibility of higher profile service occupations, a compound effect occurred, with a further positive shift in the general perception of the appropriateness of work for women.[8]

Some of the new occupations which attracted women were considered to be 'modern jobs' in the Taisho era (1913-1926) (Murakami, 1983:43). There is a clear contrast between conventional manufacturing women's jobs such as factory girls in the silk-reel industry and the newer service sector women's job such as saleswomen in department stores, telephone operators and teachers.

[8] One reason why working women began to be taken notice of by the public was the 'abrupt' rise of working women in service sectors such as the new telephone exchanges. For instance, the number of telephone operators in 1890 (Meiji 23) was just 8 persons (6 women and 2 men). In 1896 (Meiji 29), it was 102 (70 women and 32 men). In 1901 (Meiji 34), the jobs of male telephone operators were abolished and the number of women operators rose to more than 3,000. (Over a similar time, the number of girls' high schools also increased dramatically: in 1900 there were 52 girls' schools, by 1910 the figure had risen to 192 (Murakami, 1983:20).

According to Murakami's argument the key characteristics of the wave of 'modern jobs for women' are as follows. Firstly, women had greater choice to choose the jobs they wanted. Secondly, women could change jobs. Thirdly, women only have the responsibility to work within a fixed working day, or week. Unlike some jobs in the traditional and manufacturing sectors, it was now very clear to women how long they must work (Murakami, 1983: 43). In practice it was hard to find the general conditions to sustain Murakami's argument, which seems more like an ideal type definition, than a reality. In fact very few women were able to choose any job they wanted, because young women were still under the supervision of their parents, especially their fathers, who still enjoyed considerable power under the patriarchal family system.

Furthermore there was a big difference in the social conditions between the middle class and the working class. In reality it was only really possible for some of the middle class women to choose the job they wanted, partly because they were usually well-educated and had the advantage of their family social background and identification with their parents' social status. These advantages raised their horizons and their formal and informal knowledge base which provided better conditions for choice. Although young women still faced a labour market which greatly restricted their job choices, they clearly had new possibilities and hence had the prospect of becoming relatively more independent than their mothers. This was evident in the attraction of occupations such as *'shop garu'* (shop girls), one of the key examples of the new 'modern job for women,' which was seen as an interesting and high status job.

2-1) The background of shop girls

The term, '*shop garu'* (shop girl) was coined by Kitazawa Shuichi in 1925 (Kitazawa, in Yoshimi, 1995c: 34). He wrote about department store saleswomen in the magazine *Kaizo*, which regularly featured new thoughts new trends and general interest topics. Before 1925, saleswomen in department stores were referred to as '*jyotenin*' (女店員). Kitazawa argues that

saleswomen in the 1920s became the dominant modern women's job. In the late Taisho era (1920s), working women who engaged in new type of women's jobs were called 'something-girls', such as '*gasoline garu'* (petrol station's attendants) (see figure 5.1) *'basu garu'* (bus conductresses first appeared in 1920, but were initially referred to as '*shiroeri-jyou'* (white collar girls) (The Chronological Table of Family History in Meiji and Taisho, 2000:445) (figure 6.3). '*Manekin garu*' (mannequin girls, first appeared at the Memorial Peace Exhibition in 1922) (see figure 5.2).

In the same year, Kitazawa (1925) insisted that saleswomen should be called 'shop-girls', because they were starting to acquire a new sensibility and attitude, they were more tuned into modern tastes. Kitazawa went on to remark that

> The best way to describe these saleswomen now, is to use the English term, '*shop-garu*' (shop girls). This expression seems to best express the characteristics of today's saleswomen: 'modern.' (cited in Yoshimi, 1995c: 34)

Important here is the use of a foreign language term. People would get a more concrete image of the modern by the direct use of the English term. Hence, saleswomen quickly became seen as 'new women,' from here it was but a short step to see them as 'glamorous modern working women'.

The following table from the book *Department Store* (*depâtomento sutoa*), written by Matsuda Shinzou (松田慎三) (1931) show the rate of saleswomen in the *Mitsukoshi* department store (figure 6.1).

<<Table 6.1>> The number of saleswoman in Mitsukoshi (Nihonbashi)

year	Female	Male	% of female for all
Taisho 10 (1921)	298	1698	17.5%
Showa 7 (1932)	507	2426	20.8%
Showa 11 (1936)	1020	3586	28.4%

（cited in Yoshimi, 1995c:34）[9]

As mentioned before, Mitsukoshi Gofukuten[10] started to employ some women as telephone operators and tailoring quality control inspectors in 1900. However, most of women's worker did not work in the main retailing areas (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:43).

Sogou department store （そごう百貨店） in 1903 employed three women as saleswomen, who used to work in Mitsukoshi. The same year, 1903, Shirakiya (白木屋) began to employ saleswomen. This was followed by Matsuzakaya (松坂屋) first employing women in 1907 (Yamamoto et al 1999:330-333). These figures are small, but significant in terms of the status which was soon given to shop-girls.

2-2) The increase in saleswomen

One of the problems in finding information about shop girls is that while there is some research on working women, including shop-girls in 1922 (Taisho 11) (Tokyo City Research, 1924, it was carried out in 1922 and reported in 1924), before this time, it is hard to find proper data on saleswomen. This is because the category of saleswomen in previous research reports was unlikely to include saleswomen in department stores. Before 1922 the category of saleswomen

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[9] Wada Hiroshi refers to the number of shop-girls using Matsuda Shinzo's (松田慎三) book *Departomento Sutoa* (department stores)、日本評論社, 1931). This suggests that the ratio of shop girls at Mitsukoshi's Ginza branch was 42.5% in 1931 (Wada, H, 2002:123). The Ginza branch had a much larger number of shopgirls than their Nihonbashi store.

[10] Mitsukoshi Gofukuten changed name into Mitsukoshi in 1928.

could be used to cover a diverse range of jobs, including salespersons in private shops. Hence we have only very fragmentary data based on each department store's own historical record in the early 1900s.

The research reported that household financial difficulties caused the growth in the numbers of women working, with middle class women in particular seeking to work outside the home for the first time (Tokyo City Research, 1924:63). Furthermore, it could be seen that the shift in sectoral employment with the rise of service jobs along with the gradual shift in the social climate which made it more acceptable for women to work, also made middle class women more disposed to go out to work. In addition, parents lost the capacity to support their children's expenditure, such as their daughter's wedding. Therefore, many single young women had to work to support themselves and to contribute to family budgets (Tokyo City Research, 1924:64).

The report classified women's jobs into four categories. Firstly, work which required knowledge, such as teachers, doctors, journalists, office workers, etc. Some of this group were professional occupations. Secondly, jobs which require some special physical qualities, aptitude and even strength, such as bus conductresses, factory workers, models, bus conductors. Thirdly, occupations which need special skills, or technical training, such as dentists, nurses, typists, stenographers, machine operators, and hairdressers. Fourthly, jobs which require a blend of skill, technique and some knowledge, such as actresses, artists, musicians etc.

According to the research report, Mitsukoshi (三越), Shirakiya (白木屋), Matsuzakaya (松坂屋), Daimaru (大丸), Takashimaya (高島屋), and Matsuya （松屋）, which were classified as drapers-shops in the business form of department stores, were all classified as enterprises employing more than 100 women. In fact, Shirakiya had more 320 women. Mitsukoshi employed more than 600 women including waitresses. The report mentions that there were two types of job categories: saleswoman and bookkeepers in the financial section.

Their wage level was relatively low (average 35 yen/month), (Tokyo City Research, 1924: 74), compared to other working women's wages, such as teachers. This average was calculated over 500 enterprises which employee women, therefore it did not indicate the level of saleswomen in department stores. There is, however, evidence for the Mitsukoshi case. In Mitsukoshi Gofukuten in 1922 the top saleswoman's salary was 85.00 yen month and the, lowest 40.00 yen a month, for a 9 hour working day. Mitsuokoshi's average saleswomen's salary was 53 yen 48 sen - much higher than ordinary saleswomen (Tokyo City Research, 1924:83).[11]

The majority of saleswomen came from low class merchants and poor salaried worker family

[11]

<<Table 6.2>> The working population of Tokyo

Employed	908,442	41.80%
Unemployed	1,264,758	58.20%
Working Population of Tokyo	2,173,200	
Men employed	771,069	(84.88%/ all employed)
Women employed	137,373	(15.12%/ all employed)

(Source: Tokyo city's census in 1920 cited in Tokyo City Research, 1924)

(Note: original data showed that rate of men is 82.18% and that of women is 17.82, which are wrong figures.)

<< Table 6.3>> The number of Women employed by sectors in 1924

Sector	Number	Rate
Commerce	53,995	39.30%
Manufacturing	39,319	28.60%
White collar (accountant, office worker, etc)	28,789	21.00%
Miscellaneous	7,884	5.70%
Transport	5,491	4.00%
Agriculture	1,216	0.90%
Maid	522	0.40%
Mining	115	0.10%
Fishing	42	0.00%

(Source: Tokyo city's census in 1920 cited in Tokyo City Research, 1924)

backgrounds. Although the number of junior girls' schools had increased dramatically between 1912 and 1922, the educational level of saleswomen was not necessary as high as would have been expected. The number of schools in 1923 was almost double the number for 1913 (see table 6.4).[12] [13]

Although women clearly had better chances to go to junior girls' school than before, typically, saleswomen would have graduated from elementary school (6-12 years old), and junior elementary school (13-15 years old), as the final stage of their education.

Generally, in 1922, the majority of women working were in the 15 to 20 age group (see Tokyo City Research, 1924:69). Hence, most women worked for a relatively short time and retired

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[12] **<<Table 6.4>> The number of girls' schools**

	Number of Schools		Number of Students	
Year	Junior School (boys)	Junior School (girls)	Junior School (boys)	Junior School (girls)
1873	20		1,767	
1878	579		29,013	
1982		5		286
1883	173	7	14,763	450
1988	49	19	10,441	2,599
1893	69	28	19,573	3,020
1898	136	34	61,632	8,589
1903	246	91	98,000	25,719
1908	290	159	115,038	46,582
1913	371	213	131,946	68,367
1918	337	257	158,974	94,525
1923	468	529	246,739	216,624
1928	544	733	343,709	331,757
1933	554	790	327,261	347,180
1938	566	824	380,498	448,818
1943	727	1,299	607,114	756,955
1946	793	1,413	707,878	948,077
1947	794	1,401	271,024	358,066

(Source: Karasawa, 1979:163).

[13] See also 'The Study of Girls' Schools - Formation Process of Regulation and Establishment,' (「高等女学校の研究—制度的沿革と設立過程」1990：139—142, by the Research Group on Junior Girls' Schools（高等女学校研究会）.

from their job once they got married, which was usually before they were 25 years old. This also implies that most of the saleswomen (91%) were single (Murakami, 1983:62).

According to Mitsui Gofukuten's (Mitsukoshi) own records, they employed three women as saleswomen, accounts, and telephone operators in 1901, all from samurai families (Konno, 2000:24). At this time samurai families were defined as middle class. Therefore, this suggests that in this early phase of the department store many of the saleswomen were probably middle class. But the number of saleswomen was very small. In the 1920s, the number of saleswomen increased, and as we have mentioned, it became a prestigious and popular form of employment. This expanded the class catchments base for saleswomen, some of whom could be drawn from the working class, as well as the middle class. The majority were from the middle classes, along with a small number from the upper class. The job of saleswoman in a department store was seen as relatively prestigious and morally safe occupation. Many girls got their jobs through family contacts with department store managers. [14]

In the 1930s, under military rule, there was a return to a more conservative policy towards women working. To be a saleswoman was again seen as an unsuitable occupation for middle class women who should instead concentrate on looking after their families. But despite this shift in government policy, the numbers of middle class saleswomen in department stores expanded in the 1930s along with the development of department stores.[15]

3. The social background and aspirations of saleswomen

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[14] The shop girls' average income was 35 yen a month (Tokyo city, 1924:74). Whereas, the cost of living for a student from the provinces was 20-24.5 yen a month, students of vocational school spent 30-34.5 yen a month in 1918 (The Chronological Table of Family History In Meiji and Taisho, 1868-1925:424). The salary was not enough to live in the city by themselves.

[15] It is interesting to consider the case of a 'salesgirl' who worked as a manager of the shops in the Imperial Hotel in 1922. She was a young Japanese woman (in her 20s) who spoke English. Her wage was 50 yen a month. A '*seirusu garu*' (sales girl) was clearly more distinguished than saleswomen in department stores. They needed to be well-educated and familiar with upper-class tastes (Maeda, 1929:147).

Some interesting information is provided from research carried out on women who applied to be saleswomen in Tokyo department stores in 1931.[16] Three of the major department stores, Matsuya (at Asakusa), Mimatsu (三松), and Shirakiya asked the Tokyo Employment Centre to help them. The result was the survey *Fujin no Kankyou Chousa* (「求職婦人の環境調査」, The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants) in 1931. 11,784 application forms were received in July 1931 by the Tokyo Employment Centre Office. A questionnaire was sent out to all the applicants and 5,779 responded. Some interviews were also carried out. Almost half the applicants (45.96%) lived in Tokyo, with many of the rest coming from neighbouring areas, such as Saitama (4.55%), Tochigi (4.22%), Chiba (4.14%), Ibaragi (3.79%), and Niigata (3.27%) (The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture, 1931:7) (figure 6.4).

With regard to the age profile of the applicants, women 17-18 years old made up the largest proportion: 1,629 (28.19%). The second largest group were the under 16 year olds: 1,531 (26.49%). The third largest were the 19-20 year olds: 1,351 (23.38%) (The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture, 1931:18). It should be mentioned that the normal age of graduation from girls' junior high school, was 17 years, and this made up a large group of the applicants. It is clear that the educational attainment level of the 1931 group was much higher than we find in the earlier 1922 report (The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture, 1931:32).

The information provided on place of residence gives useful glimpses into the women's lifestyles. The majority lived with their families. More precisely, those under 16 years old tended to live with their families, whereas women who were 21-25 years old were inclined to live in a relative's house (The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture, 1931:18-19). The number of women who want to work in department stores who live in lodgings was only 3.6% (The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture, 1931:20). The ones who lived with their families tended to have graduated from elementary

[16] Research on women applicants by Tokyo Prefecture in 1931 was 戦間期主要都市社会調査報告書女性編第 1 期（8）1931 年 12 月 12 日調査 by 東京府学務部社会課.

school, whereas the ones living with relatives had completed junior girls' school. Hence, it seems that the saleswomen who were older and well-educated tended to live separate from their families. They were clearly freer and more independent than the younger ones who did not have higher educational experience.

It was generally accepted that single women should live with a family to protect their innocence and keep them supervised and free from temptations. Parents did not want a daughter to live away from the family until she got married. There was therefore strong social pressure for single women to be under the supervision of parents or relatives, yet on the other hand to live alone or separate from one's own family offered women the prospect of a more exciting urban lifestyle. The majority of the families can be characterised as part of the educated or new middle class, with the fathers working as bank officials, teachers, journalists, doctors, musicians, public officers, members of the armed forces, and salaried workers. Given their relatively well-off family backgrounds and good knowledge base for career and life ambitions, this suggests, that to be a saleswomen in a department store, had a good image and high status for young women.

With regard to the applicants' motivation, the main reason cited was to supplement family income (47.53%), followed by 'to broaden their experience' (10.21%) (The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture, 1931:28). This suggests that the pressure was there, even for new middle class women, to supplement the family income given the 1930s recession. At the same time, it also suggests that the knowledge acquired in school had made women more ambitious and curious about the world outside the home.

These ideas represent a significant 'new trend for women', because, it was by no means commonly accepted that daughters should support their families. The conventional discourse ran 'daughters in good families should not go out to work until marriage' this had long been seen as a status symbol in upper and middle class families. If the women were able to articulate their main motive for work was to support their family, it suggests that they had become

conscious of themselves as potential workers, as having the capacity to make money just like men.[17]

Other aims they specified were: to live independently (7.16%); to work in the department stores because they were seen as established and well-regulated institutions which provided not just a good job, but a safe and respectable job for women (6.71%); to earn money for a brother or sister's education (4.34%); to earn money for themselves (disposable income) (4.26%). It is interesting to note that while many wanted to support their families, they were also aware of the importance of learning about new styles and fashions, acquiring good manners and learning about how to have good social relationships. In this context, we should note that many of the women had a serious approach to life and learning how to live and also sought to become economically independent (The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture, 1931:28).[18]

With regard to the reasons they gave about their intended use of earnings (table 6.5), the main factor cited was to support their general everyday expenditure (58.68%); the second, was to save money (9.66%), third, to support a sibling's education (8.24%); fourth, to earn their own disposable money (6.82%); and fifth to prepare for marriage (4.76%); sixth, to be able afford their own cost of living (4.74%) (The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture, 1931: 30-31). If we aggregate together: disposable money (6.82%), saving money (9.66%), preparation for marriage (4.76%), their own cost of living (4.74%), fees for education (1.90%), preparation for independent living (1.30%), buying clothes (1.06%), to improve/cultivate themselves (0.90%), the total is 31.14%. Hence about one third of the applicants expressed that they intended to use the earnings for their own purposes. From this we can see that the women had thought through a range of reasons for working and using their future earnings, which centred around their own self-development and the capacity to plan to

[17] In the meeting of the principals of girls' schools in Tokyo, one of subjects was that many schoolgirls unwilling to do domestic work, because they did not want rough hands (The Chronological table of family history , 2000:476).
[18] Unexpectedly, the ones who gave their motive as to save up money for marriage were just 2.20%. It is not clear if the first main group whose reason was 'to support their family' might overlap with this group as they may have intended to save money for marriage in order to help with their parent's general financial situation.

have a life of their own (for a discussion of the concept of 'a life of one's own' in contemporary Western society, See Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002).

<<Table 6.5>> Reasons given for intended use of earnings

support their general everyday expenditure	58.68%
saving money	9.66%
supporting a sibling's education	8.24%
disposable money	6.82%
preparation for marriage	4.76%
their own cost of living	4.74%
own fees for education	1.90%
preparation for independent living	1.30%
buying clothes	1.06%
improve/cultivate themselves	0.90%

(The Characteristics of Women Job Applicants, Tokyo Prefecture 1931: 30-31)[19]

Most applicants did not have job experiences before they applied. Therefore, the department store would be their first workplace. At the same time it was also likely to be 'the final school' (in effect a sort of 'finishing school') they attended before marriage. They wanted to work in department stores to experience life, to gain some enjoyment and knowledge before they finally entered 'the home' and domestic life.[20]

4. Managerial policy towards salespersons

Further insight into the ways saleswomen's jobs were defined can be gained from the remarks of Tuchiya Nagakichi (土屋長吉) on how to select a good salesperson or businessman (*bijinesuman*). He insisted that salesperson should have good taste, good manners, be well-

[19] The rest of options were: (1) children's education (0.10%); (2) support mother (0.02%); (3) medical treatment fees for sibling or children (0.09%); (4) not clear (1.73%).

[20] Women who were well-educated and whose work required some knowledge and skills, such as saleswomen and office workers were more interested in what went on outside the home and often saw the job as a stepping stone to broader life experiences.

dressed and civil-spoken (*Chuou Kouron,* 1903:63). People, who worked in department stores, in particular, were seen as similar to fashion leaders, as people who could advise on modern lifestyles. They could advise customers how to wear western clothes, how adopt to western customs and artefacts, such as using and collecting western plates, as well as advice on more traditional Japanese ceremonial occasions such as how to prepare for the wedding ceremony, provide seasonal gifts, and so on. From this account, it is clear that department store salesperson performed an important form of cultural intermediation, for department store customers, but also in the public imagination at large (See discussion of their important role as 'cultural intermediaries' in chapter 4 above; Featherstone, 1991; Bourdieu, 1984).

In the early 1900s, department stores already had the image of an upper-class shop. For example, Shirakiya （白木屋） started to deal in western clothes in 1886 (Yamanoto et al, 1999:334), Mitsukoshi opened a part of the store specializing in western clothes in 1888. Western clothes were normally very expensive, therefore only upper class people could afford them and clearly, this was not a big market. But department stores (and their direct antecedents) sought to gain upper class patronage in order to create a good image and reputation for the store. This image as an establishment frequented by the upper class clearly, had wider status appeal, especially for the new middle class, and it is the latter group, it has been argued, which the department store pursued as their solid customer base.

Department store managers played a central role in devising a high status image for department stores via the immediate point of contact with customers, the salespersons. As we have mentioned in chapter 4 (section 1-2), Hibi Osuke (日比翁助), the executive manager of Mitsukoshi, sought to create a distinctive high class image by applying western models of business management. From taking up his post in 1904, Hibi made clear his intention of providing greater opportunities for working women and raise the status of saleswomen.[21] Hibi expressed confidence in his saleswomen and praised their serious and professional attitude to

[21] Hibi Ousuke 'Women office workers,' *Jyogaku Sekai*, 1906, 6 (4). From this article, it is clear that Hibi had very new and progressive ideas about working women (see Konno, 2002:25).

work and emphasised he found no difference in quality of work between them and male employees. He stressed that for him the key factor was a person's ability, and this always overrode other assumptions people made about the importance of age or matrimony. Hibi encouraged women to keep working for as long as possible, and not quit their job when they got married. He emphasised that he did not want saleswomen who just preferred to work until marriage or who saw the job as just a short term strategy to save money in preparation for marriage (Murakami, 1983:65).

Yet despite this supportive policy on the part of management the majority of saleswomen usually decided to quit the job when they got married. This was a characteristic pattern for women at that time, with work generally seen as a short-term interlude. Yet for many young women the job of a saleswoman in department stores was extremely attractive because of the reputation the stores enjoyed as progressive, modern and interesting workplaces. At the same time it is clear that very few of the saleswomen had the desire to create their own future and become a more 'independent' woman. In effect, for many of the saleswomen, department stores were seen as providing a further extension of their girls' junior school, which had taught them 'to be good wives, and wise mothers'.[22]

5. The formation of saleswomen

Generally, the management side (employers) did not consider saleswomen as real career professionals (because the dominant patriarchal ideology was still strong), but as assistants. Hence saleswomen did not take on the most important and prestigious work in the store, such as furniture, jewellery, and the arts and crafts section, which needed more specialised knowledge. These areas were reserved for men. In the case of Mitsukoshi, saleswomen tended to work in

[22] With regard to the training of employees, it is interesting to note that in 1920 the stores had a training programme for *kozou* 小僧, child or youth workers, which gave them the opportunity to learn about merchandise and selling along with general knowledge in 1920. In this sense, the stores provided a junior training school (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:77).

the section which dealt with cheaper commodities, while salesmen were engaged in the section which displayed and sold high-priced commodities such as *gofuku* (luxurious kimonos).

There is one very useful document which can help to illuminate the contradictory situation in Mitsukoshi at this time. It is the transcript of an interview with one of the four women simultaneously promoted to become managers in 1932 (Showa 6).[23] At the time, it caused a sensation among Japanese people, because, the promotion of women to high positions had hardly happened before. However, as one of the new manager's comments below suggest, this did not auger radical changes, as her views on women's roles and aspirations were decidedly conventional and chimed very closely with the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine. She comments on her promotion (figure 6.5):

> I am very happy to be promoted in my working career. At the same time, I feel a strong responsibility to educate other saleswomen to become well-mannered ladies. If we are not able to give them a good upbringing and discipline, we must feel very ashamed about letting down their parents. (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:119)

Hence this interview implied that the goal of the store was to produce well-mannered ladies, who could become 'good wives and mothers.'[24] These remarks very much fulfilled the expectations of the parents of young saleswomen that the new women managers would endeavour to train and prepare their daughters for their future domestic roles.

6. The '*shop garu*' (shop girls) and women's desire

While consumer culture is often presented as a family duty for middle class women who

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[23] The women were: Furuya Tsuruko（古谷つる子）, Ishii Saki（石井さき）, Watanabe Masu（渡邊ます）, Nakamura Saki（中村さき）, Hino Masue（樋野ますゑ）(The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:119).

[24] There was not necessarily a conflict between being a saleswoman, someone who was 'modern' and a 'good wife and wise mother' at that time, because to be a 'modern' wife had a positive and attractive image. A modern life lived in modern life, one of the new 'culture houses' (*bunka jyutaku*), and she use a 'cultural kitchen' (*bunka daidokoro*) (Kosuge, 1998:189). The image was of a modern consumer, who enjoyed material benefits, and was less interested in questions of the national project (figure 6.6).

dutifully learn the new codes, there also another image of consumption in western accounts, that of a revolution in morals, with women overcome by egoism and envy, seeking out pleasures in the new sensualized and aestheticized urban spaces. Rita Felski (1995:65) captures this when she remarks 'The discourse of consumerism is to a large extent the discourse of female desire.' This emphasis upon the late 19th and early 20th century department stores as sites for the 'commercialization of desire,' carrying the possibilities of sensual delirium, breathless excitement, pleasure seeking, seduction and temptation, can be found in numerous accounts (see Bowlby, 198; Felski, 1995; Nava, 1996; R H Williams, 1982).[25] The design, décor, displays and events were often deliberately made sumptuous and sensuous, to enhance this dream world aestheticized quality. As we have mentioned above, those operating in these new spaces, the salesmen and saleswomen often gained from this particular aura and themselves acquired some of these characteristics via forms of association or 'transference.' Hence they became seen as attractive, glamorous and even 'sexy,' or 'para-sexualized' (Bailey, 1986; Silverberg, 1991).

As department store developed to become more central institutions in Japanese culture, the situation of saleswomen also gradually changed. Since the 1920s, saleswomen increasingly were not seen just as young single girls, who were looking to acquire the skills to make a good wife. Rather, they became women who were looked up to by other women, and even 'idolised' as the most attractive 'new type of working women'. They acquired an image and reputation which distinguished them from other women workers such as waitresses, telephone operators and secretaries (even '*geisha*' as well). They seemed to be a new type of more ambitious and more glamorous and attractive working women (see Kitazawa, 1925, cited in Yoshimi 1995c) (figure 6.7; figure 6.8).

Rachel Bowlby (1985:31-32) in discussing the relation between women's desire and commodities, remarks

[25] The discourses in this area often became excessively dramatic as we find in Zola's 1883 novel *Au bonheur des dames* (The Ladies' Paradise), full of the perils of unassuaged female desires and the dangerous crowds of women shoppers. Zola's lesson was that male capitalists by unleashing hedonism for their selfish economic gain, created women as consumers whose desires were formed in the shallow world of appearances and fluid moralities, with potentially destructive consequences for the institutions of modernity.

> What does a woman want? It is a question to which the makers of marketable products from the earliest years of consumer society have sought to suggest an infinite variety of answers, appealing to her wish or need to adorn herself as an object of beauty.

The interesting point is that consumer culture has been eager to provide the necessary advice, resources and accessories for women who seek to become beautiful. Indeed part of its attraction for ordinary women would seem to have been their eagerness to explore the democratization of beauty (see Marwick, 1988; Pacteau, 1994). While not every woman might be beautiful and while in everyday life it is often assumed that beauty is something people are born with, within consumer culture the assumption became established that every women has the right, or even duty, to improve her appearance, that each woman could become beautiful. The consumer psychology developed in the 1920s latched on to and created a certain pragmatic attitude which sought to persuade women they could always work at increasing their embodied capital by improving their appearance. It acknowledged and endorsed the everyday assumptions common across human societies that beauty is a form of power.

The power of appearances along with the accompanying 'if you look good you feel good' philosophy, became endorsed by the consumer culture advertising, the expanding cosmetics industries and Hollywood (Featherstone, 1982; Ewen, 1976; Stacey, 1994; Addison, 2000; Barbas, 2001). In the 1920s important cross-linkages developed between consumer culture products for women, especially cosmetics and clothes and the film industry. Fan magazines always featured advertising copy 'on the secrets of the stars,' and encouraged women to think they could learn or purchase some of the techniques of glamour. This consumer culture concern with the technologies of appearance, beauty and body maintenance, and the dream images of the Hollywood cinema, became exported to many parts of the world with the rise to dominance of the United States' film industry in the early 1920s.

In Japan there were fewer integrated tie-ins between the new consumer culture body maintenance and leisure companies (cosmetics, fashion, fitness, leisure, magazines, newspapers,

movies etc) than in the United States. Hollywood stars such as Mary Pickford established her own line of cosmetic products in the 1920s and cosmetic companies such as Helena Rubenstein sought to undermine the social stigma of make up and reach a mass public (see Wilinsky, 2000; Ross, 2000; Berry, 2000, Addison, 2000). There were also numerous orchestrated promotional campaigns which linked movies, stars and consumer products (see Wilinsky, 2000; also discussion in chapter 7 below).

Mitsukoshi magazine has many romantic women's illustrations.[26] In Japan Shiseido is one of oldest and biggest cosmetic companies. It was founded as a western style chemist's shop in 1872, dealing with not only *Kanpo* (Chinese based medicine), but western medicines. Shiseido started manufacturing cosmetics in 1897. The first cosmetic was 'Eudermine' (オイデルミン) (figure 6.9), which was a basic lotion (it is still available as one of the thousands of items in the Shiseido range. This and subsequent advertisements used very dreamy imagery with modern women.

Modern girls were featured in advertisements for Eudermine. Shiseido started to focus on women as their potential market in 1897. Kaino Hiroshi (海野　弘)、an art critic, suggests that when working women started to move around in public, cosmetics became popular (Kaino, 1998: 46). It can be argued that the democratization of beauty can be traced back to this time, as in this early phrase we get the first working women. Mitsukoshi employed its first women in 1901 and started to sell cosmetics in 1905 onward, largely imported from France, England and the United States. There is advertisement in the Mitukoshi magazine, *Jikou* in August 1905 (Figure 6.10). Mitsukoshi also established a hair and cosmetic salon in 1927 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:97; see also Chapter 8, Section 6 below).

In this context the department store saleswomen are particularly interesting as they worked in a key prestigious consumer culture site. The saleswomen were seen as important exemplars of

[26] See for example, Takehisa Yumeji (竹久夢二) (*Mitsukoshi*, November, 1927), Takahata Kahou（高畠華宵）, (*Mitsukoshi*, February, 1927), and Suyama Hiroshi (須山ひろし) (*Mitukoshi*, August, 1926、*Mitsukoshi*, May, 1925). See also discussion of women's magazines in chapter 8 and 9 below.

what a modern Japanese beautiful woman should be. We also find that as the saleswomen were becoming seen as more beautiful, they were also becoming more generally acknowledged as attractive by the Japanese people (Kitazawa, 1925, cited in Yoshimi 1995c).

Yet, to be beautiful is not the whole story, because a woman's attractiveness is not only in her physical appearance, her 'look,' dress sense, and knowledge of cosmetics, grooming and style. As consumer culture advertising and advice columns constantly emphasize, a woman's beauty is not fixed, but something which can be transformed. Yet the cosmetic and body maintenance techniques which are used to beautify the body, should also be seen as part of a larger ensemble which includes consumer culture objects and the organization of space, the setting which people inhabit or move through. Hence to be seen as beautiful may be an adequate statement, if one is only able to examine a woman in a photograph. But once a women is put into the flesh and blood world of bodies interacting in space, the way her body moves and looks in different circumstances, and the way she occupies that space also gives a constant stream of information to others, the vast majority of which is taken in at a level beneath consciousness. The way she speaks, the tone of voice, the way she handles accessories and material objects around her, the knowledge she displays about them, all reveal her sense of aesthetics and lifestyle taste.

For many women in the inter-war era in Japan, this amounted to accumulating as much as possible elements of an upper-class or bourgeois taste and lifestyles. Attractiveness hence became linked to notions of 'classiness' and an appropriate non-vulgar, respectful style of life. A process of habitus reform (Bourdieu, 1984) in which the skills needed to 'pass' under the gaze of others, meant that the new styles of presentation which were being adopted (such as modes of speaking, standing, looking etc) must be 'naturalized' and sedimented into bodies over time, so they become unselfconscious. Something which is easy to do if one acquires these presentational skills in childhood in an upper class household. This is more difficult to do for a farm girl in Kyushu, whose knowledge is only gained from magazine advertisements. The saleswoman occupied an intermediate position. She had the advantage of working and being educated in taste management in a distinguished 'finishing school.' A school which was not

based upon rote learning, the repetition of catechisms and book knowledge. Rather this was a new school of taste management, which offered a practical education based upon looking, seeing and handling material goods, along with discussing their value and position in taste hierarchies with people who were learning too, who were caught up in the 'paper chase game of new tastes,' who enjoyed the practical game of lifestyle construction.[27]

In short this process of habitus reform and cultivation of taste and presentation skills gave the saleswomen confidence on how to present and conduct themselves in public. It also made the shop girl more of a 'finished article' and increased her symbolic capital and market value as not just an attractive woman, but as a 'good wife.'

As long as saleswomen could develop themselves and, and acquire the attractiveness and skilful modes of presentation, they would become popular for the reasons we have spoken of. In fact, saleswomen became 'idols' for many young Japanese men and became regarded as ultra modern and fashionable women, ones who were much more accessible for men than 'actresses' (Kitazawa, 1925 cited in Yoshimi, 1995c: 34) or 'film-stars'. The department store in some ways was a substitute movie set, one which was much more open and accessible and one in which one could approach and talk to the 'stars', and not just dream of romance, but potentially initiate one.

Kitazawa (1925) suggests that shop girls were central to the development of 'modern girls,' which is disputable (see discussion in chapter 11 below). Yet given the concentration of over a thousand attractive women in the same place which we find in a city centre department store, it would not be surprising if some men went to the stores to look at the girls. The new form of consumption captured by the term 'just looking,' could be extended from the goods, the displays and decors to people. Department were ideal environments for 'people watching,' ranging from

[27] The paper chase game is referred to by Bourdieu (1984) in *Distinction* and is used to capture the learning mode of the new petit bourgeoisie (which includes the new cultural intermediaries) who are fascinated by new and exotic tastes, and who constantly have to work hard to master new knowledge and higher class tastes as they aspire to move upwards and overcome the deficit of their low starting position in the social space. This becomes more difficult to maintain under conditions of over-supply of new tastes and goods, which increase the work – the paper chase effect (see Bourdieu, 1989; Featherstone, 1991).

voyeurism to flirting, to practical education in checking out the appearance of others for style tips. In his book *Working Women Stories*, Maeda referred to his previous book *More Salaryman Stories* in which he had mentioned the fact that people were continually gossiping about the three most beautiful Mitsukoshi saleswomen. He remarked that he was surprised that so many people had visited the store to check out the women to see if the judgement was true (Maeda. H, 1929 cited in Nakajima, 1993:139-140).

Hence, saleswomen became more independent. The attention they were given increased their confidence. They began to sense that they had gained some power over men, which was exciting and potentially dangerous. They began to think about seeking out 'adventure', even if this might entail some risks. Saleswomen had regular opportunities to meet the most eligible men from middle and upper class backgrounds, in an exciting and lavish 'dream world' setting.[28] Upward mobility via marrying up, was still a dream for many women, and although shop girls accumulated considerable symbolic capital in their appearance and work which led to some feelings of independence, their big concern was still marriage.

If we contrast this to working in a factory in noisy and dirty conditions, the department store was a glamorous luxurious theatre for women. They worked in a setting which many people came into for leisure, to enjoy their free time just looking and sampling goods and experiences. This was the dream world and they were major actresses on the set. A setting which was constantly blessed with new productions - with sets being redesigned with new displays, exhibitions and promotional events for new goods. Each new scenario offered them the possibility of coming across something exciting, something thrilling, and something exotic.

In fact, the symbolic capital of department store saleswomen as a new type of glamorous modern women, was taken up by the media and circulated through the public. The use of

[28] At the same time the tension between fantasies and the reality of having to sign an oath against having a romance with men in the store and the dangers of it being discovered by parents, could cause considerable anxiety and excitement for shop girls. Some saleswomen were worried about the dangers of the temptation of men, the 'young rich boys' who were looking for romance. See the article, 'Romance among Mitsukoshi sales girls' mentioned above and discussion in section 7: The dreams of shop girls ('*shop garu*').

department store saleswomen as a *motif* in movies and novels, further enhanced this process. The famous Hollywood movie *It* which had Clara Bow, who became known as the 'It-girl,' playing a department store saleswomen, open in Japan in 1927 at Tokyo-Kan and Hougaku-za. The movie and caused a sensation and Clara Bow became very popular in Japan .[29] Mary Pickford, who had become famous in Japan in the early 1920s, had also starred in movies as a shop girl.[30]

Mannequin girls, who worked in stores such as Takashimaya from 1928 onwards, wore Western dress and were trained to help customers, pose and smile by the elevators etc., were also seen as sexually attractive. A Japanese movie was made around the theme of a department store mannequin girl. (see discussion in Chapter 7, section 5.2 Women in Japanese movies (footnote on *Kindai Creopatora* [nd]).[31]

7. The dreams of shop girls (*shop garu*)

A constant theme in flapper movies was love and romance. The flapper was often a modern

[29] 'It' meant sexual attractiveness, a term which rapidly caught on. Many writers used 'it' in magazines (e.g. Andou Kousei used 'it' in his book *Ginza Saiken* (study on Ginza) and clearly used it in the sense of the Clara Bow Film (Ando, 1931:93). For a discussion of the term *It,* which was the product of a screenplay from the British writer Eleanor Glyn, see Barbas (2001:53-4).

[30] Tanizaki's celebarated early 1920s novel *Chijin no Ai* (Naomi), which is often cited as a key fictional account of the modern girl, has the central character, a young girl who becomes trained and customised into a *'modan garu,'* by the middle age narrator, as 'looking like Mary Pickford.' There are interesting parallels between George du Maurier's novel *Trilby* (1894), which has the heroine *Trilby* controlled by the evil hypnotist, Swengali, a middle-aged unsuccessful musician. Trilby is trained into a brilliant singer and makes Swengali rich through her performances.

[31] Some of the novels about mannequin girls were: 'Temptation of a Mannequin' (マネキンの誘惑) by Okada Saburou (岡田三郎) (Suzuki, 1989b:95-100) and 'A Department Store Mystery' (百貨店怪話) by Okado Takeshi (岡戸　武) in the men's magazine, *Shin Seinen* in July, 1930. Rather than, shop-girls, mannequin girls and even mannequin dummies were focused on in one of the sets of the department store to emphasise their role in creating the dream world. Mannequin girls were treated as sexual objects, which sometimes were 'imitations' of mannequin dummies as they took their place in 'live' *tableau* vivant displays. Mannequin girls were prime candidates for fetishism and eroticism as they could easily inhabit and move between the dream world and reality. According to Asahara they could become imitation lovers or imitation mistresses because of their special occupational characteristics as imitations of imitations (humans imitating dummies) (Asahara, 1929 cited in Wada H, 2002:121). Some of the novels on department stores were: "'M' Department Store" (M 百貨店) by Itou Sei (伊藤整)（Kaino, 1990 : 223-249）.

young woman who worked and was active and independent, but she also wanted a man and marriage in the end. This was a central dimension of the world of work in Japan too. Work provided many chances for women to contact with men in informal settings and hence held out the possibility of romance. This could be with a customer or a colleague.

In 1923, there is an article about Mitsukoshi's saleswomen in which a number of them were cited as confessing their desire to find a higher class man as a husband (*Fujin Sekai,* 1923.6:163). Furthermore, it is clear that there are many dimensions to the allure and excitement of what has been referred to as the 'sexualized landscape' of life in a big city (Bech, 1998). As the article in *Fujin Sekai* emphasised a city like Tokyo was not just a place for hedonistic entertainment, it was also a place with many opportunities for young men to look at, and perhaps encounter and even flirt with young women (*Fujin Sekai,* June 1923:163). These possibilities could occur in the various entertainment areas (*sakariba)* such as Asakusa, Shinjyuku and Ginza; also in the new urban spaces such as the café, the dance hall, the cinema, the department store and of course, strolling or window-shopping on the street (cf. the popularity of *Ginbura).* Spaces where groups of young men or women could meet for sociability, to 'hang around' and enjoy each others company and sample the excitements of flirting and encounters with members of the opposite sex.

Kitazawa, who was responsible for naming saleswomen '*shop garu'* (shop girls), insisted that saleswomen in department store had become a new women's job, which was more modern than that of the café waitress (Yoshimi, 1995c: 35). The café waitress had become regarded as a sexual object by ordinary people in the 1920s (see discussion in chapter 11). Shop-girls were one of the new type of glamorized women's occupations referred to in Japanese with the suffix '*garu,'* known as *marumaru garu* ('something-girls') (*shop garu, gasorin garu, erebêtâ garu*). The term made an implicit reference to their sexual characteristics. Shop-girls' sexual attractiveness become an important aspect of their public image. This was part of the many-faceted role set they had to learn to play. They were expected to bridge many cultural divides in Japan: to be sensitive to tradition and the modern, to the familiar and the exotic, to the old and

the new, to the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine and the sexy glamorous independent woman. But while it can be said that there is no doubt the 'the shop girls' provided the germ of subsequent images of independent women in Japan, and is part of the genealogy leading down to the Shibuya girl of the 1980s, at that time all good woman's stories still ended in marriage.

Chapter 7: Cinema Representations of Modern Girls

1. Introduction

In discussing the rise of saleswomen in the department stores, we highlighted the contradictory pressures they increasingly faced. On the one hand, work was presented as a brief preparatory interlude prior to marriage and the good wife, wise mother role. On the other hand, there was a growing public perception as the 1920s unfolded, that saleswomen somehow were glamorous attractive new women. Their high profile role as cultural intermediaries, and association with the new modern tastes and lifestyles they handled, offered the prospect of being seen as an independent woman/new woman. Yet, the extent to which this independence was welcomed, actualised or resisted is unclear. We lack the testimonies of the central actresses in the drama. Unfortunately, while there are many representations of new women such as the '*modan garu*' in literature, movies and advertising along with the occasional photographs of them striding down the Ginza, we lack the direct evidence that department store saleswomen became transformed into stylish modern girls.

At the same time, there is a good deal of indirect evidence and consequently it enables plausible hypotheses to be constructed about the potential connections. What we do have are a large number of representations of new women in consumer culture and the media in Japan in the 1920s. It can doubtless be argued that some of these representations are trivial and superficial and were used in inconsequential ways. Yet, as we argued in the introduction, following the work of Bourdieu (1984, 1977) and Elias (1994), when cultural representations circulate widely, it suggests that some of the people are using them some of the time. This is particularly so in terms of those representations that are accompanied by commentary and instructions on how to alter one's lives if they are followed. Hence for Elias (1994) the importance of manners books

which went through several editions. These give an indication that people continued to purchase them as they found the advice useful as guides for practice. This was particularly so in times of rapid change, when people faced dilemmas about what was the appropriate form of conduct, and it became apparent that their habitus needed to be reformed if they were to avoid the risk of embarrassment from seeming ill-mannered or outmoded.

With the rise of consumer culture, especially in the 1920s, a good deal of advertising becomes directed towards women (Lears, 1981, 1983). As women moved out into the world of work and public life in greater numbers, their horizons of ambition began to change. In the urban world of strangers, appearances become more important and the skill of reading the intentions of others through signs of dress, demeanour and style, become more significant. Consumer culture advertising for cosmetic and body maintenance products offered to provide some security in an uncertain world. Women's magazines, along with advice columns in newspapers, also provided discussion about questions of appearance, style and lifestyle. They offered practical advice on presentational skills and appropriate conduct. They offered representations of the type of style or appearance, which could be achieved and how this would be read by others in the urban world.

The cinema, too provided not just a dream palace, but also a laboratory, in which women could sit back and observe engaging representations of competent women coping skilfully with the new practices (Hansen, 1991, 1995). They could scrutinise the movie heroines, who typically were represented as recent migrants to the city, perhaps working as department store assistants, and adopting a learning attitude towards a new exciting life, seeking to attain some ordered habitus, in urban world which was presented as full of new images, sensations and possibilities. For the shop girls in the audience, the movie magazines and women's magazines provided more practical advice and background information on how to ground and actualise the styles and looks of the stars in the cinematic images (Barbas, 2001).

In short an important interrelationship between consumer culture and movie culture developed

in the early decades of the 20th century and became particularly strong in the 1920s, especially in the United States (see Charney and Schwartz, 1995; Desser and Jowett, 2000). A new form of modern life became invented in the city and was evident in the new flows of bodies, goods and gazes to be found in the street, urban transport and consumer culture spaces. The rapid glances, fleeting impressions, discontinuities, shocks, changing perspectives, sense of the ephemerality of the everyday, mobility of the gaze and aestheticization were aspects of this new urban experience highlighted by Simmel (1997c) and Benjamin (1999).[1]

It is also argued by Benjamin that film became a key new medium capable of capturing these qualities of modern urban experience.[2] But movies didn't just reproduce the formal properties of the new urban modern life and consumption experience, they also reproduced the content of the new consumer spaces, the new personae which were to be found there, along with new narratives which reflected the particular dilemmas of modern life. Motion pictures can be said to offer new forms of identification for the spectator via a virtual mobile gaze. If shoppers, as they browse through goods and consumer spaces, were capable of trying on new identities, engaging in the pleasures of temporal and spatially-fluid forms of subjectivity, then cinematic spectatorship offers a similar pleasure through the process of identification with screen characters.

It is from this Hollywood culture that a particular image of the new woman, the flapper, developed. This was particularly evident, with the market dominance Hollywood movies achieved in many parts of the world, after the effects of the First World War in Europe delivered

[1] Simmel (1997b:255) tells us that he universe of commodities on display 'paralyses the senses.' The transitoriness of the goods on display, the displays themselves and even the sites of display in department stores, exhibitions and trade fairs further reinforce our inability to assimilate impressions. This emphasis on the momentary, leads to a more general aestheticization of thought in which one thinks and speaks in images; hence experiences are not broken down, analyzed and made sense of (see Featherstone, 2000a).

[2] He remarks 'only film commands optical approaches to the essence of the city,' because it can capture the flux and movement of urban life (Benjamin, 1985:238; cited in Gilloch, 1996:18). The mobile shifting point of view of the film camera was therefore ideal for capturing the flux and movement, the discontinuities, ruptures and shocks of the modern city. It is also argued that for Benjamin and Kracauer, following Freud, film provided training, a rehearsal mode, for coping with the stimuli of the modern city. Sensationalism, distraction, spectacles and thrills offered a complex form of 'training' to enable people to better cope with the sensory overload, the neurasthenia and exhausted nerves resulting from the increased tempo and shocks of modern urban life (Singer. 1995:92ff).

a big advantage to the United States' film industry. But whether Hollywood actually penetrated other domestic markets around the world or not, is not the central issue. From the 1920s domestic film industries, such as the Japanese, increasingly looked up to Hollywood as the dominant model; the best practice example for film production, storytelling, camera techniques, editing and forms of acting. Hollywood forms of distribution and marketing, the tie-ins between other consumer culture sectors and movies, the use of stars in promotional activities etc., were also very influential.

Likewise the notion that the cinematic experience should take place in plush luxurious surroundings, also came out of the United States. The movie 'dream palaces' and the department store 'dream worlds,' echoed a similar new consumerist sensibility in which women were the major participants.[3] It has been argued that the flapper type strongly influenced the *modan garu* (modern girl) who became a popular image in 1920s Japan of the 'new woman' (Silverberg, 1991).

2. The origins of the 'new women'

The flapper was just the most recent version of the new woman. The 'new woman' can be traced back to the 1880s (see Nelson, 2000; Heilman,1998), becoming more visible in the 1890s with the increasing numbers of women entering into college and higher education, with a few

[3] While both the cinema and the department store were spectacular spaces, it is important to raise the question of how people actually interpreted and used these spaces (Yoshimi, 1996a). Many readings and interpretations of cinema, magazines and consumer goods were possible from the sales women, shop girls and differentiated consumers who used them in a variety of different ways. Hence factors such as generation, social class, ethnicity, gender and status were important formative aspects of particular readings. In attempting to understand both department stores and the cinema, we therefore should be aware not only of the meanings deliberately inscribed via the production process (film makers, manager of department stores, or member of think-tanks such as *Ryukokai*) in making the spectacular and imaginative spaces. There was also a viewer and consumer dynamic in operation, which could not always be understood, predicted, or controlled, by those who constructed the cinematic and consumer apparatus. The problem with historical research in these areas is the paucity of evidence of actual consumers' views and practices. In cinema history, there has been a recent turn towards examination of cinema audiences. (See for example, on the history of the audiences of the United States cinema from the 1900s-1930s the edited collections by Stokes and Maltby, 1999; and the same editors collection on Hollywood spectatorship, Stokes and Maltby, 2001. On the early French cinema and its relation to crowds in general see Schwarz, 1998).

making there way into the professions (see Dumenil, 1995:99). The term connoted a woman who rejected bulky restrictive Victorian dress for a new athleticism (the Gibson girl[4] who emerged around 1900 was a glamorous version who became a favourite amongst men) (figure 7.1).

This was the type of women who rejected the view that women's place was in the private sphere of the home, for work on the one hand and a commitment to reform and women's political and social rights on the other. This was a new independently minded woman who was 'worldly wise' and able to formulate and express her opinions; (a woman captured in fictional treatments such as H.G. Wells's novel *Anne Veronica* (1993, original 1909) and the plays of Ibsen and George Bernard Shaw.[5] Yet, the new woman, soon moved from literary and intellectual circles into mass culture and appeared in posters, magazines, department store windows to become part of popular visual culture (Todd, 1993).

At the same time, there was no consensus on the meaning of the 'new woman,' and we can best conceive the term as involving an unstable field of characteristics which could be drawn upon in different contexts. Some of the key elements in this field have been captured by Piess (1990:152-3):

> For some, the new woman was a mannish, political, and professional woman who had entered the public sphere on its own terms. For others, the new woman was a sensual, free-spirited girl - in the 1880s a 'Daisy, by the 1910s and 1920s, a flapper. The latter figure embodied another set of contradictions: she was at once an independent wage-earner, making her own way in the world, and a beautiful, romantic girl, seeking marital fulfilment. (cited in Staiger, 1995:53)

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[4] The 'cool, elegant' Gibson girl, first appeared in 1900 and was often shown in sporting poses, bathing or playing golf etc (figure 7.1). Her creator Charles Dana Gibson was seen to have captured the new woman's self-assured independence in his drawings which were enormously popular, appearing first in *Life* magazine and then in every imaginable artefact of American material culture: porcelain bowls, commemorative spoons, matchboxes, umbrella stands, wallpaper. Charlotte Perkins Gilman contrasted her in 1898 with the average American woman; the Gibson girl was 'braver, stronger, more healthful and skilful and able and free, more human in all ways, (cited in Todd, 1993:5).

[5] For a discussion of the impact of these plays in Japan see chapter 11, section 3 below.

This capacity to enter the public sphere not only involved the possibility of work and greater political participation through the movements for suffrage and women's rights, it also involved consumption. Those women who entered department stores and the new leisure spaces of consumer culture took women into a new public world of masquerade and possibilities. On the one hand the consumer spaces encouraged women to be knowledgeable and calculating, to optimise their spending and make good consumer choices. On the other hand, many of the new goods and experiences were advertised in ways which sought to overcome traditional norms, taboos and rituals in the name of greater self-realization and progress. It was not just shopping, but window shopping and dreaming of a more inchoate set of experiences, which were encouraged. In short, there was a strong connection between consumption and desire.

Commenting on the description of the 'modern wife' in the United States' magazine *Good Housekeeping,* Staiger (1995:176) remarks

> She is seldom a productive helpmate. In many cases she is not even a reproductive one. She is a consumer, a helpmate in helping him spend what he earns.

This emphasis upon the new woman as primarily a consumer also suggests that the meaning of her sexuality and desire changed. A new concept 'voluntary motherhood,' was born in the 1900s, which aroused a good deal of opposition as it raised the question of women's reproductive rights and birth control.[6] These questions of women's rights and possibilities beyond the conventional mother role were much discussed in the popular press, magazines and movies. The film *Where Are My Children?* (Loie Weber, 1916), for example discussed birth control and abortion, albeit through a variety of conflicting discourses (Staiger, 1995:177).

[6] One of the key figures in the USA was Margaret Sanger who published *The Woman Rebel* (1914), *Family Limitation* (1914) and fought off an obscenity prosecution. She opened a birth control clinic in 1916 (see Staiger, 1995:176-7). Sanger was heavily influenced by Havelock Ellis's romantic notion of sexuality (see Dumenil, 1995:132-3). In England in the 1920s Marie Stopes achieved a similar notoriety and influence. In the Japanese context those who advocated such radical changes under the influence of Sanger et al., ran headfirst into the government campaigns to encourage the 'good wife and wise mother.' But this struggle in Japan occurred later than in the USA, in the 1920s. The opposition to contraception and women's control over their fertility, given the government's national project rhetoric of 'rich country, strong army'(*fukoku kyouhei*, 富国強兵), was much more resolute. See discussion in chapter 8 in relation to the government campaigns for the reform of everyday life.

This highlights a perennial problem faced by those who still sought to use the movies for self-help advice and moral reform through 'cautionary tales;' in order to instruct people how to avoid becoming a victim of temptation, the temptation itself had to be represented, with the consequence that for some the education process was not just in the control of desire, but in the stimulation of desires. Yet, it was clear that the new woman did not describe all women. The moral panics in the United States in the 1910s and '20s about the new woman's sexuality, was primarily centred on 'respectable' white middle class women, because this group experienced the shift away from Victorian values in heightened form (Dumenil, 1995: 138). It was this group who through their literacy and purchasing power, were also open to the new consumer desires and avant-garde intellectual and artistic rationalizations of hedonism and sexuality.

Hence the general discussion and public concern that women's entry into the public sphere had led to the cultivation of desires and new sexual possibilities for women, meant that sexuality itself becoming a predominant topic. The discourses around the '*It*' girl and 'flapper morality' in the 1920s, were constructed on this earlier concern about women's sexuality in the 1910s. Staiger (1995) points out that the fear that the new woman might really be a 'vamp,' a 'bad girl,' or 'loose woman,' was a preoccupation in the 1910s and early 1920s.[7] A series of US movies addressed this question, such as: *Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls* (Ernest A Bell, 1910), *The Girl Who Goes Wrong* (1911), *The Lovesick Maidens of Cuddletown* (James Young, 1912), *The Cheat* (C.B. de Mille, 1915), *The Perils of Pauline* (1915), *Traffic in Souls* (George Tucker, 1913), *A Fool There Was* (Frank Powell, 1915), *Where Are My Children?* (Loie Weber, 1916), *Open All Night* (Paul Bern, 1924).

[7] The 1920s saw a greater influence of the work of Sigmund Freud, Havelock Ellis, Ellen Key and others who were taken up by the cultural avant-garde and bohemians of New York's Greenwich Village. It has been argued that this form of 'transgressive sexuality' and cultural and moral experimentation,' made its way into consumer culture through advertising, magazines and the movies (Bell, 1976). It was not just the young girls who found new forms of leisure and sexual experimentation in the 'cheap amusements of the new urban dance halls, amusement parks, theatres etc., sexuality also became seen as a component of the 'good marriage.' As Phyliss Blanchard and Carolyn Manasses, comment in their sociological study *New Girls for Old* (1930) in the United States, remark: 'After hundreds of years of mild complaisance to wifely duties, modern women have awakened to the knowledge that they are sexual beings. And with this new insight the sex side of marriage has assumed sudden importance' (Dumenil, 1995:131).

3. The flapper as 'new woman'

One of the most visible representations of the new woman was the flapper. The term would seem to have been first used by the critic H.L. Mencken, who wrote an essay entitled 'The Flapper in the United States,' in the critical magazine *Smart Set* in 1915. The essay argues that the key characteristic of this form of the new woman is that her knowledge comes from the media, from popular novels and movies. In effect she was a new form of consumer, on the one level she looked to be innocent, but in reality she was worldly and unshockable (Ross, 2000:64). Her blasé attitude came from exposure to the stories in the media furnished by the new 'yellow press' with its features articles and sensationalism, and 'new women's magazines, the 'yellow magazines,' such as *Vanity Fair.*[8]

On the one hand the flapper was a case of 'life imitating art', of falling prey to an over-ripe imagination, of wanting a scripted life which unfolded like a popular narrative. On the other hand she seemed to know the real world, but it was actually the new mass mediated world, that had widened her horizons beyond the domestic sphere. She absorbed all kinds of serendipitous information through the media, so that she could talk in an informed way on a wide range of topics: books, drama, movies, fashion, cosmetic, body care, humour, sport, dance, opera, shops, restaurants, prostitution, sexual mores and motor cars.

This faith in knowledge gained from the media, was reflected back into the media in movie characters, which began to appear, with one of the first feature films being *The Flapper* (1920). Many of the audience which watched the flapper movies were young women themselves. They

[8] The yellow press was a new form of sensational journalism which emerged in the late 19th century in the wake of the adoption of new Linotype machines which made possible a dramatically increase in the production of newspapers, initially in Britain and the United States. In the USA the ruthless "yellow" journalism developed – the term derived from a cartoon character called the "Yellow Kid," whose creator worked for the American newspaper publishers William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer (the former was the subject of Orson Wells famous movie *Citizen Kane*). In England the *Daily Mail* was the first newspaper of this type.

were encouraged to identify with the flapper characters presented in a series of movies which drew on familiar themes many of the young women themselves were encountering, or imaginatively rehearsing. Familiar problems such as how they as more independent working women could steer themselves through the new urban consumer spaces, speeding-up pace of modern life, youthful fashions, new more risqué sexual norms.

In the 1920s women entered the new manufacturing and service industries in large numbers in the United States and other Western countries. The flapper films of the 1920s often featured these work environments, especially the new urban consumer, service and entertainment occupations such as secretaries, salesgirls, and of course chorus girls. The new flapper heroines were often presented as working in department stores as we find in movies such as *Love 'Em and Leave 'Em* (1926), *It* (1926), *Manhandled,* (1924). Clara Bow, perhaps the most famous flapper star, worked as a manicurist in *Mantrap* (1926). Gloria Swanson played a waitress in *Stagestruck* (1925). In many of the movies the young women lived apart from their families, in lodging houses, or sharing rooms with other girls.

The flapper was usually presented against the backcloth of the modern city, the new faster city life with its cityscape of angular modern buildings, advertisements, neon signs, speeding motor cars, buses, trams. The city with its new sites of consumption, free time and entertainment facilities – the fun-fair and entertainment parks such as Coney Island in New York, which was featured in the movie *It.* The flapper captured this frenetic movement, she was young, slim, and mobile, a marked contrast to the dignified reserve of her firmly corseted mother. The flapper stars, Colleen Moore, Joan Crawford, Gloria Swanson, Louise Brooks and, especially, Clara Bow (figure 7.2; figure 7.3) personified the speed of modern city life and the energy of the modern American girl, echoed in the movement and mobility of the cinematic apparatus itself.[9]

[9] There are many movies starring Colleen Moore, such as '*Sally,*' '*Flaming Youth*', ' *Painted People*', '*Perfect Flapper*', '*So Big*', ' *The Desert Flower*', '*Flirting with Love*' etc. She was introduced as a leading 'tomboyish actress,' the type everybody knows. She was also famous for her sense of humour and wit, as we find in advertisements such as that in *The Movie Times* (1926, No.215).

The flapper's sense of movement captured the new informality of the postwar era with its rejection of the stiffness of military bearing, which had formerly been evident in the demeanour of men and women in general. Commenting on 'flapper posture' Latham remarks

> Their posture, a 'lop–sided' stance characterized by 'sunken chests and round shoulders', suggested fatigue, rather than beauty. (Latham, 2000:21)

Their posture, then, was more masculine and they cultivated a directness and even impoliteness (frowning, scowling) which contrasted with the coy and winsome, seen-but-not heard, shy and well-mannered, stereotypes common to young women in her mother's generation.[10] Moreover, the flapper had an athletic body and did not stop moving around. They would swim, run, and ride a bicycle. Clara Bow in particular in her movie roles epitomised this aspect of the flapper.

This new masculinised behaviour was also captured in a prominent French novel of the day *La Garçonne* (1922) by Victor Margueritte (1866-1942), which went through many editions (more than 1 million copies were printed) and was translated into over a dozen languages. The novel featured an emancipated woman seeking out her own career and financial independence, who practised 'free sex' and who thought and acted as a man. She also adopted the masculine style of short hair, didn't wear a corset or brassiere.[11] The novel caused such a sensation that the British government tried to ban it, much to the delight of the author and publisher (Thebaud, 1994: ch 3 the inter-war years).[12]

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[10] The magazine *Mitsukoshi* in August, 1931, featured a model in western beachwear who posed in an aggressive, active and masculine way. After 1930, there were many active poses in the magazines.

[11] This new women, *garçonne* was criticised by French feminists in the *L' Caduvre.* They insisted that women's rights, equality with man, should be the focus and not confused with free sex. Thy also suggested that they did not aim to 'improve' women's morals in terms of free sex, but wanted eager to change men's sexual moral into women's moral. (Rabaut, 1978, translated by Kato, 1987:355)

[12] The moving body was an important feature of the flapper style, which reflected the 'speed' and 'motion' of modern everyday life. We can trace many examples of this in the art in the early decades of the 20th century (see Kern, 1983), for example Louis Icart has one painting showing a modern woman with three dogs running in the air, capturing the sense of tension, speed and movement (figure 7.4 and 7.5).
Another example was the American dancer, Loie Fuller who became famous as the 'goddess of art nouveau' (Catalogue of Art Nouveau Exhibition, Tokyo, 2001:156). She danced in a transparent costume, with arm extensions to transform her body shape which was constantly moving and changing. She also was the first to use electric light in illuminated dance. Her electric light dances inspired numerous sculptors, who sought to convey her performance in metal, notably Raoul Larche, who made a famous figural lamp of Loie Fuller (figure 7.6) in 1900

It has often been commented that flapper was 'a pure consumer,' restlessly pursing the new fashions.[13] Working women helped fuel the expansion consumer culture, especially in the United States in the 1920s. The flapper fashion style characteristically involved thin dresses or short skirts cut above the knee, nylon stockings, high heels, the use of lipstick and powder, the short bob haircut, the *cloche* hat (figure 7.7).[14]

A style which emphasised youthfulness and revealed the natural line of the body (corsets and tight-lacing were to be abandoned). The new styles were in the department stores and city shops and available in versions which working women could afford. The exclusive and elite Parisiènne fashions were sidelined for the new styles. As Hopkins remarks:

> Fashions in this country are no longer ruled by a few leaders of society. They are determined by the purchases of several million women, each of whom buys a pleasing dress, puts it on immediately, wears it shabby, and buys another. The girl with the pay envelope sets the style for women who dress-make at home.
> (Hopkins, 1922:332; cited in Latham, 2000:46)

A process of 'democratization of cosmetics,' was also occurring with beauty products ceasing to be taken as a sign of the prostitute, but as a necessary accessory of the modern woman. In the 1920s entrepreneurs like Elizabeth Arden and Helena Rubenstein made cosmetics more acceptable by promoting the philosophy of 'natural beauty,' an approach which combined Christian moralizing about the need for inner perfection and self-improvement with a sense of the 'democratization of glamour,' the right and duty of ordinary women to enjoy the pleasures of masquerade and making-up.[15] As Berry (2000:115) comments, this entails the idea that style

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(Duncan, 1994:191-193). This was a forerunner of the art décor figurines, which became popular in the 1920s (on Fuller see Garelick, 1998: ch 4).

[13] Ewen (1976:149) remarks 'She was pure consumer, busy dancing through the world of modern goods. She was *youth*, marked by energy not judgement. Her clothes, her vehicles, her entire milieu were mass-produced – and she liked it.'

[14] The bob first appeared in 1918 as a sign of radicalism and was depicted as a short-term fad in 1922 by the *American Hairdresser*. But by 1924 the same journal was forced to feature bobbed styles and instructions on the new form. Yet girls generally had to go to barbershops to get the cut (Allen, 2000:91). Søland (2000:33) in her discussion of new women in Denmark in the 1920s features cartoon which appeared in the magazine *Blækspruttten* in 1925, which shows a barbershop completely occupied by women, with a man gingerly trying to enter. The style had rapidly globalized (figure 7.8).

[15] Dumenil (1995:141) tells us that in the United States 'Beauty shops multiplied, expanding from 5,000 in 1920 to

could be changed at will, that 'the secret of beauty is change;' hence 'the very artificiality of the made-over face was celebrated as evidence of the democratization of beauty.' The new consumer culture was based on the assumption that beauty and glamour like the new fashions, were readily available for all, at prices which would suit the new working woman.

The flapper look emphasised the importance of not just care with presentation of self, but performance. Flappers were concerned with 'how to be looked at' and 'how to look'. They enjoyed making their own impression, working at their own ensemble of style of clothing, accessories, posture and body movement, in adopting some of the presentational skills of the actresses they watched in the movies. Hence Latham argues that 'some flapper-era fashions seemed particularly to create a sense of the performative whenever they were worn' (Latham, 2000:2). As Laura Mulvey (forthcoming) remarks

> Modernity was a stance and a mode of behaviour as well as a look, which, in turn, enhanced the close relation between femininity as a construction and the performance of that construction. The flapper stars performed the performance.

The fashionable clothes, cultivated appearance and 'the look,' were also well-suited to the new urban spaces, sites of display, pleasure and consumption, which increasingly began to reflect back the theatrical design and movie-like quality of the cinema set: sites such as the dance hall, the café, department store, entertainment park and the cinema now turned into the 'movie palace.' The 1920s was the 'jazz age,' the time of parties, nightlife and dance crazes, when if one wanted to dance the Charleston all night like Louise Brooks' Janey in *Love 'Em and Leave 'Em* (1926), it was essential to be fit.

Hence the flapper gave a new emphasise to the appearance of the body, but it was a mobile active body, which had to perform. To attain and maintain the right level of performance needed

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40,000 in 1930. Similarly, the sales of cosmetics mushroomed, with sales in 1914 of $17 million and in 1925, $141 million.' This was based on a change in attitude towards cosmetics. In the *Ladies Home Journal* in June 1919, there were only four advertisements which mentioned rouge and these referred to how if correctly applied it would be 'imperceptible.' Yet in the June 1929 issue lipstick was presented as essential, commenting: 'It is comforting to note that the alluring note of scarlet will stay with you for hours' (Allen, 2000:93).

a good deal of body work, body maintenance skills and back stage preparation. Yet fitness and cosmetic grooming also involved the act of purchasing and the new gymnasium and beauty salon, themselves became increasingly presented as stylised areas in the interwar years' movies. Back stage areas themselves developed a front stage quality, and were opened to the voyeuristic gaze.[16]

The flapper characters in Hollywood movies had a special relationship with 'flapper' audiences in the United States. Young women in the audiences began increasingly to resemble the characters on the screen. If the flapper was defined through her use of consumer goods, her clothes and cosmetics, then there was money to be made in tying together the movie and consumer culture industries (Ross, 2000: 60).[17] Studios even encouraged young women to enter competitions to become 'the perfect flapper.' Contestants were invited to study the behaviour of Colleen Moore, the star of *The Perfect Flapper* (1924), both in the movie and in her stills. They were then asked to buy a 'Colleen Moore Perfect Flapper Frock' and have their picture taken in a Moore style pose. A similar example was the tie-in for the film *The Married Flapper* (1922) starring Marie Prevost, in which the winner of the contest would win a trip to Universal City in Hollywood for a screen test. (Ross, 2000: 61).

A series of tie-ins also developed with the publishing industry. Perhaps the most famous flapper movie, *Flaming Youth* (1923), which starred Colleen Moore, was adapted from the controversial bestselling novel of the same title, by Warner Fabian.[18] The publisher sought to capitalise on the explicit sexual content of the novel in an advert in *Publishers Weekly* in February 1923 which

[16] The fitness craze was parodied in the 1930s English movie *Keep Fit*, starring George Fawnby (see Hepworth and Featherstone, 1982; Featherstone and Hepworth, 1982).
[17] Ross (2000:60) mentions that 'the press book for First National's 1924 film *The Perfect Flapper* includes tie-ins with twelve fashion and beauty products, and asserts 'when one thinks of the flapper the accompanying ideas is clothes-clothes-clothes. That's ninety percent of the flapper – clothes, fashion.'
[18] Laura Mulvey (forthcoming) remarks 'It was Scott Fitzgerald who, early in the decade, dedicated the twenties to 'flaming youth…' In 1922, Colleen Moore bobbed her hair and launched the flapper image across the Hollywood screen. As Fitzgerald put it: 'I was the spark that lit up *Flaming Youth* and Colleen Moore was the torch.' Later, in a 1927 *Motion Picture Magazine* interview, Scott Fitzgerald was asked how he would, retrospectively, define the flapper. He said: 'Flappers are just girls, all sorts of girls. Their common trait being that they're young things with an extraordinary talent for life.' The flapper, he implies is no longer anything outrageous or odd but has been assimilated into the everyday as the 'modern American girl'.

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> *Flaming Youth* intimately portrays the woman of today – restless, seductive, greedy, discontented, craving sensation, unrestrained, more than a little selfish, intelligent, uneducated, sybaritic, following blind instincts, slack of mind, trim of body, neurotic, vigorous, a worshiper of tinsel gods at perfumed alters. (cited in Ross, 2000:71)

The publisher, Boni & Liveright, had moved its advertising out of traditional venues and hired giant billboards in urban locations to feature its books. It also hired the founder of the new field of public relations, Edward Bernays, to help launch titles as integrated media 'events' and get Hollywood stars to comment on its titles (Ross, 2000: 72). The film promoters also ran billboard advertising campaigns with risqué images, causing controversy and running close to the censors across the United States.

The controversies around the flapper, helped to redefine youth in moral and sexual terms. Now youth was seen to be governed by a 'new morality,' that went beyond family loyalty in favour of unashamed hedonism. In the middle of the 1920s youth was now often referred to as 'flaming,' 'wild,' 'jazz mad.' As preferring sexualised activities such as 'dancing, drinking, dating' along with 'dizzying recreation, late parties, speedy automobiles' (Felando, 2000:88). This shift in sexual coding along with a more general sexualization of everyday life is captured by Laura Mulvey (forthcoming) when she remarks:

> During the 1920s, images of modernity, a new femininity, mass production and mass entertainment achieve visibility side by side, deeply imbricated with each other. This new market place opened up a space in which the old images of femininity, defined by patriarchy as either respectable or sexual, gave way to the contradictions of consumer capitalism in which the discourse of sexuality changed.

The new sexualised landscape of modernity as the 1920s unfolded increasingly became one associated with the United States through the developments of the Hollywood movie industry. This new industry had been quick to vertically integrate and expand its markets throughout the United States and then overseas to quickly outpaced European and other film industries to

achieve a global dominance. The flapper represented this new American modernity, which seemed to becoming a form of ultra-modernity in which all traditions had been erased, and speed, mobility, hedonism, youth and living for the moment, had triumphed.[19]

4. Flapper culture as a global culture

As the Hollywood movies spread out very quick geographically around the world, so did the flapper culture. The flapper type of new women was not only found in the United States, but in Paris, London, Berlin and in Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai and Tokyo also in the 1920s. In this sense it became a form of globalizing culture (figures 7.9, 7.10, 7.11 and 7.12). This suggests that the oft-quoted global flows of information, images, money, goods and people (Appadurai, 1990) are not just a recent phenomenon, and draws our attention to earlier waves of globalization.[20]

5. The cinema, the new women and everyday life

At the same time we need to be aware that there were different dynamics at work in each of the cities and countries mentioned above. We cannot presume that because some young women saw flapper movies in the 1920s they themselves became flappers, adopting flapper styles of dress, lifestyle and sexual morality. It could well be the case that the flapper remained on the level of representation and fantasy, viewed in the movies and advertisements and much more rarely seen

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[19] It is this lack of the sense of overt content, that any popular media content could be used that has led some to see the flapper as 'kitsch': a 'manufactured woman,' 'would be actress,' 'created women,' 'artificial women' or 'invented women'. Kitsch style can be seen as resulting from a picking through the bric à brac of popular culture to challenge existing values and resist the conventional rules (Shimada, 1998: 111). Here we think of the popular art deco artist Louis Icart (1888-1950), who painted flapper style women, in art deco style clothes, in sexy and erotic poses (largely from 1910-1930). He was active from the 'Belle Epoch' to the 'Jazz Age.' His life-work illustrated the transition of the city landscape, women's lifestyle, fashion, and their sexuality (see, for example, his paintings: 'Speed,' 'Mimi Panson with Eiffel Tower,' 'Vandome Square.' (For a discussion of kitsch, see Elias, 1998). See also discussion of Icart in footnote 11 in this chapter.

[20] For Shanghai see Ou-Fan Lee (1999) and Zhang (1999), for Rio de Janeiro see Sevcenko, (1998: ch 5).

to materialise on the streets, in the department store, café or dance hall.

This question of the relationship of representations to practice is raised by feminist historian Estelle B. Freedman (1974), who is concerned that scholars presumed too much about the actual lives of women of the 1920s 'based on popular stereotypes of flappers, bathing beauty queens, chorus girls, and other such alluring yet facile representations' (Freedman, 1974:393; cited in Latham, 2000:7). Freedman insisted that we should question 'how the social freedom in clothing, manners, and sex contributed to deeper social change,' (Latham, 2000:7).[21] While the 1920s flapper culture was clearly a mass mediated event, (like the 1960s too), with emblematic movies, newspapers, magazines discussions etc., it is not unlikely that actual practices changed too.

This argument about the relationship between representations, presentation and practices, has been referred to a number of times and is central to our endeavours. One could argue that, if dresses and cosmetics are bought, along with dress patterns and high heel shoes, there is a chance they will be used. If magazines and newspapers feature advice columns about how to wear them and the problems that might be encountered from men and parents, then there is some evidence that practices could be changing. If these dilemmas of use, concerns about the problems and embarrassments of following new customs and manners, or rejecting old ones, are also thematised and discussed in movies and popular novels, then again there is some evidence of feedback in this process.

In this context it is interesting to note the remarks of Sally Alexander (2001) in *Becoming a Woman in London in the 1920s & 30s,* in which she examines the impact of Hollywood cinema on young working women film-goers

> The cheap trappings of glamour were seized on by many young women in the 1920s,

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[21] This is an important question, akin to the oft-heard sentiment about the 1960s, that 'the Sixties didn't happen in my town,' that the summer of free love, hippies etc., was merely a media event. For a discussion of the problem of representations of the sixties and the way it became a powerful trope (see, Townsley, 2001; Abromeit, 2002, forthcoming).

> frustrated in their wish for further education, yearning to escape the domestic treadmill of their mothers' lives, haunted by the fantasy, not of the prostitute as in the nineteenth century, but of the glamorous screen heroine who paradoxically could be you, the girl next door. (Alexander, 1995:223)

Furthermore:

> This wanting to lead different lives from that their mothers had - if education failed them - enormous impetus from the cinema. By the mid-1930s the department store, Oxford Street, and its local equivalents had begun their reign as the Mecca of fashion for the working girl, site of her much-vaunted new affluence. Court dressmakers continued to turn out stiffened satin and brocades, and shop windows still displayed their clothes draped decorously on plaster busts. But high fashion failed to capture the imagination of the young. Mimetic images of Harlow, Garbo and Crawford paraded in the high street as they glowed on the cinema screen. Few in 1930 could afford the new clothes in the shops. Mothers, sisters and friends hastily put together copies of their clothes with material a few pence a yard from market or cheap department stores... In this way the mantle of glamour passed from the aristocrat and courtesan to the shop, office or factory girl via the film star. (Alexander, 1995:221)[22]

As Myriam Hansen (1991, 1995) has argued the cinema can be seen a key institution in the formation of a women's public sphere, being a relatively safe public space where women could interact in public safe from the gaze of men. A site in which the female gaze on men was also possible.[23]

The cinema also acted as an identification machine, and enabled people to imaginatively try on other identities. This was particularly the case in the United States in the early years of the 20th century, with the large numbers of European immigrants who were trying to make sense of the new codes and customs. As Hansen remarks

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[22] For a collection on the history of home dressmaking in Europe and the United States see Burman (1999).

[23] According to Laura Mulvey in 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', the dominant mode of Hollywood cinema was for representations of women to be regarded as an object for spectators, the majority of whom were men (Mulvey, 1975:13). But against this, it has been argued that there has been a shift from the male gaze to the female spectator (Stacey, 1994:19). It is interesting to note that in a recent article, Mulvey (forthcoming) has argued that in the 1920s, flapper movies provided a new discourse on femininity and sexuality in which the central female character often drove the narrative for a largely female audience. Hence the question of the gendered gaze in Hollywood cinema can only be answered in terms of historical specificity, and it is possible to see different phases in which the dominant male gaze could have been preceded by a female gaze.

> The cinema provided for women, as it did for immigrants and recently urbanized working class of all sexes and ages, a space apart and a space in between. It was a site for the imaginative negotiation of the gaps between family, school and work place, between traditional standards of sexual behaviour and modern dreams of romance and sexual expression between freedom and anxiety. (Hansen, 1991: 118)

Yet it can be also argued, that this public sphere function of identification, could also have occurred in many other societies too. In particular locations where the pace of social change was very strong, where the effects of the new modern life, such as the tearing down and building up of the urban fabric in metropolitan cities such as Tokyo and Shanghai was highly visible and the new types of personae, the modern people, were evident on the streets, in the department store, cafés, dance halls, bars etc. For many the identification may have been on the level of fantasy pleasure, but the fact that some people went to the trouble to dress and model their demeanour to approximate that of the stars they saw on the screen, suggests a more complex process, of not just translating fantasy into reality, but of adopting avant-gardist strategies and playing out the social logic of distinction games.

In short to dress as a *moga* (modern girl) or *mobo* (modern boy) and engage in *Ginbura* (Ginza strolling, Ginza cruising) , in mid 1920s Tokyo, may have entailed various forms of fantasy play and pleasures, yet it also was a known provocation, the modern girl appearance especially, with its western aggressive sexiness, was a very strong defiant gesture in the face of the dominant patriarchal constructions of 'good wife, wise mother' stereotypes for women. To look and act as *moga*, was also an artful construction, and took a good deal of advice and support from a peer group, often bolstered by other mediated sources such as specialist magazines, or newspaper and magazine articles which discussed the pros and cons of various strategies in mastering the performance, and how to handle the expected public reaction. In this context, department stores and cinemas were potential advice centres, sites for observation, gaining information, but also for discussing and judging the merits of different performances, and additionally for imaginatively and practically trying on the new styles and personae. In this

context it is useful to note Mary Ann Doane's remark

> The cinematic image for the women is both shop window and mirror, the one simply a means of access to the other. (Doane, 1989:51)

5.1 The cinema and fan magazines

In the 1920s as Hollywood, became the leading film industry globally, and as cinema became a major form of entertainment for ordinary people, a good deal of interest was generated in the lives of the new movie stars. In the interwar years Hollywood stars such as Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, Rudolph Valentino, Clara Bow, Rita Hayworth and Joan Crawford became well known around the world. Indeed even when Pickford and Fairbanks visited the new communist USSR in the early 1920s it is recorded that they attracted massive crowds and were treated like royalty (Barbas, 2001; Featherstone, 1982). The Hollywood Studios developed a publicity machine to cater for and promote their stars' celebrity status. It helped to fuel the interest which had developed in the 'back stage' lives of stars, their beauty tips and 'secrets of their success,' along with the general mystique which was beginning to accumulate in the public imagination around the Hollywood 'dream factory'.[24]

Women's magazines and the specialist cinema fan magazines, such as *Photoplay* which sprang up in the United States in the 1920s, cultivated this interest. They sought to bridge the gap between consumer culture and the new cinematic media culture (see Desser and Jowett, 2000). They encouraged ordinary women to daydream about being 'a star', to adopt versions of the star's fashion and appearance, which were now available in the department stores or through mail order.

The fan magazines, in particular, provided women with an endless stream of information about not only their favourite star's taste in clothing, make up, food, décor, but also 'intimate details' of their personal lifestyles. Columnist in fan magazines wrote told readers details of

[24] There is a considerable literature on stars, stardom and celebrity. See Barbas, 2001; Dyer, 1979; Gledhill, 1991; Ewen, 1988:154; Stacey, 1994; Gaines and Herzog, 1990; Desser and Jowett, 2000, Rojek 2001).

> what the star eats for breakfast and whether or not he sleeps in pyjamas, gives not only the fan but the regular movie-goer and reader of newspaper columns a feeling of great personal knowledge about his favourite actor. (Ewen and Ewen, 1982:214)[25]

Hence, fan magazines become not only vehicles for learning about 'the secrets of the stars,' but also acted as life manuals which worked to inform and guide people on new lifestyles.

Hollywood fan magazines usually devoted their front cover to close-up photographs of popular film stars). Clara Bow, the archetypal flapper girl and one of the most popular stars of the 1920s, was often featured. In an article about her she was introduced as a modern girl:

> The Girl of the Hour - Clara Bow. She is the Super-Flapper of 1927 - the most modern of modern girls. Please credit Clara with creating an original and distinctive type of screen heroine. Also with daring to be herself. (*Photoplay*, 1927:19)

In 1927 Clara was at the peak of her popularity. Her most important film was '*It*', based on the work of the British novelist Eleanor Glyn (see Barbas 2001:53-4; Stenn, 2000, for a biography of Clara Bow). '*It*' meant sexual attractiveness, and the title caused a good deal of sensation at the time, (a time in which scientific sexual therapies and Freudian psychoanalytical theories of sexual repression were beginning to penetrate into the popular discourse for the first time in the West). The plot has Clara playing an ambitious modern working woman in department store, out to get a rich man. Clara's movements and demeanour in the film emphasise her physicality and athletic body along with a mental sharpness and assertiveness. Something which was rarely seen in female characters in movies before (Clara is seen swimming at the end of film.)[26]

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[25] See, for example, the regular articles on topics such as: 'Favourite Recipes of the Stars' (*Photoplay* August 1927:63), clothes – 'Let *Photoplay* Do Your Shopping' (*Photoplay*, 1927:78-79), and how to exercise to keep good figure 'Good at Figures' (*Photoplay,* 1927:112), advertisements on 'a good appearance' such as for Pond's cold cream, (*Photoplay*, 1927:81). *Photoplay* also had its own shopping delivery service for clothes. This meant that *Photoplay* acted as a guide-book on fashion as well as a mail order shop for clothes.

[26] It is interesting to note that the majority of flapper films were produced by female filmmakers and that many of the production team were also women. This was part of an industry wide pattern which saw women being employed in important roles. As Laura Mulvey (forthcoming) remarks 'in 1928, of the ten books in the best seller list, eight were by women. A third of Hollywood screen writers were women who either created their own material or adapted existing stories, largely from women writers and women's magazine stories. Frances Marion, the most

6. Japanese modernization and the new woman

To understand the new woman in the Japanese context we need to realise that the flapper type of woman which in the Japanese version was the *modan garu* (modern girl), was not the first model of western woman to be introduced into Japan. The Japanese government and Meiji reformers had sought to introduce their own version of a modern woman which they assumed would be suitable for Japanese modernization produced from a syncretism of Japanese and western elements. The state interventionalist and governmental intentions of the Meiji reformers, were also complicated by Japan's perception of the image, it should develop to present itself to its guiding and dominant significant others in the West. Given the West's preoccupation in the phase of intensified colonization in the 19th century with justifying this as part of a 'civilizing mission', as spreading a beneficent cosmopolitanism to the world (Venn, 2002). This cosmpolitanism was coupled with a sense of racial superiority on the part of the west and a hierarchical model of the other nations and ethnic groups in the world. To be civilised, and to represent oneself as civilised to the West therefore became an important strategy for Japan in order to maintain itself as an independent entity, junior to, but near the West.

As part of this strategy of demonstrating a high level of civilization had been attained, it was important to present Japanese women as civilised, as being familiar with western manners, the wearing of western clothes and the following of western lifestyles. Initially, those women who attained familiarity in the new standards were drawn from members of the royal family, government officials, and samurai families. One good example to illustrate this process of Westernisation in the Meiji era, is the Rokumeikan (鹿鳴館) (Deer Cry Pavilion) built in 1883. It was a centre for numerous balls and other social events attended by prominent Japanese government officials and foreigners. Everyone who attended events in the Rokumeikan had not

successful screen-writer of the time earned $3,000.' Many female friendships and networks were developed in 1920s Hollywood, but these did not survive the Wall Street Crash of 1929 and the coming of sound.

only to wear western clothes, but also to be well-schooled in other manner and customs, such as the ability to dance in the western style (see discussion of Rokumeikan chapter 10 below).

7. Japanese films and new women: The development of Japanese films and modern girls

The first cinema was introduced Japan in 1896 (The History of the Home Office, 1970:737). [27] The early cinemas showed short films, very simple 'moving pictures', but their very rarity and novelty, made a big impression on Japanese audiences (The History of the Home Office, 1970:737). As Tucker remarks

> The screening was held in the Kabuki-za, the Kabuki theatre in Tokyo, and this set the seal on the cinema. The performance was graced by Royalty and the setting of the Kabuki theatre as the home of the motion picture meant that it was the medium for the upper middle class and the rich. (Tucker, 1972:10)

According to Tucker, 'this is a strong contrast with the beginnings of cinema in the West, especially in the States where the cinema was entertainment for the common man, an adjunct of the music-hall, Japan never experienced the equivalent of the Nickelodeon' (Tucker, 1973:10). Although, in its early stage, cinema in Japan could be seen as 'high culture,' as a prestigious imported culture, it became a key form of popular entertainment in the late 1920s to the early 1930s.[28]

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[27] This was the 'kinetoscope', invented by the Thomas Edison Institution in 1889. The same year, Lumière's *Cinematographes* were imported from France (Tucker, 1973:10) According to Sato, this occurred in 1897 (Sato, 1995:95). The same year, the 'vitascope', which made possible projection onto a screen, was imported (this was also invented by the Edison company) (Sato, 1995: 95). For Japanese people at the time, the science and technology clearly came from the West, and 'the Japanese did not contribute to any invention which could be related to cinematic technology' (Komatsu, 1992:232).

[28] However, the perception of cinema as culture and the general image of the Japanese cinema industry changed in the 1920s. Shouchiku's (松竹), executive manager and the head of the Kamata studio, Jyoto Shirou（城戸四郎） and director, Ushihara Kiyohiko（牛原虚彦）, both were graduates from Tokyo Imperial University (Tokyo Universty), which was/is the top university in Japan. It was unexpected that members of the elite would enter the film industry, because the cinema industry was considered as lowbrow culture in the 1920s. Therefore, when Ushihara joined the Shouchiku film company, people discussed whether Ushihara as a member of the top elite, should be allowed to go into the film industry or not. Ushihara had to get a letter of recommendation from the lord

The history of Japanese cinema up to the end of the Second World War (1945) can be divides into three phrase: the first, between 1897 (when the first camera was imported to Japan) and 1914-1915 (when Japanese cinema, under the influence of American films, adapted the Western mode of narration) (Komatsu, 1992:230); the second, between 1915 and 1931 (the date of the first Japanese all-talkie movie - Gosho's 'The Neighbour's Wife and Mine,' (松竹, Shochiku Company) in terms of the changing representational mode of cinema; the third, from 1931 and 1945 (when the government's control was abolished).

In the early stage up to 1914, the majority of films shown in Japan were imported, mostly from France (Pathé Company, Gaumont, Méliès). A smaller number were from the United States and England. Among the French films, the most successful throughout Japan were historical dramas such as Pathe's *L'Epopée napoleonienne* (The Napoleonic Epic), shown at the Kinki-kan theatre on July 1 1904 and fantasy films such as those of Méliès (Komatsu, 1992:243). Most of the American films that were shown were made by the Vitagraph Company, along with works by D.W. Griffith. Thus the Westernization of the Japanese cinema which was apparent by the early 1920s was brought about not by the American cinema, but by the influence of French cinema. When Griffith's *The Lonedale Operator* was released in Japan, one critic wrote:

> Since this is a chase film, it was a tremendous hit with the audience of the Kinryu-kan in Asakusa Park. However, the essence of American cinema only lies in films about war, cowboys and chases. There is no substance at all. (Film Record No.3, 1913:13;

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of Kumamoto prefecture, in order to persuade the people who were against him to give him the chance to enter the film industry (Sato, 1995:215). It is interesting to know that when Jyoto become director of Shouchiku, he had the ambition to develop the Japanese film industry to become like Hollywood, which produced movies which had rapid action with happy endings, the opposite to Japanese films. Therefore, he invited young people who loved Hollywood movies to be educated to be the next generation who would take over the Japanese film industry. However, in the middle of the Second World War, he explained that he wanted to make a film centred on 'mother-love' in order to emphasise the need to retain the Japanese family structure. He argued that as more than half the audiences were women, the female audience was crucially important (*Eiga Shinpo,* 1941). His views were published in the first issue of *Eiga Shimpo,* a new film magazine, which supported the government's war policy. Therefore we can see that even with his love of Hollywood, Jyoto's had to support the mother image to reinforce women's sense of national identity and need to contribute to the state as a good citizen. From this article, we can see that even Jyoto could not avoid being drawn into the government's sphere of manipulation. Therefore, film makers in Japan had to steer a difficult course.

cited in Komatsu, 1992:252)[29]

The phenomenon that the number of scenes and shots in chase films tended to increase had already occurred in the United States and France. The increase in the number of shots was proportionate to the Westernization of Japanese cinema. By the increase in the number of shots, the self-sufficiency of cinema, i.e., its ability to make its meaning clear without depending on other discourses, was enhanced. Explanations and interpretations by a *benshi* (interpreting narrator) became unnecessary when it was manifestly clear from the action that there was the chasing detective and the villain being chased, as was the case in *Japanese Zigomar* (Nippon Jigoma, released in August 25, 1910).[30]

From 1914 to 1915, the number of foreign films shown in Japan shifted from a predominance of European-made films to ones made in the United States (Komatsu, 1992:256). The establishment of Nikkatsu in 1912, (an amalgamation of the Yoshizawa Company, the Yokota Company, the M. Pathé Company, and the Fukuhodo theatre chains) altered the Japanese cinematic world. After 1914 the main mode of film-making changed drastically as Japanese cinema adopted the representational mode of western cinema in which cinema undertakes its own narration. The First World War led to decrease to production of European films, with American films filling the gap (Komatsu, 1992:257). Censorship was strict and a unified code applied in 1917. Films were not allowed to show: overt sexual scenes, cruel or brutal scenes, and unethical behaviour (Sato, 1995:90).

According to the police censorship records for 1920 of the total films shown, American film made up 56.4%, Japanese film 27.0% and European film 7.6% (Chiba, 1987:395). Interestingly,

[29] Until 1907, Japanese film production was sporadic and small-scale, but expanded after the Yoshizawa Company built a glass studio in Tokyo's Meguro area in January 1908 (Komatsu, 1992:245-246).

[30] The *benshi* (forerunners of the *katsuben)* had been used in the first Japanese demonstration of the Kinetoscope in 1896 and the Lumière Cinematographie in 1897. They stood beside the machine or the screen as a commentator, a standard international practice in the early days of the cinema, which was retained much longer in Japan. The amount of explanation given by the *benshi* for chase films was in proportion to that of an ordinary film in which every action was verbalized; moreover, the language used was full of strange figures of speech. Although cinema itself does not call for any explanation, the customary way of showing films in Japan did not allow for any films to be shown without accompanying explanations. Thus a conflict arose between the Westernization of Japanese cinema and customary Japanese modes (Komatsu, 1992:253).

when foreign films were shown in Japan, they were shown with their original inter-titles intact with *katsuben* (*benshi)* acting as translators (Anderson, 1992: 169). In effect *katsuben* functioned as cultural intermediaries, interpreting, acting out, contextualising and embellishing the plot. Movies with 'new woman,' flapper type characters, referred to as 'modern girls' (*modan garu)*, appeared in the 1920s. The *modan garu* style was influenced by silent Hollywood cinema. It would be interesting to know how the *katsuben* performed as western actresses, or modern girls, but records are not available. By the early 1930s with the rise of talkies *katsuben* became increasingly redundant. Japan slowly increased its own sound-on film production after 1931. At this time Japanese films held two-thirds of the domestic market share.[31]

In terms of the number of films produced and released, in spite of damage of the major Tokyo earthquake in 1923, Japanese film began to exceed the number of foreign films by 1924. By 1926, the length of Japanese film, which was censored (1,877,696 meters) exceeded the that of imported film (United States 1,258,093 meters; Europe 253,672 meters) (Chiba, 1987:397). In spite of this, it can be seen that Hollywood had a strong influence on young people. The popular young man's magazine *Shinseinen* (New Young Man) featured a series on the art history of cinema, written by Iwasaki Akira (岩崎　昶) in 1927. He introduced readers to the Hollywood cinema world, with film review and features on directors, film stars, and industry gossips.[32]

Furthermore, many famous Hollywood stars were seen on the cover of the fan magazine, *Kinema Jyunpou* (キネマ旬報) (*Movie Times*), such as: Colleen Moore, 11 March 1926, No.221 (figure 7.14, figure 7.15); Clara Bow, 21 April 1926, No.225 (figure 7.16); Mary

[31] Movies of all forms remained a minor part of the entertainment industries in Japan during this period. In 1920, there were only 470 movie theatres throughout the Japanese empire, along with several dozen travelling exhibition companies. With only twice the population of Japan the United States at this time had more than fifty times the number of movie theatres. Movie attendance in Japan was far below one visit per year per person (Anderson, 1992:272). Yet architecturally movie theatre were elegant lavish structures, just like department stores: dream palaces and dream worlds (Nikkatsu, 1952) (figure 7.13).

[32] By 1930 even women's magazines, such as *Shufu no Tomo (主婦之友)*, had already started to introduce detailed features on film, such as that on the William Fox Company film'Why do You Run Away?' (*naze iede suruka*?) (directed by Raymond Canon) which was about a modern girl (*Shufu no Tomo*, 1930, Vol 14 (2)).

Pickford, 11 May 1926, No. 227 (figure 7.17). Hence, we can surmise that young people were very interested in Hollywood films, as the number of imported film exceeded that of Japanese films.

7-1) Women in Japanese movies

We can only really start to speak of a Japanese film industry in the 1920s, when it began to take in young Japanese film-makers who had learned their cinematic technique abroad. Influential here was Henry Koyama (ヘンリー小山), who had worked in Hollywood as a cameraman and was recommended by Cecil B. de Mille (Sato, 1995:80). He was the first director to use the Japanese actress, Kurishima Sumiko (figure 7.18), (栗島すみ子) in his film *Gubijinnsou* (虞美人草, *corn poppy*) (1921), which was a big hit with spectacular scenes using huge open-sets with large numbers of extras, just like the Hollywood cinema. The film's success made Kurishima Sumiko (栗島すみ子) into a star, the first popular actress in Japan. Previously in Japanese traditional drama, such as Noh and Kabuki, women's roles had been played by men, who were termed *oyama* or *onnagata*. Some young film-makers, such as Henry Koyama, Thomas Kurihara (トーマス 栗原), Abe Yutaka (阿部豊), who had been trained in Hollywood, adopted realism and argued that real women were needed to perform in films, given the cinema's versimilitude and use of close-ups. Referring to these new movie actresses, Tucker remarks 'Initially they all become stars, for such was the interest that every new women was heralded as a public wonder, four thousand copies of a photograph of Kurishima Sumiko (栗島すみ子) being sold in one day in Tokyo' (Tucker, 1973:14).[33]

In 1925, Yutaka Abe, who had worked as an actor in Hollywood come back to Japan as the director of *Nikkatu* （日活）. He produced another movie 'The Woman Who is Touching My Leg' (*ashi ni sawatta onna*) in 1926 (figure 7.19), a story about a 'vamp'[34] (Sato, 1995:253).

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[33] 'Like the classic Hollywood cinema, the Japanese cinema boasted the star system, with stars commanding incredible loyalty and popularity, which led to often astonishing prolificacy. As in Hollywood, stars become immediately associated with genre, which itself become the backbone and lifeblood of the industry' (Nolletti and Desser, 1992:x).

[34] See Staiger (1995: ch 6) for a discussion of the vamp style. The vamp, or 'bad woman,' was presented as a

The film's beautiful heroine handled men in a very clever way and totally dominated them. This film was revolutionary in the fact that the plot publicly dealt with the theme of a women deceiving a man. In 1920s Japan the dominant patriarchal code still generally dictated that a woman should always obey a man. Therefore by the very fact that the film dealt with a taboo subject, it implied that a shift in balance of power between the sexes had taken place.

Another film by Abe Yutaka, 'Five Women around Him' (*kare wo meguru goninn no onna*), 1927 (figure 7.20, figure 7.21), was famous for the Ernest Lubisch *(erunsuto rubittch)* style of eroticism (Sato, 1995:200). Lubisch invented his own style, known as sophisticated eroticism, seen as a form of witty, urbane comedy.[35] The use of contemporary plots with women leads and flapper themes became more common in the late 1920s. Tucker tells us that

> In the late 1920s, Japanese society was affected by the flapper crazes of the twenties as much as Western Europe, and the audiences flocked to the cinemas to see stories of people not unlike themselves. (Tucker, 1973:17)

With the majority of films now made in Japan, Japanese audience were not necessarily directly influenced by Hollywood movies. Yet the Japanese films they saw along with the orientation of the production personnel, used many of the images, ideas, techniques and styles of Hollywood.[36]

It could be argued that Japanese audience became acquainted with many new styles, such as a style of the modern girl (flapper-style) from watching contemporary Japanese films, which were

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seductress, one of the many facets of the 'new woman.' The term captured the fascination with women's greater reflexivity and self consciousness as they sought to come to terms with new discourses of greater sexual freedom and consumer culture desire. Many movies in the 1910s and '20s dealt with this theme.

[35] 'The Woman who is Touching my Leg' heroine was Umemura Yoko (梅村容子), with Okada Tokihiko (岡田時彦) as the male lead. In 'Five Women around Him,' the female leads were Umemura Yoko, Natsukawa Shizue (夏川静江) and Okada Yoshiko (岡田嘉子)', with Tokihiko Okada as the male lead (*The 40 Year's History of Nittkatu, 1952, Nikkatsu 40 nenn shi,* 日活 40 年史).

[36] A top Japanese film actress, Mizutani Yaeko (水谷八重子) was dispatched to Hollywood by the Kansai Area Cinema Association, which was part of the Osaka Asahi Newspaper Company in 1926. It was the first time an actress was sent abroad to study Hollywood cinema with support from the cinema association. This is further evidence that the Hollywood cinema has a big influence on the Japanese film industry (*The Movie Times*, 1926, No. 223).

influenced by Hollywood.[37] At this time a direct imitation made less sense, given the large differences in mores, lifestyle and fashion which still had to be bridged. Hence, people felt more comfortable with contemporary Japanese films, which mediated the Hollywood styles, and it was the styles of Japanese actresses (figure 7.22, figure 7.23) that women started to begin to imitate in their everyday lives.[38]

Yet the censors were always a problem in the background when topics such the modern, sexually independent woman was broached. One way to avoid the attention of the censors was to produce period dramas. Often the producers discovered they could use history as a valid analogy to the present. As Tucker comments

> Having discarded historical melodrama for contemporary social realism the directors now found that they could film the Tokugawa period (17th century to 1868) as though it were contemporary society. Such films as Inagaki's *The Wandering Gambler* (1928) and *A Swordsman's Picture Book* (1929) stripped the myth away from history and showed the man in the street to have as much right to live in the world as the government minister or the industrial magnate. (Tucker, 1973:17)

In the late 1920s, contemporary film also tried to grapple with social realism and social commentary. The first of these 'tendency films' (傾向映画) (Bock,1978:39) was 'Living Doll' (*ikeru ninngyou*) (1929), produced by Tom Uchida. The plot was about a man who came from the countryside with big ambitions to make a success in the world. But he is used by the capitalist bosses and eventually defeated by them. In one scene in the film, the leading man is

[37] Many of the young *modan garu* and *mobo* along with members of the intelligentsia from 1923 onwards, became completely loyal to Hollywood movies and their stars and would not consider watching a Japanese movie (see Sato, 1995: 216).

[38] In 1922 there were 112 movie theatres in Tokyo and the suburb of Tokyo with an annual movie attendance of 17,400,000. This meant 5.07 visits per person a year. In 1926 there were 178 movie theatres, with an attendance of 24,870,000. This amounted to 6.0 visits per person (Sato , 1995:208). In 1920, there were only 470 movie theatres throughout the Japanese empire, along with several dozen travelling exhibition companies. With only twice the population of Japan, the United States at this time had more than fifty times the number of movie theatres. Movie attendance in Japan was far below one visit per year per person (*Zenkoku ni okeru katsudo shashin jyokyo chosa* (A Nationwide Survey of the State of Motion Pictures, Tokyo: Mombusho Futsu Gakumukyoku, 1921 cited in Anderson, 1992:272). From these sources it is clear that people in Tokyo went to the cinema more than those in the provinces.

made a fool of by the secretary (Irie Takako) of the company president. She plays a typical modern girl *(moga*), with fashionable flapper style western clothes. The film provided a powerful image of the *moga*: an urbane, sophisticated, confident woman who would smoke like a man and not hesitate to take a man's arm in public (figure 7.24).

The film provided a strong critique of the corrupt relationships between businessmen and politicians which occurred in capitalism. It is interesting, to note that the modern girl in this film, who was a working woman, did not succumb to men's advances easily. They did not hesitate to manipulate and play with men. This type of modern woman very much had her feet on the ground and lived in the real world. She was knowledgeable and clever and used her social skills to avoid the many pitfalls of city life.

At this time in the late 1920s, '*shomin-geki*', 'films about lower middle class life as it is' (Richie, 1971:20), were being produced by many Japanese directors. As Tucker remarks

> It is important to note that even at this early stage there were two distinct approaches to this form of middle-class realism, which was to emerge again after the war as the split between the ethical left and the ethical right. Politics were not really the motivating force at this time, the attack being rather on the rich upper-middle-class. (Tucker, 1973:18)

While this growing realism and anti-capitalist mood generated both the *'tendency film'* (*keiko-eiga*, 傾向映画) and *'shomin-geki'* (庶民劇), at the same time Ozu Yasujiro (小津安二郎) emerged to make subtle middle-class comedies. (Ozu's first *shomin-geki* was 'The Life of a Salaryman' (*kaisha in seikatsu*, 1929) (Bock, 1978:91).

Mizoguchi Kenji (溝口健二), a director who had shown a sympathy for the poor, had irked the censors from his first film onwards. 'In 1929, however, he burst into the full-fledged leftist "tendency film" (*keiko-eiga*) fad begun that year with 'Metropolitan Symphony' (東京行進曲、

Tokyo March)' (Bock, 1978:39).[39]

The influence and fashionableness of Marxism and anti-capitalist rhetoric at this time also generated proletarian films. In one film of this genre, we follow a very modern type of lady playing the part of an active 'new woman', a working woman in the city, who has the capacity to make decisions and to live out her own lifestyle ideals.[40] An interesting example of this type of movie was Uchida Tom's 'Miss Nippon' (*Nippon Jyo*) (1931) (figure 7.25). The film was about a modern girl (Irie Takako) who worked in *Maru-biru,* (the Maru building, a key symbol of the Ginza and the city, which was regarded as the most sophisticated building by ordinary people at the time). Irie Takako played a young executive challenged to expose the corruption of the landed class. Despite incorporating a strong left wing ideology, the film was seen as providing a positive and appealing image of the modern girl. Here we can see an interesting narrative about a modern girl who became a super heroine, to fight social injustices (Film centre brochure, 1992:95.)[41]

It should be added that throughout the 1920s the cinema began to make a bigger impact on people's lives, especially women's lives. This was not just a result of the influence of Hollywood movies (although stars such as Mary Pickford, Colleen Moore and Clara Bow were well known and discussed in the media, but also through a series of indirect mediations which saw Japanese movies take up the themes of modern life and modern gender characterization in ways which would be amenable to both Japanese audiences and the censors.

[39] The plot of 'Tokyo March' (*Tokyo koukyougaku*) entailed: 'A poor boy laborer and a girl who has been played with and dropped by a rich man get together and decide to seek revenge against capitalists' (Bock, 1978:61). See discussion of this movie in terms of the use of modern girls and the famous song 'Tokyo March' which was a big hit, in chapter 11 below.

[40] Another film which featured working women was 'A Messenger from the Moon' (*Tsuki yori no shisha*). The plot is a romantic love story between a nurse (Irie Takako) and a young man (Takada Minoru). For ordinary Japanese people at that time nurses were working women who did not always have a positive image. But despite this potentially negative reception, the film was promptly well-received and was seen to have provided a good image of working woman (Sato, 1995:265).

[41] A further working women's film, about a mannequin girl in a department store was 'Contemporary Cleopatra' (*Kindai Kureopatora*) with Irie Takako and Okada Tokihiko, produced by Abe Yutaka (Eiga Suta Zennshu, 1992:100).

As the '20s unfolded with an increase in the number of Japanese films, Japanese people began to get a much better image of western taste from modern Japanese actresses and actors. The actors and actresses soon became more confident in adopting these styles, which became evident in the sense of ease in wearing western clothes, and confidence in western body postures, ways of looking and general demeanour. These styles were also now seen on the street, in the department stores, cafés, coffee houses and dancehalls. Hence a feedback loop commenced, with modern girls in movies and modern girls in everyday life beginning to imitate and mimic each other. This is a theme which will be addressed in more detail in chapter 11 below.

Chapter 8: The Readership of Department Store and Women's Magazines

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter we discussed the emergence of the 'new woman,' the modern girl and the flapper in the West,[1] especially in the cinema, and then examined some of the ways these representations were adapted by the Japanese film industry. In Japan we know less about the ways in which the representations of new women circulated and were taken up by women in their everyday lives. Yet the popularity of Japanese movie stars and the ways in which their lifestyles were discussed in fan magazines, women's magazines and newspapers, is one indication of the public's interest. Women's magazines, in the 1920s in particular, constantly discussed movies and the human interest aspect of cinema stars, as well as expressing a broad interest in all the various ways in which the image and actual experience of being a woman were being redefined. At the same time, the vast bulk of the material they carried provided more mundane advice on the practicalities of home making, looking after children, fashion, shopping, body care and women's problems. This chapter will focus on Japanese women's magazines and

[1] It has been argued that the early decades of the 20th century was a key period in the formation of a new gender identity for young women in the West, one in which young women started to work in larger numbers, enabling them to engage in a range of new consumption and leisure activities (Piess, 198; Flower, 1995). David Flower (1995) highlights the crucial formative nature of this period in the England and the United States. He points to 'the production and circulation of films targeted at youth, the opening of dance halls catering exclusively for the teenage worker, and the appearance and proliferation of magazines for young wage earners that 'brimmed' with advertisements' (cited in Tinkler, 2000:97).

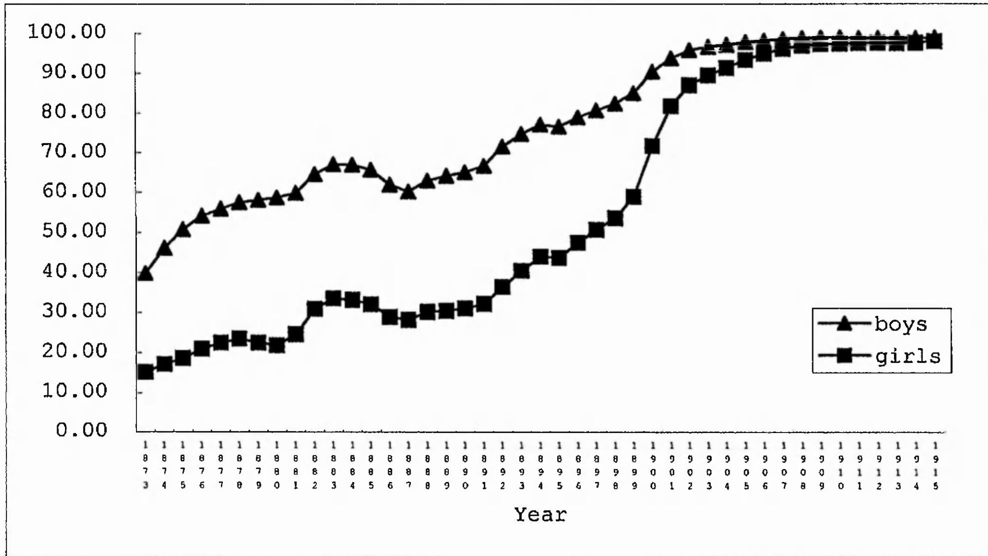
examine the ways in which magazine publishers and editors sought to construct various versions of a 'new woman' for a widening readership in the first three decades of the 20th century. At the same time the government sought to enlist support from institutions such as department stores and women's magazines to channel the representations and discourse about the new woman to bring it more in line with their intentions of building a strong Japanese nation-state. Hence the emphasis upon 'the reform of everyday life,' 'thrift campaigns,' and a proclamation of the virtues of a rationalized consumption on the part of 'good wives and wise mothers.' The ways in which this particular tension was managed within the Taisho and early Showa eras, then, is an important topic (Garon, 1997, 1998).

2. The origins of women's magazines

Between 1877 and 1912, more than 160 magazines were established in Japan, which focused on women as their main market (Miki, 1989:4). The first educational system had been established in 1872 (Meiji 5) with four years-compulsory schooling for both boys and girls. However, not many girls went to school at that time (boy's rate 61.99%, girl's 29.01%). The attendance rate for girl's in elementary school only exceeded 50% in 1897 (table 8.1). In 1886, the junior girls' school and teacher's college attendance rate was very low, with the total number of girl's students in higher education was about 1500 (Nakajima, 1989:4).[2]

[2] Even when new educational regulations came in, the content of women's education didn't change. Its main concern was with imparting domestic skills and conventional moral conduct, in line with the patriarchal system.

<<Table 8.1>> The change in the school attendance rate



Year	The School Attendance Rate (%)		
	Total	boys	Girls
1873	28.13	39.90	15.14
1874	32.30	46.17	17.22
1875	35.43	50.80	18.72
1876	38.32	54.16	21.03
1877	39.88	55.97	22.48
1878	41.26	57.59	23.51
1879	41.16	58.21	22.59
1880	41.06	58.72	21.91
1881	42.98	59.95	24.67
1882	48.51	64.65	30.98
1883	51.03	67.16	33.64
1884	50.76	66.95	33.29
1885	49.62	65.80	32.07
1886	46.33	61.99	29.01
1887	45.00	60.31	28.26
1888	47.36	63.00	30.21
1889	48.18	64.28	30.45
1890	48.93	65.14	31.13
1891	50.31	66.72	32.23
1892	55.14	71.66	36.46
1893	58.73	74.76	40.59
1894	61.72	77.14	44.07
1895	61.24	76.65	43.87
1896	64.22	79.00	47.53
1897	66.65	80.67	50.86
1898	68.91	82.42	53.73
1899	72.75	85.06	59.04
1900	81.48	90.35	71.73
1901	88.05	93.78	81.80
1902	91.58	95.80	87.00
1903	93.23	96.59	89.53
1904	94.43	97.16	91.46
1905	95.62	97.72	93.34
1906	96.56	98.16	94.84
1907	97.38	98.53	96.14
1908	97.83	98.73	96.86
1909	98.10	98.86	97.26
1910	98.14	98.83	97.38
1911	98.20	98.81	97.54
1912	98.23	98.80	97.62
1913	98.16	98.74	97.54
1914	98.26	98.80	97.67
1915	98.47	98.93	97.96

(Source: 'Japanese long-term statistical compendium' cited in Nagahara, 1990:67)

Although it was difficult for women to gain access to books and magazines, there was a much greater chance to encounter new ideas about women's lives than previously. Some of the leading intellectuals, who had studied in the West, began to introduce information about western women's lifestyles and ideas about human rights after the Meiji Restoration. For example, members of *Meirokusha* (Meiji six society) raised questions about women's rights in order to criticize the previous Tokugawa regime and emphasize the need for reform. Mori Arinori（森有礼）Nishimura Shigeki (西村茂樹), Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉),[3] Nakamura Masanao (西村正直) and other members of the group established a magazine, *Meiroku Zasshi* (明六雑誌, Meiji Six Magazine) in 1874, which began to propose new ideas about women.

While these questions had little effect on public opinion or women's lives, the introduction of western ideas started to alter women's education policy. During the second decade of the Meiji era (Meiji 10s, 1877-87), some early women's magazines were established, such as *Jyogaku Shinshi*（女学新誌）in 1884 (later to change its name to *Jyogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌) in 1885) (figure 8.1). Such magazines insisted that 'Japanese women should seek to perfect a blend of Western women's rights and conventional Japanese women's virtues' (Miki, 1989:10). This new model was, therefore, affected by the Meiji government's strong advocacy of westernization and modernization. A policy which led upper class Japanese women to expect to become westernized (Bingham & Gross, 1987: 141).

In *Anata (Kijyo) no Tomo* (Your Friend)「貴女之友」edited by Ho Mamoru（甫守）, established in 1887, we find the suggestion that women should become the main organizer of the family budget in order to establish women's rights in the power balance between husbands and wives. Furthermore, we can find that they also suggested that both women and men should develop as individuals. Although the magazines seemed to encourage women's independence, they insisted that the home/family was the first educational space to give children the basis of

[3] Fukuzawa's *Seiyou Jijyo* (西洋事情) (The Condition of the West, 1870) was a bestseller, which introduced Japanese people to Western society, culture and intellectual life (Odagiri, 1993:5; see also discussion in chapter two above).

their 'national education' (国家教育) to be a good citizens' (Miki, 1989:19).

After the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), in 1897 the rate of female school attendance reached just over 50%. The conventional view that 'women should not read anything - women do not need to know,' was very strong among ordinary people at that time. For women reading was seen as unnecessary, unnatural and socially unjustifiable. By 1900 the girls' rate reached 71.7% (the boys' rate was 90.6%) (Bingham and Gross, 1987:151; see also Nagahara, 1990:67). The rise in literacy, then, helped the formation of a literate public, a crucial foundation for the women's magazines, which became more popular from 1900 onward (table 8.2).

The resultant improved level of education helped stimulate women to think about their lives and ideals, creating a space for new women's magazines. These were a key information source for women, especially middle class women, who were increasingly well-educated, and were concerned with the social issues of the day, particularly women's rights. According to Tokutomi Soho （徳富蘇峰） (1863-1957), the period Meiji 20-21 (1887-1888) can be seen as a 'Women's Time,' with a profusion of lectures, a flowering of literature on women's issues, and a major expansion in the number of women's schools and women's groups (*Katei Zasshi* Vol. 2, *Tokyo Asahi newspaper* 5th June, 1889 cited in Miki, 1989:13-14). In the Meiji 20s (1887-1896), the government efforts to construct a new ideology for women moved up a gear, with women encouraged to have more interest in 'the state'. As good citizens, women should strive to be 'a good wife and wise mother' and educate children to become good citizens.'[4]

[4] With the intensified nationalism in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5), women were expected to work both in the home and workplace to contribute to the national effort. At that time, women's educational institutes established and organized women's social groups (Nakajima, 1989:13). Attempts were made to integrate women through linking the role women played in the family (their family), to the collective 'family' (the Japanese nation).

<<Table 8.2>> The number of women's magazines

Calendar	Meiji	Number of the First Issue
1894	27	1
1895	28	1
1896	29	3
1897	30	3
1898	31	2
1899	32	4
1900	33	4
1901	34	12
1902	35	7
1903	36	10
1904	37	9
1905	38	14
1906	39	12
1907	40	6
1908	41	4
1909	42	7
1910	43	5
1911	44	7
1912	45	5

(Source: Nakajima, K, 1989:7)

Many women's social groups had their own magazines, which were edited by women themselves. In order to become 'civilized' women, it was seen as important to have magazines as guidebooks or textbooks for women's education. To socially and politically organize women, the focus was not only on married women, but also female students. One of these women's magazines, *Female Students* (女学生), established in 1890, was based on Iwamoto Yoshiharu's policy (巌本善治), that women should learn 'literature'. Iwamoto had argued

> The purpose of learning literature for women is to improve their 'natural-conscience' (social conscience). If women can develop their intellectual capacities, this will be seen as contributing to public improvement. (cited in Miki, 1989:40)

The women's magazine, *Female Students* (女学生), became a public space in which women students were not just the readers, but also active writers contributing on many issues.

In 1893 (Meiji 26) a new government regulation forbade women to publish magazines, which discussed current social issues. A little later in 1899, the regulations of newspapers were partly changed to make it possible for women to become publishers and editors. Yet, it was still hard for women to become editors of social issues magazines, because the government's conditions for publication required a large financial deposit. Therefore the majority of women's magazines were published not as review magazines on current social issues, but as learned journals.

With regard to the 1899 Women's Education Act mentioned earlier, even though this encouraged the establishment of a specific women's curriculum in school, the level of women's education was lower than men's. As the education minister at that time, Kikuchi Dairoku (菊地大麓)remarked, 'Japanese women are expected to be a good wife and a wise mother, to be better educated to carry out their responsibilities in the family' (Miki, 1989:51; see also discussion in chapter 10, section 2, below). Women's journals and magazines in the Meiji 30s used the slogan, 'a good wife, a wise mother' a great deal, which meant that women would have little freedom to chose their own life as an individual, rather women were viewed instrumentally as a means to integrate the Japanese people through the family system.

At this time the major women's magazines targeted *jogakusei* (女学生, junior high school female students in their early teens) as the main readers.[5] These were *Joshi no Tomo* 「女子之友」 (Girl's Friend), *Jogaku Shinpo* 「女学新報」 (A Women's Newspaper) and *Jyogaku Zasshi, Himeyuri* 「女学雑誌姫百合」 (Star Lily, Women's Magazine) (Miki, 1989:52). These female student's magazines also supported the government campaign that Japanese

[5] The earliest were the Tokyo Girls' High School (Tokyo Jogakko), founded in 1872, and the Girls' High School attached to the Tokyo Women's Normal School (Tokyo Joshi Shihan Gakko; now Ochanomizu Women's University), founded in 1882. Most girls' schools were privately operated, but in 1899 the Directive on Girls' High Schools (Koto Jogakko Rei) provided for the establishment of a secondary education system, with all girls eligible. The aim of education was still primarily in line with the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine. Some of the early graduates from these high schools and colleges went on to become leaders in the women's movement. Hiatsuka Raicho, who was a key member of the group and editor of *Seitosha* (Bluestocking) magazine (1911), graduated from the Japan Women's College in 1906 (see discussion in ch 10).

women should be good citizens.

Similar processes were happening in the expanding popular press. Cities, such as Tokyo, experienced major population increases in the late 19th century and this along with the new literate public helped change the marketing strategy of newspapers, encouraging them to expand the 'domestic life' section to gain female readers.[6]

3. The growth of commercial women's magazines (1898-1908)

The expansion in the base of women readers made possible the rise of commercial women's magazines.[7] With the gradual rise in the standard of living, publishers began to produce women's magazines, which focused not only on women's social issues, but also practical domestic matters, which were seen as a new potential market.

It is interesting to note that the new women's magazines initiated a format which has been retained over the intervening century down to contemporary women's magazines.[8] They included articles on cooking, cosmetics, clothing, baby care, home-making, along with a large

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[6] For example, *Houchi Newspaper* (報知新聞), launched in 1891, started to serialise 'novels', and carried much practical information on domestic science and housekeeping (Miki, 1989:54). *Saga Newspaper* (佐賀新聞) (first issue 1887), was the first newspaper to provide articles for women's readers. It focused on women's activities in Saga prefecture and criticized the limited women's awareness of social issue. From its inception it ran a special supplement called 'Women's Forum', which discussed issues such as: 'equal right between the sexes', 'the abolition of prostitution', 'women's jobs', 'how to nurse a baby and improve childcare' and 'women's suffrage' (Kawashima, 1996:60). The articles it printed were reproduced from *Jogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌) and *Tsûshin Jyogaku Kougiroku* （通信女学講義録）. Both women's magazines targeted well-educated women as their main readers, therefore the intellectual content of the articles was relatively high (Kawashima, 1996:72). At the same time, as these newspapers began to cater for middle class women, they sought to expand and widen their readership to other groups.

[7] The first department store magazine, Mitsukoshi's *Hanagoromo* (花ごろも) was published at this time in 1899, Meiji 32.

[8] The major commercial women's magazines in Meiji 30s were *Jyogaku Sekai* (女学世界) (Hakubunkan, 1901 博文館，明３４．１），*Fujin Kai* (婦人界) (Kinkoudou, 1902 金港堂、明３５．７），*Fujin Gahou* (婦人画報), (Kinji gahousha, 1905 近事画報社、明３８．７），*Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界) (Jitsugyou no Nihonsha, 1906 実業之日本社、明３９．１），*Fujin Kurabu* (婦人クラブ) (Shimeisha, 1908, 紫明社、 明４１．１０），*Fujyokai* (婦女界) (Doubunkan, 1911, 同文館、明４３．３）(Miki, 1989:55).

number of advertisements.[9] These were genuine 'commercial women's magazines'. They also had readers' sections and problems pages on personal affairs. Commercial women's magazines were designed to appeal to a wide range of ordinary women, who had the capacity to buy and who also had the desire to become attractive women. With this increasing women's readership, there was a greater chance for women to express their emotions, thoughts and problems.[10] Hence, the commercial women's magazines provided the first tentative steps towards a women's public sphere. The 1880s and 1890s were the decades of in which the 'new women' and the 'new journalism' emerged in Europe and the United States, which propelled a range of feminist issues into the public consciousness, some of which were filtered back to Japan.[11]

4. The characteristics of commercial women's magazines

In this section we will examine three of the main characteristics of women's magazines: their provision of readers' sections; the significance of advice columns; the use of photography.

4-1) Readers' sections as an imagined community and women's public sphere

The readers' section helped to provide the beginning of a virtual women's public sphere, in terms of offering a new space for public communication. Kawamura Kunimitsu （川村邦光）

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[9] A similar list was characteristic of the women's magazines which sprang up in late Victorian England (White, 1970; Ballaster et al 1994). Between 1870 and 1900, 50 new titles appeared. Craik (1994: 48) refers to them as 'akin to training manuals for the masses.'

[10] Even in Meiji 20s (1888-1898), we can find 'readers' sections in *Jogaku Zasshi* (Women's Magazine 女学雑誌, 1885). Some of the contributors were not just authorities or intellectuals, but students, or well-educated middle class women. For example, a female student of the English Women's School (*Azabu tôyô eiwa jyogakkou* 麻布東洋英和女学校), Ushibata Tsuruko （牛場田鶴子） wrote a letter about 'female jobs' （女子の職分） on January 15, 1888 (Meiji 20).(Kawashima, 1996:46).

[11] The label 'new woman,' has been seen as an attempt to pin down and therefore to control women and the meaning of sex/gender relations. The new journalism, like the new woman, was taken as a symbol for a more general crisis. Across Europe and North America, the period defined itself as marked by innovation in a range of cultural and social forms from Art Nouveau to the New Unionism and the decadent *fin de siècle*. This widespread sense of transition was added to in Britain by the relative decline of the British economy, the emergence of working-class and socialist political activity and the development of a new kind of monopoly capitalism and a new imperialism (Beetham, 1996:115-116). In France the period 1890-1914 saw the growth of bourgeois feminism, with the formation of *La Revue féministe* in 1895 (Rabaut, 1978, translated by Kato, 1987:278).

in particular, argues that the readers' sections were a new communication form for women, in effect 'an imagined community' (Kawamura, 1993:53), using Benedict Anderson's term (Shiraishi et al, 1987).[12] We find that in the readers' section some women developed a strong sense of intimacy and become like real sisters. Even if they could not meet face to face, they often wanted to have a strong intimate relationship, which sometimes could be a quasi-lesbian relationship. In fact many women's students in girls' schools had intimate relationships, often senior students with junior students, who communicated with each other by exchanging letters and diaries. At this time in late Meiji (1910s), the development of strong sexual relationships with men, was strictly forbidden, hence, it was common to play 'love-games' between women (Takahashi, Y, 1999:5).[13]

It is possible to see the letters themselves as creating 'an imaginary world,' through intimate revelations made public. Hence, women's magazines provided 'a public stage for women' to express and articulate their feelings, to perform as 'would be actresses'. These 'imagined communities for women,' were relatively free from conventional norms and ideology, such as the traditional women's sense of duty and sexual code (table 8.3). For example, *Jyogaiu Sekai* （女学世界） had a correspondence section, called *Shiyuu Kurabu* (誌友倶楽部) (readers'

[12] According to Kawamura (1993), to try to use the content of the readers' section to make assumptions about women's state of mind is problematic, as some of the stories could be made up. Readers who sent letters to magazines could easily hide their identity (cf. Internet discussions today). Therefore, to make assumptions about the actual conditions of women in the 1900s from the analysis of the content of readers' sections is tenuous. At the same time, while women's letters might not be accurate renditions of real problems, Kawamura (1993:36) argues that 'we can usefully find women's real voices in the contents/stories, which are dramatized by living women. It is too simple to say that they are fakes and should be rejected.' Kawamura suggests, the women who made up stories, were at the same time, generating 'imagined communities' amongst readers (Anderson, 1983). Here it is important to examine the particular modes of expression women use to describe their feelings. Hence, we can see that the letters provide some evidence of emotional expression, desires, and fantasies.

[13] In the 1910s, a new set of rules for school girls, 'Ten things, which school girls should not do'(*bekarazu jyukkun*, べからず十訓； *shin jyogakusei kun jyukkun*, 新女学生十訓) appeared. Amongst its prescriptions, for example: 1. when you meet man, you should not meet him alone. 2. You should not correspond with an unknown man outside of the surveillance of parents. 3. You should not go out after dark. 4. You should not go out for a walk and visit entertainment areas with a young man (Nakajima K, 1980: 77). The rule appeared after some Seitosha women went to Yoshiwara to enjoy drinking with the money they had received from selling a painting by Kokichi (紅吉), a woman member of Seitosha, who was also Hiratsuka Raicho's lover. The incident was reported as an example of reprehensible unethical women's behaviour in the *Kokumin newspaper* (Kokumin shinbun, 国民新聞), 13th July 1912 (Nakayama, K. et al,1998:117). Seitosha's members were seen as 'new women,' a radical avant-garde and became a sensational social topic. Their radical activities led to a strong reaction with the institution of very strict set of rules of conduct, 'Ten things schoolgirls should not do' to restrain young women from following their ways.

club) (Kawamura, 1993:48).[14]

<<**Table 8.3**>> Number of articles and advertisements on sexual topics, 1928

Magazine Name	Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June	
Genre	adv	art	adv	art	adv	art	adv	art	adv	art	adv	art
Shufu no tomo	33	5	36	2	36	5	36	18	35	10	39	13
Fujyokai	6	1	2	8	8	20	9	15	7	13	9	
Fujin Sekai	23	18	22	20	25	26	32	24	26	15		25
Fujin Kurabu	10	6					15	6	10	8	16	11
Fujin Gahou	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	2
Fujin Kouron	1	16			1	3			0	8	0	18

(‘Cleaning up woman’s magazines’ in *Fujin Shinpou* Vo.364 cited in Miki, 1996:14)

(Note: adv-advertisements; art-articles)

4-2) Readers Section as a confessional for women

Secondly, commercial women’s magazines could provide a confessional or therapeutic space, where women could express their anxieties in the personal advice section. For example, in the advice section in *Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界) in 1923 (figure 8.2), we can find discussions about women’s fears and actual experiences of sexual abuse along with advice provided by authorities, such as educators, lawyers, journalist, and editors.

Another example was the ‘special issue on voices of women in different classes and occupations’ in *Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界), June 13th 1923. Many women from different backgrounds sent letters describing their difficulties and anxieties. Confessions from a school teacher, a government official’s wife, a farmer’s wife, a nurse, and a nun, were published.

Hence, it can be said that women’s magazine acted as a form of ‘confessional’, allowing the

[14] This correspondence section should not be confused with the problems section (身の上相談), which was for women who sought advice about personal affairs, which were usually problems associated with the relationships with men, marriage, and future life plans.

expression of sexual experiences and problems once tabooed. This new access to sexual and romantic topics also would have provide various forms of titillation and excitement and had some effect on the formation of women's desires too. To stimulate 'an imaginary dream world', an 'ideal world' opposed to 'the stark and painful real world', in which women actually live. Women's magazines opened up a new space to reveal and exchange details of their lives and for practically educating themselves about their desires. Hence, the readers' sections of women's magazines could be seen as helping to encourage new forms of expression and performativity. Women began to know each other through the intermediation of women's magazine and overcome the feeling of isolation. They could share women's problems and exchange information.

Otome: an imaginary woman's public sphere

In the early decades of the 20th century, we should be aware that there were various competing models of the 'new woman,' (see discussion in chapter 10 and 11), including the officially sanctioned 'good wife, wise mother' ideal with its celebration of domestic science and the home. One notable reaction was the *otome* （オトメ）, (literally young single girl). At the height of the *otome* fashion around 1910, the term developed the connotation of an 'eternal virgin', a woman who sought to keep a pure heart, who is always dreaming and enjoying beautiful feelings. Such women were elegant, sentimental, and while intelligent, they never became grown up.

According to Kawamura (1993), women's magazines helped to stimulate '*otome* （オトメ） communities', with members who had committed themselves to be 'eternal virgins' and dreamers with a pure spirit.[15] To be an eternal virgin meant to resist the real world, with its strong women's ideology of marriage and happy family/home-making. Normally, to prepare for a 'happy marriage,' young girls were sent to upper class families to learn good manners and

[15] There are some similarities between *otome* with their 'Peter Pan syndrome' (not wanting to become an adult), and the 'innocent flapper' such as the Hollywood star Colleen Moore (who was very popular in Japan in the 1920s). Of course, not all flapper stars seemed so innocent – Clara Bow, was much more energetic and wild, although never cynical (see discussion of the flapper in chapter 7 above).

social skills.[16]

To be an *otome* （オトメ） member, meant not only shared a common vocabulary of motive, but also a common imaginary lifestyle. Here the act of naming is important, with women inventing their own intimate terminology when writing in the magazines.[17] Women's magazines, therefore acted as lifestyle guidebooks for women who sought to be members of *otome* （オトメ） communities (Kawamura, 1992:121). Although members of *otome* （オトメ） communities may have sought to remain 'eternal virgins', they can hardly be said to have challenged the existing real world of marriage.[18]

Women's magazines, therefore, functioned to provide a variety of messages and sought to articulate and cater for a range of different problems encountered by women who were trying to cope with the implications of the various modernization processes. Some of the persistent themes relate to their roles as lifestyle guides for women who wanted to know more about the new fashion ideals and modes of being an attractive woman and how to navigate through the variety of new pastimes.

4-3) Photography and ideal role models

Thirdly, women's magazines were also spaces for photographs, which with their apparent realism, offered a new direct sense of the details and concreteness of women's lives. From the 1900s (Meiji 30s) onwards, there are many photographs, usually of women in idealised poses, in

[16] However, there is no double that some young women did not follow the conventional customs, even if they were not strong enough to resist the conventional ideology of women. Kawamura mentions that one girl wrote a letter to *Jogaku Sekai* (女学世界) in 1916, citing her experiences as a maid who was meant to learn good manners in an upper class household. The girl remarks that 'She normally works eighteen hours a day. She did not understand why it was important for her to master good manners. She prefers to read a book, rather than learning good manners. She confessed that she was completely fed up with mastering manners in an upper class family' (Kawamura, 1993:122). Although resistance to the conventional women's ideology was difficult, young women sometimes quietly rebelled: they started reading books, accumulating knowledge, and became aware of themselves as individuals. They began to develop and express their own opinions and thoughts. They became more active and independent.

[17] Women used their own argot with intimate phraseology, such as: --mashine, --masuwa,---masuno, ---masumono, ---teyo, and ---masudeshou (Kawamura, 1993:102).

[18] Any women could become *otome*, even after marriage.

the opening pages. These photographs are very important material to help us gain insight into the kind of women who were held up to the public as ideal role models. Mitsukoshi magazine, *Jikou* (時好), also has the section of upper class women's photographs (figure 8.3, figure 8.4).

For example, numerous photographs were printed in women's magazines of young women playing tennis, swimming, climbing mountains,[19] and playing musical instruments. Tennis was in particular a popular sport for the upper class. It was made famous by the publicity given to the Showa emperor enjoying playing tennis in the Taisho era (figure 8.5). At the same time, hiking and mountain leisure pursuits were in the curriculum of junior girls' schools. Women started climbing mountains in the early Showa era. Western instruments, such as violin, mandolin symbolized *modan* (modern), *haikara* (sophisticated taste); the piano especially, had the image of luxury and high status, whereas the *biwa* was associated with the image of ideal Japanese women who should be beautiful, modest and of a gentle disposition (Kawamura, 1993:127-128). Swimming became popular in the 1920s.[20]

Family photographs also provide evidence about the influence of magazines on young girls. Taking photographs was not yet very popular in the Taisho era as people tended to have their photographs taken only on special occasions, such as graduation, excursions etc.[21] In the 1920s cheaper popular cameras became available. Such photographs provided important role model material for young girls' school students as the images they presented were of active and sophisticated young women.

Furthermore, the girls had athletic bodies, which was a completely new body image in terms of

[19] Mitsukoshi held an exhibition on hiking and mountain leisure (山と水の展覧会) in 1916 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:68; see also discussion in chapter 4, section 3 above).
[20] There were many advertisements for swimsuits in Mitsukoshi magazines in the 1920s (see ch. 9, section 2 below).
[21] Mitsukoshi opened a photograph studio in 1907 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:48). In 1911, they started to run 'one-hour' photograph, which gained a good reputation at the time (*Mitsukoshi,* December, 1911:11). In 1910, they held a photography contest on the theme of 'Japanese beauty' (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu,* April, 1910:13), which subsequently became a regular event. It is interesting to note that the theme in March 1911 was the family, which was a very successful contest (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu,* April, 1911:8). At that time, the family/home had become a popular topic with the Japanese people (see Chapter 9). This event helped to spread the popularity of photography.

the previous Japanese ideal. Photographs enabled careful scrutiny and discussion of the new body ideals and demeanour.[22]

5. The new image of the housewife: a respectable wife

It is clear that the majority of commercial women's magazine in Meiji 30s (1898-1908) encouraged the ideology of 'a good wife, a wise mother.' The new images of the housewife[23] which circulated in magazines and newspapers[24] were usually of an upper class woman, whose husband was in the royal family, a higher public official or officer in the armed service (figure 8.6).

The domestic section in magazines introduced new forms of knowledge of 'domestic skill such as cooking, recipes, knitting, clothing, and childcare. Another source of the representations for respectable housewives, were the images of 'rich families', such as major businessmen's families or 'distinguished families', such as the royal families, or *kazoku* (華族) which were socially positioned between the royal family and *shizoku* (士族) (samurai families).

Hence, women's magazines often printed photographs of daughters of the upper class, especially

[22] The magazine *Fujin Gahou* (婦人画法), founded in 1905 (Meiji 38), used many photographs and graphic illustrations. Around 28 out of every 100 pages were photographs (Miki, 1989:56). *Jyogaku Sekai* (女学世界) printed many photos of girls' school students, usually of graduation ceremonies, sports meetings, mountain leisure activities, music concerts, school excursions (Kawamura, 1993:126).

[23] The term, *shufu* (主婦) (housewife) first appeared in the 1890s. According to Saito (2000), it was defined as a woman who engaged in *kasei* (家政) (housekeeping/ household tasks) and could be a single woman – not necessarily a married woman (Saito, 2000:54). It is not clear when the meaning of *shufu* started to change.
Saito mentions that we can find the first definition of *shufu* in *Kijyo no Tomo* (貴女之友) in October, Meiji 20 (1887), the magazine being established the same year. The meanings of *kasei* （家政） refers to the management of property, the control of the family budget, the supervision of servants and maids, the organizing of special occasions for ancestors, and family reputation, along with maintaining good social relationships. Originally *kasei* meant women's household affairs and work, within the conventional extended family.

[24] In 1894 *Houchi Shinbun* （報知新聞） was founded as a 'domestic newspaper' in order to widen the subscription base, because women were seen as a new market (Miki, 1989:54). Yet, it should be noted that while city women could easily buy and read newspapers, women in rural districts could not. There was a large economic and cultural gulf between the city and countryside. In fact women in rural areas not only were unable to afford newspapers, but also lacked the necessary reading ability.

of weddings. For example, a photograph of Kosugi Fumiko (figure 8.7), the daughter, of Kosugi Teigai (小杉天外), one of the main writers contributing to *Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界), appeared in a 1923 (Taisho 12) issue. The photograph shows her engaged in Japanese dancing wearing a sumptuous Japanese costume. The caption ran:

> She graduated from Seishin Women's School (聖心女学院) [a famous upper class girls' school (author's note)] and has a wonderful capacity for foreign languages such as French, and English. She also has a talent for writing literature. Moreover, she is very good at Japanese dancing. (*Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界) 1923, Taisho 12, 第１８巻第７号)

In terms of marriage, the most potent ideal couple was the Taisho Emperor and Empress. When they got marriage in 1900, the newspaper *Banchou Hou* (万朝報), reported it as a new type of marital ideal (they were presented as a virtuous couple, as they were the first couple in the royal family to engage formally in monogamy). However, people were not permitted to see photographs of the actual ceremony, or photographs, which showed the emperor and the empress together as a couple. Their demeanour was extremely formal. Kawamura (1993 : 173-175) points out that 'although the Emperor Taisho's marriage produced the concept of a new type of family, it was hardly sufficient to make the royal family familiar to ordinary people.[25] Therefore, the empress was seen as an absolute noble woman as well as a super-ideal woman.'[26]

Nashimotonomiya Itsuko （梨本宮伊都子） who was a daughter of Marchioness Nabeshima （鍋島直大侯爵）, was the most popular noble women in the 1910s (figure 8.8). Many

[25] The development of the Emperor system in Japan and the projection of the royal family to the people underwent a very uneven development. It was not until the marriage of the Showa Prince who became the current Heisei Emperor that we see a more democratized image of the royal family. This process was heightened from the 1980s onwards when he became emperor and was regularly featured with the photogenic Empress Michiko in the mass media (see Yoshimi, 1996b:42ff).

[26] The relationship between the royal family and journalism is very important for understanding 'the formation of new women' and 'the ideology of Japanese women'. This will be discussed in chapter 10. It was not until the marriage of the Emperor Showa that people saw photographs of a royal couple's everyday life, with the first pictures appearing in Tokyo *Nichinichi* newspaper (東京日日新聞) in 1924 (Kawamura, 1993: 174). From this date on the royal family took on the role of 'an ideal family' for the Japanese people. However, the start of the China-Japanese War in 1937 reversed this situation, with the Emperor again becoming primarily 'a living god'.

women's magazines printed her photos (Kawashima, 1993:175).

For example, we can find her photos in *Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界), November 1913; June and October 1914; May 1915 (Kawashima, 1993:176).[27] It is also interesting to note that magazines carried images of respectable women marrying foreigners, which was presented in a positive light (figure 8.9).[28]

At the same time other categories of foreigners, were clearly classified as undeveloped, as we find with countries such as Korea (see Kawamura, 1993:84). The magazines not only encouraged women to be a 'good wife, wise mother,' but also sought to educate women to be Japanese citizens who should have a strong superior national identity. Even the young women who wanted to be *otome* （オトメ）, also usually had the ambition to be 'a respectable housewife,' who in line with the imagery would be a rich, high status well-educated women: 'a good wife, wise mother.'

6. The new image of the housewife: urbane and cultured

At the time as these idealized images of respectable wives were printed in women's magazines in the early 1900s, the migration to cities such as Tokyo was increasing rapidly, to be followed

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[27] It is important to note that her husband was a soldier, and therefore she contributed to the Patriotic Women's Association （愛国婦人会） and Career Officer Women's Association （将校婦人会）. Along with other leading local women and career officer's wives she used these activities to better integrate upper class women and establish stronger connections between citizens, the nation and the military (Kawamura, 1993:178). In this way the linkages between the positive image of active noble families engaged in good works and the image of selfless upper class women and the ideology such as 'a good wife, a wise mother' and nationalism were strengthened.

[28] Japanese women were show who married foreign men, such as British academics, Indian revolutionaries, and Russian musicians. (Some of the Japanese wives were shown in western clothes) (*Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界) 1923, Taisho 12.) These Japanese married women were represented as women who had gained high social status and wealth through an ideal marriage, with the prospect of 'a happy life'. One of the reasons, apart form identifying with the powerful, was the genetic argument, that Western people had bigger and stronger bodies and the Japanese stock would be improved by 'inter-breeding' and 'mixing blood.' In line with the Western boom in eugenics, Yoshio Takahashi in his book *The Reform of the Japanese Race* (「日本人種改造論」) in 1887 insisted on mixed blood marriages for these genetic reasons (Saitou, H, 1993:132).

by suburban development along the railway lines. The suburbs were also the home of the new middle class salarymen, a group which expanded dramatically. The number of salarymen (mainly bank employees) was 58,000 in 1919 and increased to 96,000 by 1925 (Minami, 1965:193). These new middle class company men were seen as providing a new ideal of the successful life.[29] The terms 'middle class-society' （中流社会） and 'salaryman' （*sarariiman* or *gekkyu tori* 月給取り） first appeared in the 1900s. At the same time, like other white collar workers, their situation was often insecure.[30] This combination of good academic background and relative lack of income, led them to be sometimes referred to as 'the proletarian intelligentsia' (知的無産者) (Kano, 1983:108).

This movement to the suburbs along with changes in work patterns helped stimulate new lifestyles, different from these of conventional middle class families. The new middle class family's lifestyle was based more on consumption and reproduction. Salarymen relied more on academic qualifications than on social status or family networks. Investing in the education of children also became an important strategy, given the diminished importance of a strong conventional family system. This was seen as a crucial part of the housewife's job and under these circumstances, this strengthened the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine, given that women lived apart from conventional family system and had less direct advice from mothers and mother-in-laws. The new middle class suburban housewife, therefore, needed practical guides for everyday live and the new family lifestyles, which were effectively provided by women's magazines, department stores and the many new exhibitions in the city.

[29] Of the middle class groups, bank employees were the best paid. For example, bank employees' salaries were 1.3 times larger than average of salary of other people working in the commercial sector. Their salary was also 1.9 times larger than governmental officials (Minami, 1965:194).

[30] In the early years of the 20th century with the expansion of education and the governmental administration, the numbers of teachers and governmental officials increased. Along with salarymen, these were the main groups in the new middle class (the old middle class being landowners, richer farmers, merchants). Yet the governmental officials and teachers suffered lower salaries and worse conditions. The salarymen and bank employees in particular were better off. (cf. the discussions of white collar workers in Germany and other countries in the 1920s by Kracauer; see chapter 3 footnote 16 above).

7. The new middle class wife: positive image and fantasy

These aspects of the new middle class are important in examining the fantasies and realities of new middle class women. How the beautiful narratives of the new middle class wife were constituted through images of the new lifestyles, which were provided by women's magazines. Buying women's magazines was also one of the lifestyle indicators of the new middle class (Kano, 1983:109).

The rise of the new middle class nuclear family (modern family), led to changes in the notion of the '*ie*' (家) （conventional family system） . Firstly, the separation from the original home generated not only physical distance, but also mental distance. The separation meant that the strong relationship between the mother and daughter-in-law was almost broken, with the latter freed from the long-standing conventional rules, which required her to obey the mother in every circumstance, and meant that she was saddled with a massive amount of domestic work for much of her life.

Another popular narrative of the new upper middle class wife (typically her husband was a graduate from a top university and works in a *zaibatsu*) was that she would be able to enjoy 'the bourgeois form of lifestyle' and have maids and avoid domestic work. As an '*okusama*' (奥様) (a respectable housewife) she could keep her 'beautiful white hands forever'. To hire maids was not difficult in the 1900s, because there were many poor people who wanted work, especially with the large number of young people migrating from rural farms to the city.

Hence, marriage was considered as 'permanent employment' (*eikyû shushoku*) (永久就職)' and a 'full time job', which was held in high prestige for women. To get a successful marriage was the pathway to the final goal for women of having an elegant life, or in other words to be able to follow a 'bourgeois lifestyle'. Something which from the perspective of those looking up, 'the new petit bourgeoisie' (Bourdieu, 1984) was very attractive. The new middle class was literally in the 'middle,' a dual fronted class (Elias, 1982) looking both ways, 'up' to the upper class and

'down' to the working class. Members of the new middle class longed to be in the upper class, and at the same time to be respected by the working class. For women in rural districts from agriculture families, to move into the 'new middle class', who seemed to have freedom from conventional women's labour and responsibility under the *ie* system, was a massive attraction. Hence migration to the city to become 'modern' people, such as maids and factory girls, and dreams about the middle class 'cultural living,' was a potent image.

As the new middle classes gradually developed, they did not just mimic the lifestyle of the upper class, but increasingly sought out their own identity and lifestyles. In one sense, this was due to the 'choices of necessity,' they had to invent their own new lifestyles, because of their limited financial resources. Hence, women's magazines, especially the commercial women's magazines and magazines published by department stores, played an important part in developing a new middle class 'culture', including new lifestyles, tastes, types of leisure and images of the body (their increasing concern with an aestheticized lifestyle, will be discussed in the next section). This was a lifestyle in which culture featured prominently, with the term *bunka seikatsu* (文化生活) (cultural living) becoming a term which stood for 'modern life,' which in the Taisho era became an important replacement for the Meiji emphasis upon 'civilization' (see Harootunian, 2000; Sand, 2000; also discussion in chapter 10 below). Culture became the watchword of the new middle class with modern wives surrounded by many *modan bunka-teki* (modern cultural) things, such as *bunka daidokoro* (culture kitchen), *bunka jyutaku* (culture house), *bunka kagu* (culture furniture) and so on.

Yet however much new middle class women wished to become an elegant respectable wife, realising the dream was very difficult. Their everyday realities were financially very hard. The economic upswing in World War I, was accompanied by a rapid rise in prices in 1917-18, with the price of rice in particular going up sharply. The new economic conditions meant that the purchasing power of the new middle class deteriorated sharply. Hence the problem of retaining a respectable, yet modern lifestyle, became very serious for the new middle class in an economic downturn (Koyama, 1999:68). They had to preserve 'face' and maintain their status

as salarymen, at a time when high inflation in the period from 1910-1920 hit their family budget hard. The lower middle class tried to cut their food budget and clothing budget, but were unwilling to cut their key social investments: the cycle of social events, such as seasonal gift-giving, the participation in community events, the maintenance of networks and the price of education for their children (Koyama, 1999:71).[31]

These difficulties in maintaining their normal lifestyle only served to fuel the desires of new middle class women. Their dreams of becoming like the respectable upper class wives, now was almost impossible to fulfil. The new middle class wanted to keep its 'dream' of upward social mobility. Therefore, their respect for the upper class become stronger, as their thwarted ambitions meant they identified with them more. In this context, one strategy for an ambitious single woman was to try to marry an upper class man and reap the advantage of social mobility. Women's magazines constantly provided practical advice on how to get the good life and also how to build a dream world, but increasingly in difficult economic circumstances they sought to give more practical advice on how to survive.

8. The reform of everyday life movement

8-1) Women's magazine support for the new government policy

The inflationary pressures led to sharp price rise between 1917 and 1919, with the dramatic rise in rice prices resulting in rice riots (*kome sodo*, 米騒動) in 1918.[32] Under these conditions of severe economic hardship, the government committed itself to a policy of 'the reform of everyday life' (生活改善政策). Reversing its former policy, the government now encouraged women to take a part-time job at home (naishoku, 内職) (Koyama, 1999:77; Ueno, 1994:121).

[31] In the early decades of the century new middle class wives wanted to have maids, even if they had financial problems, because they were a key status symbol.

[32] The rise in rice prices brought about popular dissatisfaction with rice merchants and government officials. The protests broke out in the small fishing village of Uozu in Toyama Prefecture on 23 July 1918 and spread throughout Japan. Estimates of participation range from one to two million people in 38 cities, 153 towns, and 177 villages. The rioting finally was put down by the military in mid-September. This riot led to the collapse of the Terauchi Masatake (寺内正毅) cabinet (1916–18).

To mobilise the population and educate people to adapt to the new conditions, the government gave school teachers and local government officials a series of instructions on 'the reform of everyday life' in 1919 (Koyama, 1999:81). The government's main policy aims were: 1) to highlight the importance of more careful food production, and the need to educate people about how to improve everyday living; 2) the recommendation for women to have part-time work in the home; and 3) the encouragement of efficiency drives at work (saving stationary, wearing casual clothing), and a scaling-down of sports meeting and school excursions. The government sought by these decrees to implement a national programme to save time and money in many aspects of people's everyday life. As a result, it increasingly intervened to control people's everyday life.[33]

Since 1917, women's magazines began to provided a good deal of information and knowledge about 'saving energy, money,[34] and time' and 'recycling goods', especially after the rice riots. They also introduced many new forms of home cooking to substitute for rice (wheat, potatoes, and bread) (Koyama, 1999:72). Upper class women too introduced their own experiences of 'saving' (Saito M, 2000:69).[35] There was an article which introduced ideas about the management of the family budget under severe inflation in *Shufu no Tomo* (housewife's friend), September 1917.[36]

8-2) Women's magazine and the new economising

Women's magazine insisted that women could contribute to 'the reform of everyday life' (*seikatsu kaizen* 生活改善). At the same time, their message was to raise women's 'social

[33] In line with the new policies, women's magazines after 1917, also began to recommend women to take part-time work in the home. *Fujho shinbun* (婦女新聞) commented that government policy was welcomed by new middle class women, stating 'Today the family which most seriously needs to get employment is the middle class family' (Koyama, 1999:77; Ueno, 1994:121).

[34] Some articles on saving money were seen in the magazine, which aimed to educate working women, such as factory girls, *Yuai Fujin* (友愛婦人) (*Yuai Fujin,* March, 1918: 6,7,10).

[35] There are many articles on how to keep household accounts, and to save money using the banks and post office.

[36] The title of this article was '*Bukka koutou nan ni taisuru annka seikatu no jitsurei*' (物価高騰難に処する安価生活の実例).

awareness' as housewives, to help to organize a good family life and learn about new consumer lifestyles. There was an important suggestion on how to deal with economic hardship in the column of the women's magazine (*Fujyo Shinbun*, 婦女新聞, 1st January 1918). It proposed that the establishment of 'public markets' (公設市場),[37] for perishable foods such as fish and vegetables in order to lower prices. The usual practice had been for housewives to buy perishable foods from peddlers who moved from door to door, giving them little sense of comparative value. To control prices, this article suggested fixed prices for everyday goods in public markets, department stores and consumers associations (Koyama, 1999:76). In this way, women's magazines played a key role in educating women to become wise consumers, and skilled housewives, who could manage the family budget. At the same time, they prompted the building of accessible consumer spaces.

The emergence of new shopping places, such as department stores and public markets generated not only new forms of purchasing, but also introduced people to a new relationship to commodities. The establishment of public markets in particular was very important in educating middle class housewives to become modern consumers who had the capacity to manage and adapt to new lifestyles. By going themselves to the public markets, women learned how to evaluate goods and adopt a new style of shopping. The public markets also led to new forms of sociability for middle class women who previously did not venture out of the house for perishable food and everyday items.

8-3) The new scientific way of thinking

As part of the promotion of 'the reform of everyday lifestyles' （生活改善）, women's magazines began to feature, scientific material on domestic science and diet management. In 1919 (Taisho 8) the Home Office issued 'instructions on nutrition and sports', which aimed to educate people in 'time management', 'increased efficiency', and 'lifestyle economising'

[37] The markets were established by the Home Office and run by local government. They sold everyday necessities at fixed prices. The first 4 public markets appeared in Osaka in April in 1918 (Taisho 7), 9 markets were established in Tokyo in November the same year. By 1920 (Taisho 9), 276 public market had been established (Koyama, 1999:86).

(saving energy) (Koyama, 1999:89). Wives should be taught to analyse their domestic work scientifically and rationally in order to manage work more efficiently, and save energy. Learning about nutrition and the human body, would enable better use of food and improve health, (producing healthy citizens being the initial government aim). The reform of everyday life movement quickly shifted emphasis from 'saving and recycling' to detailed instructions on rational techniques with which to monitor and reform the minutiae of everyday life.[38]

In the wake of the reform of everyday life movement, we can find many articles, which argued for rational and scientific analysis and criticised former practices as dependent on myth and legend.[39] Articles appeared on many subjects, for example on: women's bodies: menstruation and pregnancy (*Jogaku Zasshi* （女学雑誌）, 1900:21-26); love and sex (*Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界),[40] 1922, August:21-24); diet and nutrition: the production of *rakuto* (cod-liver oil) (*Fujin Sekai* (婦人世界) 1922, April:92). Further articles provided popular scientific advice on childcare (see *Fujin Seka,* 婦人世界, 1922, August:15-21; 1922, September:69-73); and the afterlife (*Fujin Sekai,* 婦人世界, 1922, April:45-50).

It is clear that this introduction of scientific thinking was a direct outcome of government policy, given that the movement for the reform of everyday life was generated by a government

[38] This strongly contrasts with the previous Meiji government policy towards women. Here we can refer to the sarcastic comments by a male columnist on the idea of women needing scientific education, which appeared in the women's magazine: 'The only 'science' which women need to know was how to burn firewood, the only 'chemistry' which women should know was how much seasoning was needed to make a good meal, the only 'geography' which women should know was how to organize rooms in the house, the only 'astronomy' which women needed to know is what the weather will be, the only 'zoology' which women should know, amounted to the relationship between cats and dogs, and the only 'botany' which women needed to know is that the Japanese persimmon takes eight years to come into fruit.' (*Jyogaku Zasshi* （女学雑誌） M21, 4th March 1887). After 1900, the discourse on women's work gradually changed. Women were expected to have scientific knowledge of everyday life, as the aim was to educate them to be civilized women and use them as transmission devices to better educate children into good citizens.

[39] In 1920s, one of scientific aspect on human body, eugenics become very popular with ordinary people and influenced vies on the ideal body image and sexology, and helped to promote the legitimacy of scientific and technological intervention into the body (Saito H, 1993: 128).

[40] With regard to the relationship between the women's movement and science, it should be noted that the discussions on women by Hiratsuka Raicho (平塚らいてう), and Yamada Waka （山田わか） were associated with eugenics. Both were influenced by the Swedish woman, Ellen Key (1849-1926) who was regarded as the most famous feminist thinker on women's liberation at the time (Kawamura, 1993:222).

education official, Tanabashi Gentarou (棚橋源太郎). He insisted that it was essential to change people's everyday knowledge and lifestyle practices with regard to housing, diet, clothes and customs. In short, if Japan was to attain the 'rich country, strong army'(*fukoku kyouhei*, 富国強兵) goal, it could only do so through 'national/social/citizen education'(*shakai kyouiku*, 社会教育). The family was seen as the key minimum unit for the construction of the nation-state, therefore, the improvement of the family form and expansion of home economics were crucial social issues (Tanabashi, 1918, cited in Koyama, 1999: 97).[41]

Not only the general women's magazines, but department stores' magazines also supported the governmental policy. It was also assumed that department stores were key institutions which should follow governmental policy closely. In order to reform everyday life, and the associated ideas of adopting 'modern lifestyles' people needed to absorb new knowledge and information on how to use the requisite new objects and techniques. Consumer culture and governmental policies were seen to converge: they both involved an education project of getting people to adopt new lifestyles. If the new lifestyles were seen as more rational and efficient, all to the good, as department stores were a repository of the necessary material and techniques. Hence, the importance of 'consumer goods', such as, kitchen appliances, furniture, foods, clothing and so on. They could be presented as higher status, or more tasteful or exotic, or more rational and efficient. Rather than being seen as centres of luxury and wasteful consumption, the stores managed to emphasise their role in productive consumption in line with governmental policy.

Mitsukoshi participated in the exhibition of reform of everyday life, which was organized by the Ministry of Education in 30th November, 1919 to 1st February, 1920. Mitsukoshi proposed cheaper '1000 yen marriage preparation packages for brides.'[42] This proposal fitted in with the government's policy, as one of the aims of the reform of everyday life, was a thrifty lifestyle (*Mitsukoshi*, January, 1920:16-17).

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[41] The government interventionalist policy also included the Home Office instruction 'the enhancement of human power: five essential points' in 1919, which encouraged people to keep strict time management, develop a careful economising lifestyle, and to work efficiently (Koyama, 1999:89).
[42] At that time the price of coffee in the Mitsukoshi restaurant was 5 sen and the set lunch 80 sen (100 sen = 1 yen).

Mitsukoshi also held prize contests for new kitchen designs in 1925 (figure 8.10). Two designs, both from women were chosen from 600 entries and display models built (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:93). It should be noted that the popular women's magazine, *Shufu no Tomo* held a competition to collect ideas from readers for a new design for a cooking table (figure 8.11) in 1912.[43] Yet, we should be aware that most of the new kitchen design was not for middle class families, but aimed at the upper class (Mitsukoshi February, 1925:34). A new kitchen was an important component of the 'cultural house,' which remained a dream for the vast majority of women.

It can, therefore, be argued that women's magazines played a crucial role in the education of Japanese women to become consumers. We can point to a number of factors.

Firstly, they offered a communicative space, which helped to establish the first steps towards a 'women's public sphere'. Women communicated with each other in public through women's magazines and women's magazines become public media. The fact that this communication was mediated and at a distance with possibilities of disguising one's real identity, or of bringing out one's fantasies added to the vicarious fascination of reading the letters pages. Hence, women's magazine could act as an alternative fantasy or 'dream world'.

Secondly, women frequently used magazines to confess their everyday problems, the difficulties of marital relationships and family life. Yet the fascination gained in reading lurid accounts of problems, became tempered by the sober and practical expert advice and commentary they also provided. It is interesting to note in relation to the advice on personal matters that in *Jyogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌), we find letters from a wide range of readers, not only single and married women, but also men from many walks of life. At the same time, those who commented, judged

[43] However, they did not get any ideas they saw as good enough to announce to the public. Eventually, *Shufu no Tomo* commissioned one of the judges to make a new, more efficient cooking table which would be sold to the public. This new design, which came in two versions (the large 7.50 yen, the small 6 yen), was the first ready-made cooking table (Kosuge, 1998:184).

and offered advice were not merely the new professional authorities (doctors, nurses, teachers, lawyers etc), often they were the readers themselves (even though the comments printed generally supported 'the good wife, the wise mother' doctrine (Miki, 1996:60).

Thirdly, women's magazines provided an ideal picture of the 'modern' housewife and family. Here the women's magazine used potent images, such as photographs of idealised upper class women.

Furthermore, women's magazines provided three different types of ideal women. Firstly, the '*otome*' （オトメ）, 'a contemporary ideal single girl,' aimed at young women, such as schoolgirls or women who wanted to pretend to be 'innocent virgins.' The second type was 'the bourgeois wife' or 'high-class women' such as wives of the royal family. These women were represented as having a strong sense of charity and following the 'good wife, and a wise mother' doctrine and the duty of women to serve the nation. The third type was 'the modern wife', most likely to be wives of the urban new middle class. These were the 'modern consumers,' the wives of salarymen living apart from relatives in the new suburban families, who organized their everyday life using a wide range of consumer goods and who needed information on new lifestyles to be able to perform as 'modern wives'.

9. Women's magazine and the promotion of consumer goods and new lifestyles

9-1) Expanding the readership of women's magazine

After 1900 (Meiji 30) the number of new style women's magazines (commercial magazines) sharply increased. About 210 new magazines were published in the period between 1911 and 1931 (Saito, 2000:138). These magazines were the direct antecedents of contemporary women's magazines. There are a number of reasons why the readerships increased after 1900.

Firstly, the level of women's education had improved with more middle class women going to

girls' schools to learn general knowledge and housekeeping.[44]

Secondly, the population of the cities increased considerably after the Meiji 30s. Many of the new migrants were young girls who came from rural provinces. Along with the working classes and even daughters of middle classes, who started to work in order to support their family households (especially in the declining economic conditions in the early Taisho era (1910s), they formed the bulk of working women. It can be argued that this was a key time for middle class women.

Thirdly, the content of women's magazine had shifted a good deal by Meiji 30s. The earlier Japanese women's magazine in Meiji 10s (1880s) and 20s (1890s) were published as vehicles of women's education. In this phase, in 1885, Yoshiharu Iwamoto （厳本善治）, the publisher of *Jyogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌), asked women readers to disregard the conventional Japanese women's ethics based on Confucianism. Instead they should seek to combine the western women's focus on self-development and rights (西洋の女権) with Japanese traditional women's ideology (women should be graceful and virtuous ladies, 日本の女徳). He stated he was worried that well-educated women at the time were beginning to behave like men, and emphasised that even if women become more intelligent through higher education, they should not lose their traditional grace and virtues. He also insisted that women should be skilled in sociability with a sense of public morality and duty to the public.[45] At this time, it was difficult to take in these new beliefs, about human rights and the social position of women because they were too abstract and unfamiliar idea for most women, who did not have higher education.

On the other hand, the central emphasis of commercial women's magazines, on 'a good wife, wise mother', was much more intelligible as it was grounded in the practice of women's

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[44] The curriculum although containing general knowledge, (history, maths etc) gave a high proportion of time to housecraft. By 1925 (Taisho 14) the number of girls in high school was 2.5 times that of 1918 (Taisho 7). This meant that the number of girls who graduated from high school amounted to 10% of the female population in 1925 (Taisho 14) (Kawamura, 1993:30).

[45] Another example of women's magazine in Meiji 20s is *Jyokan* （女鑑） published in 1891, which suggested that the most important thing for women was to have endurance and obedience.

everyday life directly. Therefore, commercial magazines sense of practical relevance meant they were accepted by a majority of woman very easily.[46]

Fourthly, newcomers to the city helped to create a new social strata, '*shin chukan kaisou*' (新中間階層), the new middle class, with a nuclear family structure in which wives were expected to develop their own lifestyles (Koyama, 1999: 41), based more on mediated information sources such as women's magazines, which oriented themselves to the management of the new consumer style of living. At the same time, in the 1900s, the government policy of the improvement of everyday life had started, a policy which fitted in well with the new lifestyle ideals which the new middle class sought and which were also being featured in the new women's magazines with their information on new styles of houses, clothes, child-care and diet.[47]

9-2) The content and readership of women's magazines

Commercial women's magazine tried to avoid having too rigid a policy and sought to avoid commenting on social affairs in order to attract a wide readership. In addition, they increased the number of pages with serialised novels and contributions by famous writers (Miki 1989:55). The publishers planned to add more features and entertainment sections, such as photographs of leading upper class women, information about new cosmetics, fashions, hairstyles and comments on personal matters, in the magazine.[48] Their common policy was to support the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine. Additionally, there are articles about practical domestic

[46] The political distance between family and nation become closed through the government reform everyday life movement. As a result, from the 1920s on, women began to participate more directly in social activities constructed by the state. The expectation that women should be not only a manager of the family, but also participate in social events organized by the government increased in the 1930s with the further 'nationalization' of women and the family under military rule.

[47] As Koyama (1993:34) points out, women's magazine in the Meiji 20s could not be seen as really working as a general guidebook for the new lifestyle, because the readerships was small. Ordinary women were missed out, with only upper or middle class women having access. According to Maeda, A, the proportion of middle class households in 1925 was 8.5% (Maeda, A, 2001:218).

[48] There was a publishing regulation which specified that if magazines wanted to comment on current social affairs, they had to pay a deposit to the government. The commercial women's magazine *Jyogaku Sekai* （女学世界） was one of the few which paid the deposit (Miki, 1989:49).

works, novels, photographs, and readerships section. Consequently sales increased.[49]

According to general readerships data, which was investigated by *Tokyo Asahi newspaper* (東京朝日新聞), in 1911 (Meiji 44), the biggest seller was *Fujin Sekai* （婦人世界）, second was *Jyogaku Sekai* （女学世界）, third was *Fujin Gahou* （婦人画報）, fourth was *Fujyokai* （婦女界） and fifth was *Shoujo Sekai* （少女世界）. School-girls in particular read: first *Jyogaku Sekai* （女学世界）, second *Fujin Sekai* （婦人世界）, third *Shoujyo no Tomo* （少女の友）, fourthly *Shoujyo Sekai* （少女世界） (Miki, 1989:56).

A further interesting source for data on readerships of women's magazine, is the investigation of factory girls by Tokyo prefecture (now, Tokyo Metropolitan City Government) in 1921 and the investigation for working women by Tokyo city in 1922. The order of popularity of women's magazine among factory girls was: first *Fujin Sekai* （婦人世界）, second was *Shufu no Tomo* （主婦之友）, third was *Fujyokai* （婦女界）, and fourth was *Shoujo Sekai* （少女世界）. Whereas, the most popular women's magazine among working women were: first, *Fujin Kouron* （婦人公論）, second *Fujokai* （婦女界）, third *Shufu no Tomo* （主婦之友）, and fourth *Fujin Sekai* （婦人世界） (Saito, M, 2000:146).

According to this survey, working women read a wide range of women's magazines, including *Fujin Kouron* (婦人公論), which stood up for women's rights and independence. *Fujin Kouron* (婦人公論) targeted well-educated upper middle class women as their main readership.
Therefore, middle class working women tend to read more intellectual type of women's magazine. However, it is interesting to note the broad readership, with both factory girls and working women reading *Shufu no Tomo*, which targeted middle class women who could be more interested in practical domestic skill knowledge than abstract academic arguments (such as women's rights) and carried idealised images of upper class housewives' lifestyles. Hence, both

[49] The number of women's magazine, which published in 1925 was 1,200,000 (Maeda, A, 2001:218).

factory girls and middle class working women were able to share the ideal image of the housewife through women's magazines. Another women's magazine which was popular with factory girls and working women, *Fujyokai* (started in 1902) influenced *Shufu no Tomo* (Saito, 2000:140). Therefore, both popular women's magazine had similar characteristics.

The Research on Working Women by Tokyo City in 1924 investigated which women's magazine was read by teachers, typists, nurses, saleswomen, office workers, and telephone operators. The total number of working women surveyed was 900. The number of women who read newspapers was 800, with 747 reading magazines and 327 reading books 327 (Tokyo City Research, 1924:153).

The total number of women who read all types of magazines was 1,183. The number of women who read women's magazines was 630 in total number 1,183. Hence, 53% of working women read women's magazines (Tokyo City Research, 1924:154). In the same survey there is a breakdown of information on factory girls. The number of factory girls was 1324 and the number who read women's magazines was 544 (41%) (Maeda, A, 2001:222).

According to figures for the circulation of women's magazines in 1927 (Showa 2), *Shufu no Tomo's* （主婦之友） print run was about 200,000, *Fujyokai* （婦女界） 150,000, and *Fujin Kurabu* （婦人倶楽部） 120,000. Although, the circulation of *Fujin Koron* （婦人公論） was small at that time, it went on to become a major long standing women's magazine (Miki, 1996:8) (table 8.4).

<<Table 8.4>> The number of Women's magazines in 1927

Name of Magazine	Number
Shufu no Tomo	200,000
Fujyokai	155,000
Fujin Kurabu	120,000
Fujin Sekai	80,000
Fujin Kouron	25,000
Jyosei	25,000
Fujin Gaho	30,000
Fujin no Tomo	60,000
Shukan Fujyo Shinbun	4,000
Zen Kansai Fujin Rengou Kai	18,000
Fujin to Seikatsu	2,500
Fujyo Sekai	2,000

(Source: The survey of Newspapers and Magazines, Taisho Shuppan, 1979 quoted in Miki, 1996)

A report on the trend of readerships of women's magazine by the Home Office in 1929 informs us that 'Women's magazines were bought by women from all social classes and adolescent boys. The total number sold was over 30,000 a month'[50] (Current trend of women's magazines (婦人雑誌最近の傾向) reported by the report of police publishing (出版警察報) No.10, July 1929 cited in Miki, 1996:9). It is, therefore, possible to argue that women's magazines had become popular and began to penetrate into people's everyday lives by the early Showa era (1925-35).

9-3) The perception of women's magazine

In spite of the large number of women's magazine published, the perception of women's magazines was sometimes negative. To expand the readership, publishers often carried more sensational articles, on sexual matters, such as a birth control, sexually transmitted diseases, explanations of women's physiology, confessions of sexual abuse, and love stories (Miki, 1996: 10). This tendency was criticized by the Home Office which sought to curb women's magazines

[50] Readership preferences in Taisho and early Showa were: (1)factory girls: *Fujin Sekai, Soujo no Tomo, Shufu no Tomo* and *Fujokai;* (2)working women: *Fujin Kouron, Shufu no Tomo, Fujokai, Fujin Sekai, Fujin Kurabu, Reijyo Kai*. Compared to factory girls, working women read a wider range of women's magazines (Miki, 1996:8-9). It is interesting to note that this Research Report on women's readership used only 3 categories to classify women: factory girls, working women and students. The category working women was used for office ladies and middle class jobs.

which printed sexual articles, with a letter of seizure or prohibition to publish (Miki, 1996: 10).[51]

Criticisms of women's magazines were not only from the government, but also from feminists, socialists, critics, journalists and novelists, such as Hiratsuka Raicho, Miyake Yasuko, Oku Mumeo, and Yamakawa Kikue. They criticized the crass commercialism of the publishers, low moral content and unethical articles (Miki, 1996: 11). Oku Mumeo argued that the problems of women's magazine were basically due to commercialism. Additionally, she criticized the policy of publishers, but also attacked the readership, for being uncritical (*Ie no Hikari,* 家の光, October, 1928, cited in Saito M, 2000:146).

> (In order to promote and sell magazines,) women's magazines treated women as a sexual object to appeal to a wider readership. Many women buy women's magazine without thinking about this concept of a women's magazine. They were just attracted by a vulgar cover and frontispiece. This could lead to a decline in women's social status.[52]

Oku Mumeo added:

> Today's women's magazines give women vanity and an aesthetic sensibility. When the poor agriculture girls take a break in their hard work, they read women's magazines. While turning over the pages, they lapse into a dream world. They fall into being a lady's maid who falls in love with a noble young man, or they fantasise that they would become a young wife of good family who suffers from her tragic destiny. All the stories in women's magazine presented a lifestyle, which draws its materials from a combination of urban life, intelligent middle class, and modern taste, (ハイカラ, *hai kara* (high collar), which refers to persons who are trend-followers). These stories make real women who suffer from chapped or cracked hands become miserable or depressed..... (Hence) we should not fool ourselves by using women's magazines as an aesthetic to retreat to, even if we are in pain, we should have the decisiveness and

[51] For example: 'Women about to marry who had lost her virginity suffers in fear of husband's discovery,' *Shufu no Tomo*, July 1920; 'Medical knowledge of women's bodies for wives and mothers,' in *Fujin Koron,* January, 1926; 'The prevention of sexual bad habits [masturbation] in adolescence,' in *Fujin Sekai*, October, 1928 (Miki,1996:10).

[52] Hiratsuka also criticized the incongruous representations of middle or upper class women. Oku comments that we find 'only the art of cosmetic treatment or information on the latest fashions. In the early pages, there are many photos of daughters, brides, and the contracting parties to show their incongruously high class lifestyles. Women's magazine are incongruously full of the tastes and feelings of the upper class' (*Chuou Kouron* （中央公論） June 1928, cited in Saito, 2000:145). In relation to sensationalism, magazines often ran articles and advertisements on sexual topics – see Table 8.3 above.

courage to fight to find our own destiny.
(*Ie no Hikari,* 家の光, October 1928, cited in Saito, 2000:146)

There is an interesting suggestion that the department store's magazines could be an alternative form of women's magazines from the novelist, Miyake Yasuko, who remarks that department store magazines could be useful for 'rural' women(such as farmer's wives and daughters) who did not have time to read newspapers or novels. In contrast to the conventional women's magazines, the department store magazines had a lot of information as well as extracts from novels (A round-table discussion on the criticism of women's magazines in *'Shincho'* in 1930 cited in Miki, 1996:11).[53] The more important point from Miyake's remarks is that her positive perception of department store's magazines, resulted from the fact that they did not print 'sexual topics'. Rather, they featured novels by popular novelists and were full of new information on everyday life and lifestyles, as well as offering valuable practical information and healthy entertainment. Therefore they were seen as good quality magazines.[54]

9-4) The readership of women's magazine and department store magazines

The above criticism of women's magazine suggests a range of interpretations of the potential reader positions, which go beyond the mere provision of fantasies to escape from reality. The magazines could also give women (perhaps factory-girls, farm-girls, and working women from rural areas) detailed information about urban middle class lifestyles. Moreover, following Miyake's remarks we can see that the department store magazines were often seen in a positive

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53 However, it should be mentioned that 'rural women', usually did not have the education and income to buy women's magazines. Only a small numbers of rich farmers could afford the department store's magazines and buy mail-order goods, particularly in the early phrase of department store's magazines. Even if they could read and had the income, we should bear in mind that the majority of them, especially daughters-in-law, would not have the freedom to buy things they wanted, because they lived their lives under the close supervision and control of their mother-in-law.

54 Yamakawa Kikue（山川菊栄）, a leading socialist (see discussion in chapter 10 below) criticized Miyake's (三宅やす子) opinion in 1930. For her the department store magazines were full of advertisements which 'prompted people to spend and waste money' (Miki, 1996:13). It is interesting to note that Yamakawa's argument was very much in tune with contemporary public opinion as well as the government 'reform of everyday life' policy. Many socialists, like the government were against excessive hedonism, luxury and display and favoured a more plain and frugal (albeit just) world. For both it was the veneer of hedonism, especially in advertising, which aroused their ire, and less the actual goods, many of which manifestly could be seen to cater for genuine needs and social improvement (saving time, heavy labour, improving health etc).

light. While these magazines basically sought to be publicity vehicles for the department stores, they also provided women with a new lifestyle ideals and models through the 'commodities' they promoted. Department store magazines did not provide just a list of objects in tables with small drawings, such as one finds in the 19th century mail-order catalogues (see Keller, 1995). Rather they provided high quality images of objects, along with articles which detailed their meaning and use. In addition, the objects were placed into the narrative of the department stores themselves as corporate identities. Hence, the department store magazines reinforced the image of the department store not just as a vague dream world, but concretised and detailed this vision, and gave it a brand image which added to the visual pleasures of anticipatory consumption (see Ewen and Ewen, 1982).

The layout of department store magazines was as follows: 1) catalogue for mail order, 2) publicity of department stores, 3) practical everyday life information, 4) serialised novels. The most important part of the magazine was the 'mail order delivery' catalogue.

The first department store's magazine was *Hana Goromo*（花ごろも）, published by Mitsui Gofukuten (the antecedent of Mitsukoshi department store) in 1899. *Hana Goromo*, was over 300 pages long with colour prints and photographs, and already had the basic contents and formula of department store's magazines. It had an editorial column by famous writers, articles by authorities, serialised novels of popular novelists, articles on new kimono patterns, kimono pattern fashion trends, business activities and catalogue of store goods (see Jinno, 1996: 60-61). The editorial column and articles normally related to the latest trends in fashion or lifestyle. As Tsuchiya (1999:225) remarks store magazines have 'both function of magazines and catalogues.' Therefore the *Hana Goromo* worked as a publicity vehicle for Mitsui Gofukuten (Mitsukoshi) and for the promotion of the mail delivery service.[55] In the period between 1899 and 1903, Mitsui Gofukuten (Mitsukoshi) regularly published its house magazine every six months; the circulation however was small, as these sumptuous magazines were distributed only

[55] After the first magazine, *Hana Goromo*（花ごろも）in 1899, other stores joined with: *Natu Goromo*（夏衣）, *Haru Moyou*（春模様）, *Natu Moyou*（夏模様）*Himokagami*（氷面鏡）, *Miyakoyaburi*（みやこやぶり）were published every 6 month until January 1903 (Tsuchiya, 1999:225).

to long standing customers who tended to be wealthy and well-educated.[56]

As mentioned in the previous section, around the turn of the 20th century, the majority of women's magazines took more the form of educational texts read by middle class women - this was before the advent of commercial women's magazines. The readership then was relatively wealthy and well-educated, with some social-awareness, especially in women's matters as well as stylished lifestyles. For these reasons we can therefore assume, that in the period Meiji 10-20s (1877-1896) the early department store's magazines probably had the same readership as women's magazines (from *Hanagoromo* in 1899 to *Miyakoyaburi*, until 1903). The department store magazines introduced new commodities, fashions and lifestyles, which could help to create a broader sense of taste and aesthetics in everyday life.

The early women's magazines in Meiji 10s (1877-1887) and 20s (1887-1898) had focused on enlightenment and educating women to have greater social awareness to become critical of the conventional beliefs about women. The new commercial women's magazines and department store magazine both appeared around the same time, in the Meiji 30s (1898-1906), therefore we can expect some similarities in contents, it is, however, important to emphasise the differences. The general women's magazines were basically published solely as commercial magazines which expected to present new ideas about modern times, highlight social issues and cater more generally for the needs and fantasies of women.

The department store magazines, which were published a little later in the late Meiji 30s (the period between 1898 and in early 1900s) also sought to educated women to become modern consumers who would employ a strong sense of aesthetics in everyday life. This was largely through the introduction of commodities in the catalogue section and the advertisement for new products. As the readers could chose and order any of the goods in the catalogue they wanted, it

[56] In the period Meiji 10 to 20 (1877-1896), ordinary women's magazine had not properly started mail subscription systems. In addition, they tended to have text designed to enlighten women rather than encourage purchase. By the Meiji 30s (1897-1907), newspaper and general magazines had just started to offer mail delivery (Tsuchiya, 1999:227).

was possible to plan and dream about which goods they would buy and assemble together for the home or themselves or family members, to create a particular effect and sense of ideal lifestyle.

In August 1903 (Meiji 36), just before it famous department store declaration (1905), Mitsukoshi Gofukuten (Mitsui Gofukuten changed its name to Mitsukoshi Gofukuten in 1905) started to publish *Jikou* （時好）, a new department store magazine designed not only to provide information about new goods and a catalogue purchase list, along with details of fashion-trends, entertainment, and to publicise their corporate identity. The first issue of *Jikou* had 66 pages (the frontispiece 32 pages and body 35 pages), with a print-run of 16,000 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990 : 35). *Jikou* were published until May 1908, with a total of 60 issues produced. It was initially priced at 12 sen (final price 18-sen) (Tsuchiya, 1999:231).[57] This was a large print run, given that general magazines had an average print-run of 2,000 to 3,000, with some relatively popular magazines reaching 7,000 to 8,000 in the period from late Meiji and early Taisho.[58]

Hence for a house magazine, *Jikou*'s circulation would have been large at the time, compared to general commercial magazines. Takashimaya (高島屋), one of the oldest department stores, published its own magazine, *Shinishou* (新衣裳), beginning in 1903, but their print-run was initially just 300. Even the following year, when they increased the print-run, it was still only a few thousands.

Inside *Jikou* (時好) were photographs of kimonos, comments and articles on goods, the introduction of new fashion trends, fiction and literature, information on events in the shop and a catalogue of commodities. The main aim of publishing *Jikou* (時好) was to expand 'long-distance purchasing', and in this it was successful with the circulation rapidly increasing. At the

[57] Previous magazines such as *Hana Goromo* had been free, but distributed only to regular customers (Tsuchiya, 1999:225).
[58] The most popular commercial women's magazines: *Jyogaku Zasshi* had a print run of 145,000 in 1899 and *Jogaku Sekai* had a print run of 70-80,000 in 1927.

same time, Mitsukoshi Gofukuten expanded abroad setting up a business office in Seoul in 1906 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:45). Mitsukoshi's sales staffs began to travel to many places far from Tokyo, such as Kyushu, Hokkaido, Seoul, Hong Kong, and Shanghai (Tsuchiya, 1999:231).[59]

Shirou Hamada （浜田四郎）, one of the editors of *Jikou* (時好), remarked that when he went to Korea in autumn 1903, he saw a lot of copies of *Jikou* (時好) there (Tushiya, 1999:227). This shows the extent to which *Jikou's* influence had already spread out from Tokyo. Many people could access, read and buy commodities of Mitsukoshi Gofukuten through the *Jikou* （時好） mail order service.[60]

When the Mitsui Gofukuten published its famous 'department store declaration' (1905) in a major newspaper, top managers (such as Ousuke Hibi 日比翁助, Kishichi Fujimura 藤村喜七, and Yoshio Takahashi 高橋義雄) set out Mitsukoshi's new business policy. One of the main tenets was 'Sales persons in the local office should make every effort to expand their local market by introducing 'current kimono pattern trends to customers by using *Jikou* and think out the best way for ordering and sending commodities to customers'. Behind this policy of market expansion were the business principles, invented by John Wanamaker, the founder of the Wanamaker department store in the United States. The new Wanamaker business policy was introduced by Shiro Hamada （濱田四郎） (1873-1952), who was a leading figure in developing department stores advertising (see Leach, 1993 on Wanamaker).

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[59] The Mitsukoshi's home delivery service was started in 1899 with just three persons running it (Tsuchiya, 1999:22). A big change occurred after 1906, when Mitsukoshi provided post office accounts with free delivery for customers. To facilitate this *Jikou* (時好) included mail order forms for the delivery service inside the magazine (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990 : 46).

[60] After the Russian-Japan War (1904-1905), other long-standing kimono shops, which were later to become department stores, also started to publish their own house magazines. Among the main ones were: Shiraki-ya's （白木屋） : *Katei no Shirube* （家庭のしるべ） (1904) 100 pages, priced at 12 sen, monthly, for women in particular; Matsuzaka-ya's （松坂屋） : *Koromo Douraku* （衣道楽） (1906) quarterly, and *Moura* （モーラ） (1910) monthly, 50 pages, price 15 sen ; Daimaru's (大丸): *Ishou* （衣裳） (1907) monthly, 100 pages, price 20 sen, (since September, 1907 cut down to 50 pages), and *Fujin Kurabu* （婦人くらぶ） (1908) 180 pages for women in particular (Tsuchiya, 1999:231).

Tsuchiya (1999) remarked that the new retail business policy, devised by Wanamaker was novel in that it did not make a distinction between department stores and mail delivery services. Both retailing forms were based on a diverse set of commodities to be sold to anybody, which were drawn from a large number of suppliers which could be afforded because of large financial resources, which made it possible to sell massive amounts of commodities. The success of the new retailing form depended on advertising in outlets, such as magazines (Tsuchiya, 1999:236). Hamada and his colleague, Kuwatani (桑谷定逸) tried to expand and develop applying the business policy of Mr. Wanamaker.[61]

With the discontinuance of *Jikou*, *Mitsukoshi Taimusu (Mitsukoshi Times)* (三越タイムス) was started in 1908. The early issues of *Jikou* were edited by Hibi who intended it to be 'a literary magazine', rather than 'a mere catalogue of commodities.' But the later issues of *Jikou* were directed by Hamada who want *Jikou* to become 'a publicity vehicle' of the Mitsukoshi Gofukuten and a catalogue of commodities, in order to expand business. Therefore, there was a conflict between Hibi's veneration of distinction and the artistic life and Hamada's more profit-centred business policy. The early issue of *Mitsukoshi Times* took over some of the content from *Jikou*, such as commentary on fashion, articles on art, literature, current social issues and the introduction of new commodities (Jinno, 1994:66). But gradually the content of *Mitsukoshi Taimusu* was turned into a more of a direct publicity vehicle for selling Mitsukoshi.

Mitsukoshi （三越）, the store's house magazine was first published in 1911 (Meiji 44), in order to generate not only be 'a publicity-based catalogue magazine', but also a 'literary magazine'. The first number was much more like a 'literary magazine, (included articles, which were written by popular novelist and poet such as Mori Ougai, Yosano Akiko, Izumi Kyouka,

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[61] Mail delivery service was translated into Japanese as '*Tsushin Hanbai*' by Shiro Hamada (Tsuchiya, 1999:237). The mail order service section was started in 1899 (The Record of Mitukoshi, 1990 : 34). Hence, *Jikou* was devised and distributed much earlier than the general women's magazines, which become popularised from 1910 onward. According to Miki (1996:4), in the period between 1911 and 1931, 214 women's magazines were started, such as *Fujyokai* (婦女界) in 1910, *Fujin Kouron* （婦人公論） in 1916, *Fujin no To* (婦人之友) in 1917).

Hasegawa Shigeru, than a department store's publicity magazine (Tsuchiya, 1999:238). Hibi was instrumental in the financing of *Mitsukoshi* (Tsuchiya, 1999:238) (see *Mitsukoshi*, March, 1911: Hibi's manifesto for the publishing of *Mitsukoshi*). This was part of his long cherished ideal that department stores should contribute to Japanese society through supporting the development of cultural activities, especially art and literature. Ultimately, of course, Hibi's ideal could be seen as helping to make a positive image for Mitsukoshi to further its business activities. It was an indirect way to gain publicity, but, in fact, it was not easy to combine cultural and business activities. Cultural activities did not, of course, usually aim to make a profit, and were often linked to charitable notions of the social good. In spite of the conflict between these business and cultural development aims, *Mitsukoshi* continued to be published until April, 1933 (Showa 8).

The print-run of *Mitsukoshi* and *Mitsukoshi Taimusu* was over 50,000 copies in 1911 (Meiji 44). Around 230 people were engaged in the publishing work in the Mitsukoshi department stores. Before commercial women's magazine became popular (around 1925), Mitsukoshi's house magazine already had a large circulation and carried a good deal of information on new commodities as well as material well being and lifestyle.

The Mitsukoshi magazines always retained this conflict between business and cultural activities. In an attempt to find a better way to carry out both activities, Mitsukoshi started another publication, *Mitsukoshi Katarogu* (Mitsukoshi catalogue), which was solely a catalogue magazine, in February 1924 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990 : 90). One reason was that in the 1920s mail delivery services, which were organized by newspaper companies and other commercial women's magazines became consolidated and offered a more competitive service. Hence, department store had two types of magazines, one was the catalogue, and the other a general publicity magazine for creating a good image for the store and company.

Furthermore, the use of photography made possible a high quality catalogue. Instead of seeing commodities directly, people could better imagine what the commodities were really like

through high quality photographs and detailed text (Tsuchiya, 1999:240). From the beginning, the editors tried to make the department store magazine good to look at, because the impact of visual images was seen as very important to attract customers.

The bipolarisation of department store's magazine become clear since in the 1920. In terms of creating an image of a high-quality goods shop for upper class people, it was very crucial to keep publishing the department store's 'house' magazines. Kimura Souichi (1935) (木村宗一) who was the publicity manager of Takashima-ya department store, drew attention to the differing characteristics of American, European and Japanese department stores.

> American department stores focus on mass customers. Their business policy was 'small profits and quick returns.' To win customers, they used newspaper advertisement. European department stores had business relationships with banks to make possible credit selling. Their main publicity vehicle was direct mail to invite customers. Japanese department stores organised a wide range of events to give customer 'mass-entertainment', because there are few public spaces, such as libraries, museums and halls in Japan, therefore the department store with its huge modern architecture would take in part the social role of these public spaces. (Kimura, 1935 cited in Tsuchiya, 1999:242)

Hence, it can be said that Japanese department stores fulfilled the role of not only selling things, but also giving people public entertainment and educative informational spaces. Therefore, department store magazines needed to work on creating a nice image in order to gain a wide public, a public of culturally sensitive people who would come to department stores. The department store magazine becomes very important in generating this narrative. Especially, for people in the provinces, the magazines portrayed the department store as a dream world in which you could find the material goods and resources associated with performing upper class, or new middle class, lifestyles.

As mentioned earlier, the period between 1918 and 1919 was the peak time for the movement to reform everyday lifestyle （*seikatsu kaizen undo*, 生活改善運動）. A time when the government encouraged people to work more rationally, efficiently and systematically, to save

time and energy, to be thrifty. Ironically, to be able to endure these new hardships, 'material comforts' took on a new importance. To buy commodities, which were associated with or symbolised upper class or new middle class lifestyles, made people 'feel good.' Hence, the circulation of the magazine increased dramatically for a number of reasons. For the upper class they were a 'material catalogue and source of cultural information'. For the new middle class, they could be 'a guide-book for new lifestyles, that is '*modern*' lifestyles. For people in the provinces they were 'the window, through which they could see ideal lifestyles'.

Consequently, we can assume that women in different social classes used and enjoyed Mitsukoshi magazine in different ways. In particular, there is no doubt that the increasing circulation of Mitsukoshi house magazine was associated with the increasing number of new middle class in the 1910s. The new middle class had a tendency to imitate the upper class. At the same time, they sought to establish their own 'new' (modern) lifestyles. Therefore, they wanted to know more about lifestyles in general, along with images and detailed information on new commodities.[62]

Hence, it can be seen here that Mitsukoshi's successful business strategies were based on developing the role of the department store as a 'dream maker' as well as 'dream world' as an entertainment site. It was information and images which were used in the home to stimulate dreams and desires, not just the impressive new physical site, the place of 'wonders' with its displays and simulations of Western homes and rooms which were important. Hence people could learn the new rules, the new classification of everyday life both by doing their 'home work,' reading the store magazines and catalogues, and then enjoy their 'practical work,' by visiting the stores. The doubling and layering, was important in reinforcing the new classifications of everyday life to make the department stores occupy a crucial role in the generation of people whose habitus became more open to consumer culture.

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[62] While they imitated the lifestyle of the upper class, at the same time, they also needed to create their own distinctive lifestyles in order to create the feeling of belonging to the new middle class. This came from their common identity in adopting a learning mode to life as they sought to move upwards in the social space.

Both women's magazines and the department store magazines, such as Mitsukoshi's, worked not only to produce women's fantasies and act as guidebooks for sophisticated women, but also helped to generate 'corporate identity' (company image). At the same time, the magazines educated people to become 'modern consumers' who should have the capacity to make a more 'aestheticized lifestyle' through the use of 'material goods' in the 1910s. It should also be emphasised that the Mitsukoshi magazines had already started to educate women to become 'modern consumers' well before the popular commercial women's magazines. It did not matter whether women (the readership) had a capacity to buy things or not. The important point was educating women who could have potential and inclination to buy something in the future. Therefore, Mitsukoshi continued to work on both the practical and anticipatory (fantasy stimulating) levels through the magazines.[63]

The next chapter will examine how the department store's magazine represent a combination of upper class and 'modern lifestyles' （現代生活）. This became known by the influential term: 'culture living' (文化生活). Here the focus will be on 'modern spaces' and the 'modern body' and the ways in which they contributed to 'the aestheticization of everyday life' (Featherstone, 1991:65).

[63] In fact, *Mitsukoshi* magazine was not just a commercial-catalogue magazine, because there were some articles on women's movements, and it was clear that Mitsukoshi supported women's suffrage (*onna go dai* （女五題）(*Mitsukoshi,* 三越, 1912 May :4-5).

Chapter 9: Lifestyle Reform and Women's Bodies

1. Introduction

As we discussed in the previous chapter department store magazines were not just designed as catalogues of consumer goods, they also had the purpose of introducing customers to think more of their lives in terms of consumption and the exploration of lifestyles. The term 'lifestyle' is often taken to mean 'the distinctive style of life of specific status groups' (Featherstone, 1991: ch 6; Weber, 1986; Sobel, 1982; Rojek, 1985). This view, implies a that a group's lifestyle is a relatively fixed set of characteristic which act as identifiers to distinguish it from other groups. With the development of consumer culture, the meaning has tended to shift to the sense that lifestyle is more of a project, something to be assembled and achieved. Hence the notion of lifestyle within consumer culture is often taken to connote 'individuality, self-expression and a stylistic self-consciousness' (Featherstone, 1991:83, see also Chaney, 1996).

The movement from the first fixed group characteristic, to the second, more dynamic project-orientated sense of lifestyle, cannot be seen as an unproblematic linear process. The possibilities that consumers will adopt more expressive, stylistic lifestyles depends upon many factors, and occurred unevenly over time and between societies. As Ewen (1976) has pointed out with reference to the United States in the 1920s, the nascent consumer culture advertising sought to undermine Puritan values of 'thrift' and saving in favour of hire purchase and the use of credit. Shopping became redefined as a pleasurable and not merely functional activity permitting 'impulse buying,' and demanding the cultivation of taste and new aesthetic sensibilities. Yet, as Daniel Bell (1976) has argued, ideally consumer culture asks people to become disciplined Puritans by day, and hedonistic 'playboys' by night: to work hard and play hard. In effect consumer culture requires the promise of hedonism, luxury and expressivity along with careful planning and instrumental calculation. It required people to develop a more

flexible habitus with the capacity to become interested in a life which was more dynamic, a life replete with new possibilities. It asked people to experiment with different styles and tastes, to rehearse, try on and handle the components of different lifestyles.

As we have argued above the cities had become centres for consumption and leisure, with sites such as department stores, cinemas, cafés, dance halls etc., provided spaces for people not just to purchase, but to look and observe, to imaginatively rehearse some of the possibilities of consumer culture. Magazines and newspapers, especially women's magazines also provided representations of consumer culture lifestyles along with detailed commentary. They featured the new goods, the new kitchen and appliances, the new women's clothes, accessories and fashion items. They advised women on how to make-up and dress their hair in the new styles, how to furnish and decorate rooms in the new ways. The magazines, along with advertisements in the press and cityscape billboards and posters, the store displays etc., all provided enticing images and representations of the new consumer way of life. Additional advice was provided by magazines and the department stores on how to translate these representations into practice. Of course for many women in the early decades of the 20th century, the new consumer culture was more of a dream than a reality. Yet it was also something coming on the horizon of possibilities, something which 'one day' might become possible. In the meantime 'just looking' and 'window shopping' in department stores and city centres, or browsing through magazines, were pleasurable activities in their own right.

For women, consumer culture offered a redefinition of the home as an aestheticized and pleasurable space to live and work in. This involved a redefinition of family life for the new living spaces. Women were the arbiters of these new spaces, they learned how to organize and order the space in ways which were deemed tasteful and stylish. They learned the new classification systems, the placement of objects and the ordering of things within consumer culture. Classification systems which necessarily were subject to instabilities and reclassification through the constant introduction of new objects and styles. This occurred both via the technological instrumental aspect of modernity (new appliances and rational scientific

home economics and domestic skills) and cultural and aesthetic aspects (modernism with its avant-garde impulses and parade of new fashions and styles). Yet the class dynamics of capitalist societies in the early decades of the 20th century were such that many women in the working class could not participate in the game as active players. At the same time the representations and literature on consumption, the capacity to look and browse in consumer spaces, were designed by advertisers and marketers to provide versions of goods at a range of price levels. Hence women were encouraged to daydream and imagine new possibilities, even if this was only stepping up their consumption habits to the next level.

Women were not just asked to be interested in consumer culture through their role (current or anticipatory) as good wives and mothers to organize and make 'a home.' Consumer culture also offered them more direct possibilities for transformation of their persona: to change their appearance, to experiment with a 'new look,' through cosmetics, hair style, fashion and accessories. A woman's appearance and dress can be seen to signal to the world not only her sense of femininity, but also a measure of her self-esteem. As Sally Alexander (1995:215) has argued 'looks figure in a woman's psyche on the whole more than a man's.' A new dress, however cheap, or home-made offers possibility for self-esteem, identification and transformation. The consumer culture spaces and magazines offered constant advice to women not only on the transformation of home, but also on body maintenance, presentational skills and demeanour.

In the Japanese case the dynamics of consumer culture were, as we have argued, caught up between the intentions of entrepreneurs such as Hibi in Mitsukoshi, who sought to educate people into the new 'Mitsukoshi taste,' and the broader nation-state building project, in which consumption was seen as but a minor cog in the larger machinery of the national effort to make Japan a world power. Yet as we have argued both the business and the governmental aspects in many cases came together, as the leading figures were associates, often participating in the same reference groups. In this sense the government efforts to encourage saving, through thrift campaigns (Garon, 1997, 1998) did not threaten consumer culture, but became incorporated, as

careful saving and planned purchasing went together. Likewise the cycles and rhythms of daily, weekly and annual consumption permitted moments of excess and hedonism, visits to liminal spaces, within overall careful time-money management. Yet the more instrumental and technical 'rational' aspects of everyday life were often wrapped within larger narratives of attaining a more cultivated and higher status form of life admired by others, just as the consumer goods themselves were 'wrapped' in advertising copy and images.

The period referred to as 'Greater Taisho' (Garon, 1998), from 1900-1930, which saw the development of the department store's magazines as a new retailing form was the phase in Japan in which '*kindai seikatsu*' (近代生活, , modern lifestyle) suggesting a new or reformed way of life) and '*bunka seikatsu*' (文化生活, cultural living) suggesting a more stylish, rational and efficient way of life) were developed. It is generally accepted that 'modern lifestyles' and 'cultured living' were both produced for and demanded by the new middle class, which began to focus more on the enjoyment of 'aesthetic pleasures' and a more 'stylised' everyday life.

The term cultured living' (文化生活, *bunka seikatsu*) would seem to have become prominent with the 1919 Lifestyle Improvement Exhibition (*Seikatsu Kaizen Ten*) organized by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture. This was in line with the more general attempt on the part of the government and other bodies to encourage the reform of everyday life. Indeed at this time terms such as *kaizen* (improvement), *kairyô* (reform) and *kaizo* (transformation) were very much in vogue (Kashiwagi, 2000:62). In the wake of the conference, the ministry established the Alliance for Lifestyle Improvement (*Seikatsu Kaizen Dômeikai*) in 1920, which sought to encourage improvement in all areas of everyday life – housing, food, clothing and social interaction. The same year, the Cultured Life Research Group (*Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyûkai*) was founded by Morimoto Kokichi, who also established the Society for Cultural Diffusion (*Bunka Fukyûkai*) in 1922 (Kashiwagi, 2000:63).[1]

[1] These groups were the latest in a series of initiatives which sought diffuse new modern lifestyles. An immediate forerunner was the Association for the Improvement of Housing (*Jûtaku Kairyô Kai*) formed in 1916 by Hashiguchi Shinsuke, who had earlier founded Japan's first construction company for housing, *Amerikaya* (American Home Shop) which sought to popularise American-style housing. One of the active members of the association was Misumi Suzuko, who advocated the Taylorization of housework. A key influence here was Christine Frederick

The government sponsored Alliance for Lifestyle Improvement sought to encourage the rationalization and remodelling of everyday life as part of the national project. In its magazine *Seikatsu Kaizen* (Lifestyle Improvement) it asked readers to reform and rationalize their housing, clothing and diet (*ishokujû no sekatsu*), as well as simplifying their social relationships and rituals (Kashiwagi, 2000:65). The Alliance organized a number of committees to focus on particular areas, which included the *Jûtaku Kaizen Chôsa* (Research Committee for Improved Housing).[2] The Committee produced a research report in 1924 in the Reform of Domestic Furniture (*Jûtaku Kagu no Kaizen*) which set out policies for the westernization of everyday life and the creation of a family-centred lifestyle centred on the functional design of housing, interiors and furniture ('chair-style') which furthered the efficient use of time. The use of chairs symbolised the committee's critique of the Japanese commitment to a 'double life,'[3] which had dominated since the Meiji era and was evident in clothing, architecture and interior design. Men wore western-style suits in public and Japanese dress at home. The new middle class lifestyle was henceforth deemed to be a more simple and functional family-centred life based on the standardization and rationalization of domestic life (Kashiwagi, 2000:67).

The Cultured Life Research Group (*Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyû*) formed by Morimoto Kokichi in 1920, established two periodicals: *Bunka Seikatsu* and *Bunka Seikatsu Kenkyû*, which were influential in spreading the phrase 'cultured life' (Sand, 2000:100).[4] Culture became taken up as the catchphrase of the time with 'cultural houses,' 'cultural pots,' 'cultural knives,' and even 'cultural monosodium glutamate *(aji no moto).*' In the 1922 Peace Exhibition in Ueno Park, Tokyo, a group of fourteen model houses were built and designated a 'cultural village.'

(1883-1970), who had set up a model kitchen for research in housekeeping and then became editor of the influential *Ladies Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper* in 1912 (Kashiwagi, 2000).

[2] The committee was chaired by Sano Toshikata, a professor at Tokyo University. Members were mainly academics and included architects, designers, domestic scientists, museum directors and provincial governors. Kon Wajirô was a member (see Kashiwagi, 2000:66).

[3] Watsuji Tetsurô and other intellectuals have drawn attention to the 'double life' (*nijû seikatsu*). 'Doubling,' has been seen as a unique emblem of Japan's modern experience – although as Harootunian (2000:xvii) points out this doubling undoubtedly occurred in other societies experiencing the global process of capitalist expansion.

[4] Two other major magazines which became popular amongst the new middle class and later started to address these questions were: *Kindai Seikatsu* (modern life) in 1929 and *Modan Nippon* (modern Japan) in 1930 (Satou T, 1982:30).

Subsequently in magazine advertisements and the media in general, images of western style culture houses (figures 9.1 and 9.2), replete with steep-pitched roof, gables and half-timber design, became popular symbols of progress (Sand, 2000:103).[5]

This was especially the case with members of the new middle class (*shin chûkansô*), who dreamed of cultured living in a suburban cultural house. Criticisms developed of the gender basis of the new cultural lifestyle, as found in the series of cartoon postcards entitled *Bunka Seikatsu To Wa* (What is Cultural Life?) which appeared in the early 1920s (figue 9.3). The postcards equated 'culture' with the threat of the reversal of gender roles.[6] The cultural house was seen as a more secluded private space which offered more freedom to the housewife, who now became part of a conjugal 'couple.' Tanazaki's in his famous novel *Chijin no Ai* (1924) has Jôji and Naomi (the prototype modern girl) coming together to live in this type of 'fairy-tale cultural house,' where they can 'play house' and indulge their private desires (see discussion in chapter 11 below). These and other phrases emphasising 'cosiness' (*kojinmari* shita), 'comfortableness' (*igokochi yoi*), 'cheerfulness' (*tanoshii*), were to be found in magazines such as *Shufu no Tomo* (housewife's friend) in which the home was presented as a more expressive artistic project (Sand, 2000:114).

The term *bunka seikatsu* (cultured living)[7] highlights the boom in culture in the Taisho era. The term culture (*bunka)* was first used on a wide scale in this period, which contrasts with the

[5] *Mituskoshi* ran an article about '*bunka jûtaku'* (cultural house), by Nishimura Isaku (西村伊作), who suggested that we need new type of house following the principles of *bunka gakuin* (the cultural school established by Yosano Akiko), which should display good taste, because the house should be seen as a part of self-expression (*Mitsukoshi,* January, 1925:9*)*. Another article by an engineer, Ohkuma Yoshikuni (大熊喜邦), introduced his own house, which he designed to be 'cosy,' using a combination of advanced technology and good taste and he saw as the epitome of what a '*bunka jûtaku'* (new cultural house) should be (*Mitsukoshi,* July 1925:2).

[6] For Bourdieu (1984) culture is coded feminine. Hence a 'cultural house,' and cultured living, along with the aestheticized life, already make concessions to the feminine. This should be linked to the depictions of the 1920s as entailing a more 'feminization of culture,' in cities such as Tokyo with the appearance of modern women and greater visibility of women in the mass culture and the new urban spaces (Harootunian, 2000).

[7] The term *bunka seikatsu* has been variously translated as: 'culture life,' 'culture living,' 'cultural living,' 'cultured life,' cultural lifestyles.' Clearly the term 'lifestyle,' in the contemporary consumer culture or social science usage, did not operate in Japan in the 1920s. Yet given the context of consumer culture and the concern with style and taste, along with the general reform of everyday life, it seems appropriate to at time to employ the term. Indeed it can be argued that although the term was not explicitly used, there was a great deal of advice and practical and imaginative effort put into 'lifestyle transformation.'

emphasis put up on the term civilization (*bumei)* in the Meiji era. Civilization was associated with the self-sacrifice and national effort to catch up with the West, whereas the term culture in Taisho evoked the consumer lifestyle, individualism, culturalism (*bunkashugi*) and cosmopolitianism. As Harootunian (1974a:15) remarks

> The transfer from *bumei* to *bunka* also marked profound changes in modal personality types, from what the men of Meiji celebrated as *shûgyô* (education) to what the men of Taisho cherished as *kyôyô* (cultivation). The former meant a commitment to discipline, practical education and self-sacrificing service; the latter, a Japanese gloss on the German conception of *allgemeine Bildung*, stressed personal self-cultivation and refinement. The idea of *shûgyô* enjoined men to act publicly and to serve goals larger than themselves; *kyôyô* required men to operate in the private sphere and serve only themselves.[8]

If we consider the gender dimensions of Harootunian's remarks, which are clearly only relevant for the middle classes and try to think this shift in terms of women, as we have argued above, the expansion of girls' education helped create a women's reading public interested in self-cultivation and refinement, but in line with the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine this was restricted to the private sphere. As we shall see in the next section, the household living space became transformed into the home (*homu)* in the late Meiji era. The women's magazines and department store magazines, within the Taisho period, provided women with a stream of images and advice on how to reform and stylise the home to create both a 'cultured life' and 'family

[8] See also Harootunian's (1974b) discussion of the roots of this Taisho notion of culture, which draws on the Meiji intellectuals' inability to participate in the public sphere and engage in politics while the Meiji 'family-state' project was underway. This rejection of politics led to a veneration of culture and the creative personality. These 'aesthetic-aristocratic values became heightened in the Taisho era, as we find in the transformation of the aesthetic vision into an ethic in the writings of Kuki Shuzô and Nishida Kitarô. In this intellectual context, then, it is not inappropriate, as is the case in earlier chapters, to focus on the aestheticization of everyday life in Japan. The impetus came not only immanently from the new modernist urban consumer culture (cf. Benjamin, 1999), but also from intellectuals who themselves were fascinated by the 'ethic of aesthetics' and the aestheticism found in contemporary *fin-de siècle* European intellectual and artistic currents (Art Nouveau, *Jugenstil*) (see Maffesoli, 1991, on the ethic of aesthetics). This aesthetic sensibility initially entailed a defence of culture and refinement against the threat of mass culture and consumption, some intellectuals broke ranks and becoming fascinated and positive about the new urban mass culture of the 1920s with its department stores, cafés, cinemas, dance halls etc. For a discussion of the various positions embracing and seeking to overcome the new everyday life in modernity, see Harootunian (2000). These conjunctures have some similarities to the veneration of *kultur* which in the German case was linked to the denigration of *civilisation* (seen as rationality and progress and identified with France), which were discussed and analysed by Norbert Elias (1994: ch 1) in *The Civilizing Process.*

living.' Women were instructed on care of the body, the use of western cosmetics, accessories, fashion and demeanour. They were taught how to protect and transform their bodies into healthy bodies, which operated and moved in different ways within the new rationalized maintenance spaces of the home, with its new style kitchen, tables and chairs. They also began to learn the demeanour for a more sophisticated and stylised presentation of self in the new urban public spaces, which held out new possibilities of employment, consumption and leisure activities.

2. The historical background of lifestyle reform

2-1) Phase I: Introducing 'civilization' (1868-1887)

Any discussion of new lifestyles in relation to consumer culture and the government's project to reform everyday life has to be aware that the notion of changing the structure of everyday life and ways of living was not exclusively a product of the early decades of the 20th century. The earlier reforms ushered in with the Meiji Restoration were also designed to reconstruct lifestyles. In one sense, then, learning consumer culture lifestyles, or new modes of thrift and everyday life management, would not be novel to many Japanese, whose parents and families had already had to adapt to a learning mode towards life. To some degree the difference lay in terminology, with the key watchword in the Meiji era being 'civilization,' which was replaced by 'culture' (often in the form 'cultural living') in the Taisho and early Showa eras.

Official commissions were sent to Western nations by the Tokugawa shogunate shortly before its collapse at the time of the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Their main aim was to negotiate problems connected with the Ansei Commercial Treaties of 1858 (it unequal arrangements for Japan). At the same time, the commissions (1860, 1862, 1864, and 1866) provided important opportunities to learn about western society for the delegates and the students who accompanied them, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (see Miyoshi, 1994)

The Meiji government was also concerned about the perception of Japan by the West and that Japan should appear to be a civilized country. Therefore, the government introduced regulations to control people's everyday lifestyles. Sexuality in particular was strictly supervised, with a ban on 'nudity' (1871), 'mixed bathing' (1872) (figure 9.4), and 'sexual drawings and woodcuts' (*shunga*) (1869). Furthermore, '*shushin sho*' (morals texts for children) explained in detail every aspect of everyday life, such as hygiene (how to wash the hands and face), greetings, along with strict time management (Muta, 1996:130).

From the Meiji Restoration onwards, the government start to develop a policy to extend civilizing processes.[9] For officials at that time, learning 'civilized' modes of behaviour and lifestyles meant westernization. One interesting example here was the Deer Cry Pavilion (Rokumeikan, 鹿鳴館), a western style building, established in 1883 in the Hibiya Section of Tokyo, which became a key site for the learning of western lifestyles. Many dance parties and other social events were held for prominent Japanese and foreigners, therefore it came to symbolise the period of Japanese westernization in the early Meiji years (the so-called Rokumeikan era 鹿鳴館時代).

This was part of the strategy to revise the Unequal Treaties, in which the Meiji government sought to demonstrate to the West that Japan was a civilized country. For diplomatic reasons too, Japan needed to learn more from the West, and therefore the government encouraged the adoption of westernized styles in everyday life (westernization policy, 欧化政策).
'Westernized Japanese women' in particular, were used as a criterion of civilization from the viewpoint of the West. Although Japanese women put on western dress and learned to dance at balls, the meaning of 'westernization' for them was just a form of mimicry of the West, a performance of 'civilised women' for the benefit of the western gaze (figure 9.5)[10].

[9] See Elias (1994) for the concept of civilizing process and Arnason (1997) for a discussion of Japanese civilizing process and state formation.
[10] The treaty system had been laid by the Tokugawa Shogunate in the Ansei commercial treaties with the United States, the Netherlands, Russia, Britain, and France (1858). These agreements expanded upon earlier pacts that had opened several major ports to international trade. They also established a sliding scale of tariffs and acknowledged the right of foreigners to be tried in consular courts according to their own laws. Inoue (井上馨) held several

Members of the dominant strata in Japan such as the Royal family, senior government officials and members of the armed forces, follow more closely the norm of 'civilized' western behaviour. But in many ways they just learned how to mimic the superficial characteristics of western lifestyles in order to perform in public situations.

2-2) Phase II: The introduction of 'new concepts' of lifestyle 1877-1886

After the failure of the attempt to renegotiate the 'Unequal Treaties' in 1887, the criticism of the prevailing diplomatic policy, which was based on superficial westernization, intensified. Despite this anti-western shift in the social climate, the commitment to the reform of Japanese society, especially the reform of '*katei*' （家庭） （the home） continued. From this time on, the reform of everyday life project became more clearly articulated by Japanese political leaders and thinkers along with women's educators and journalists.

2-2-1) The early theory of the home

Many thinkers and journalists argued that Japan needed a new form of the home and family system, opposed to the conventional family system, '*ie*' (家) which was castigated as irrational. It was argued that a strong morality for couples was needed, with a firm commitment to marriage and the family unit, along with some limited women's rights.[11]

Later arguments about the new family (近代家族 *kindai kazoku*、 modern family), had a much stronger sense of the importance of the family as a 'secure mental space for intimate human relationships.' Yet at this time the views of Mori Arinori (森　有礼) and others about sexuality

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ministerial posts in the Meiji government and as foreign minister, tried to recover rights Japan had earlier ceded to the Western powers. Inoue unsuccessfully tried to increase both tariff rates and Japan's jurisdiction over foreigners. He resigned in 1887. Inoue has a close relationship with Mitukoshi Gofukuten. See chapter 4, section 1 above.

[11] Some of the arguments for a new version of the home sought a compromise with the existing conventional male patriarchal practices, what we now call 'the double standard' of sexuality. In an article in *Kinji Hyouron* （近事評論） (No. 96, 1877) Asano Kan (浅野　乾) criticised the custom that men take mistresses or visit prostitutes. Yet the same year there was an article in *Kinji Hyouron* (No. 37), which admired the 'true love' between a higher governmental official and a geisha. Furthermore, the following year the magazine carried an article which admired men who took mistresses (*Kinji Hyoron*, No.121, 1878) (Muta, 1996:55).

and family morality were very influential. He argued that 'in order to develop the nation, it is necessary to reform the relationship between couples and marital form' (*Meiroku Zasshi*, May 1874). He criticized the unequal rights between the sexes found in the traditional Japanese '*ie*' (家) system and argued for 'monogamy.'[12]

It is also worth pointing out that Mori's argument extended up to the level of state formation. The home was seen as a vital social unit for the construction of the state and the ideology of the happy family became important. Moreover, this new idea of the home which developed in the 1870s was presented to magazine readers who were almost wholly men. According to Muta, *Katei Sôdan* （家庭叢談） carried numerous articles offering advice on: domestic work, how to make a household budget (1876, No. 6), the way to handle maids (1876, No. 3), and social relationship (1879, No. 26) (Muta, 1996:64).

2-3 Phase III: The late theory of the home

This evidence would suggest that changes in family lifestyle became more focused in the late 1880s, with the ideal '*katei* (家庭)' (the home) and '*homu*' (the home) become major social issues, discussed by many thinkers and educators.[13] *Homu* stressed the importance of making a harmonious family, which should be based a high level of intimate relationships between family members. Good emotional relationships between the couple and between parents and children, were seen as fundamental conditions for a happy family.

Furthermore, the new idea of the home entailed the restructuring of the family-form. Ueki Emori （植木枝盛） recommended the separation of living space between grandparents and

[12] He remarked that 'within marriage, a man should have the obligation to look after a woman and also have the right to gain support from the woman, and women should have the same obligations and rights as men' (*Meiroku Zasshi,* May 1874: No 8-2). Up to this time, it was common for a man to have a wife and mistress. If his wife could not have a child, it was assumed that the mistress would take over the obligation to have a child and keep the family-line, which was associated with samurai values. In this there was no distinction between a wife's and mistress's right to have a child. Sometimes the wife and mistress lived together harmoniously. Mori criticise this situation, arguing as it 'could damage the wife's dignity and ignore her rights and obligations within marriage' (*Meiroku Zasshi,* No. 11-2, June 1874). He went on to write on this topic five more times in '*Meiroku Zasshi* in 1874 and 875 (Nos. 8-2; 11-2; 15-1;.20-2;.27-1).

[13] Muta (1996:56) tells us that 'The term, *katei* (家庭) (the home) was not new, but sometimes the term, *homu* (ホーム) (the home) was used instead of '*katei* (家庭) (the home), as *homu* implied a new concept of family life.

their children's family, encouraging the nuclear family form (*Kokumin no Tomo* （国民之友）, 1888, M21 No. 32, cited in Muta, 1996:56). Life began to revolve less around the use of space for the professional responsibilities of men and meetings of the wider family circle, as the house became seen more as a home (*katei* 家庭), the sphere of women. Architects in the early 1900s began to respond to this situation by developing the 'family-orientated house' (*kazoku honi no jûtaku*), and the layout of rooms was reconfigured to give more prominence to family space as opposed to rooms for guests and other non-familial activities (Sand, 1998:202).[14]

The intensified nationalism at the time of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, with the 'rich country and strong army' slogan, also directed attention to the home, seen as an important social unit for educating people to become good citizens. The function of the home was not only a place of recreation and self or collective realization for family members, but also a place of education and reproduction of citizen for the nation, which was strong associated 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine（良妻賢母主義）.[15] For example, we can find an article written by Mori Arinori (森有礼) in *Meiroku Zasshi* (No 327, 1908), which stated that 'The pursuit of a happy home was the main aim of life' (Muta, 1996:56).[16] The ideology of the family and the home in terms of their role in formation of the nation-state has something different meanings.

[14] Eating together a common mean at the family table (*chabudai)* was seen as a significant change by Sakai Toshihiko, who later became a founding member of the Japanese Socialist Party, as he believed this would put an end to the feudal habits of husbands who behaved like 'little lords' (Sand, 1998:199).
[15] Kentarou Kaneko outlined the *Kokumin Katei Ron* （国民家庭論） (Theory of the Nation-family),' remarking that the American president, Theodore Roosevelt's family represented an ideal family for Japanese people, (*Taiyo* 『太陽』, 1906, M39; see (Muta, 1996:58).
[16] Muta (1996:57) points out why the 'home' was adopted by Japanese society at that time. Firstly, it came from the West. Even with the failure to reform the unequal treaties and the Russian-Japan War, when anti-western social feelings were strong, the new concept of family life was still supported by many thinkers and journalists. Secondly, industrialization led to a new form the nuclear family which was superior to the conventional family form which relied on succession through inheritance, which prevented creativity, the forming of new businesses, the spirit of independence, and the development of society (Muta, 1996:59). Therefore, the new family should be independent and encourage people to develop their own lives. Consequently, a good education for children became seen as the key means to a good job. Thirdly, with the rise of strong nationalist policies, after the Russia-Japanese War, the idea of maintaining the '*ie*' system was criticized. At the same time, there were some arguments for retaining the '*ie*', by combining it with state development through the ideology that 'the prosperity of the '*ie*' was the foundation of the rise of the nation.' Fourthly, the new form of the home was also seen as important to the development the state. It was suggested that the happy home made by a good couple was a basic condition to develop the state. This logic here was that the feeling of love between sexes was the same as loving the state, entailing a similar emotional bond (*'kinn ji hyôron'* (近事評論) 1879, M12,No186) (Muta, 1996:62).

The family had the function of 'reproduction', and the home was seen as the 'base' for producing good citizens, healthy solders and fertile women. It is important to note the extent to which 'the home' became established in the public imagination. More than 26 magazines published between 1903-1912 had *katei* (家庭) (the home) as part of their title (Miki, 1989:91).

2-3-1) The theory of women (女性論): The new idea of women's life 1887-1906

a) Women's rights and women's roles

Women were made familiar with the proponents of the new ideas about the home and family life largely through magazines. One import thinker and political leader was Emori Ueki (植木枝盛) (1857-1892), who was participated in the freedom and people's rights movement in the 1880s. He was strongly influenced by western notions of human rights and political freedom via texts such as Rousseau's *Theory of the Social Contract* （社会契約説）, Montesquieu's *The Spirit of Law* (法の精神), and John Stuart Mill's *Theory of Representative Government* (代議政体論). Ueki Emori founded an influential women's magazine, *Touyou no Fujyo* (Eastern Women, 東洋の婦女) in 1889, in order extend his theories to argue for women's liberation (Nakai, 1989: 230).[17]

Another influential thinker was Iwamoto Yoshiharu (巌本善治) (1863-1942), an educationalist and chief editor of *Jogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌、Magazine of Women's Learning) founded in 1885. He was influenced by Christianity and saw women's education as they key to 'women's rights'（女権, *jyoken*） and producing women with a sense of public concern. He also saw the importance of women journalists, who would have the capacity to express and tune into women's real feelings (*Jyogaku Zasshi,* 15th October 1887 cited in Miki, 1989:28).[18]

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[17] He was a rare case of a thinker who argued about women's right in terms of human rights. Most male thinkers insisted that the reform of women's consciousness should be undertaken for reasons of furthering state formation, or as an index of the degree of civilization reached by society.

[18] His view of women's rights changed at the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) when he started to support nationalism arguing that in wartime women needed to follow the 'good wife, wise mother' doctrine. Women could be seen as a key instrument to generate a 'rich country and strong army' and hence their human rights could be ignored. Ironically, after he become a nationalist, one of his female followers became journalist, Hani Motoko（羽

The reform of women's lifestyles was seen as central to the reform of family life. It can also be argued that the reform of family life entailed the reform of everyday lifestyle. Hence, the relationships between women, the family and the home became seen as stronger.[19]

At this time, *homu* appeared as a new key term of the women's reform movement and the expanding new women's magazines, with their new ideas about the 'modern wives/women'. In the arguments about developing a 'new ideology of women', it was inevitable that a new concept of the home, because central. Many articles began to feature not only the concept of the home, but also practical and useful advice and information on a wide range of domestic tasks. It is important to note that general magazines such as *Kokumin no Tomo*（国民の友, Citizens' Companion, 1898）, *Chuô Kôron*（中央公論, central forum, 1907）; *Taiyo*（太陽, The Sun, 1902）, began to drop 'women's issues.' At the same time as women's issues were taken up by specialist women's magazines, such as *Jyokan* （女鑑, woman's mirror, 1891), *Katei Zasshi* (家庭雑誌, family magazine, 1892), *Katei* （家庭, family, 1903), *Shufu no Tomo* （主婦之友, housewife's friend, 1907).

Jiro Shimoda (下田次郎) was an educationalist and chief editor of *Joshi Kyouiku* (女子教育, Women's Education) from its inception in January 1904 to September 1916. The magazine was the voice of *Dainihon Jyoshi Kyôiku kai* （大日本女子教育会, the Japanese Women's Educational Association）, which was mainly composed of female school teachers. Shimoda asserted that women should be educated to develop 'refined and sophisticated taste' in their everyday lives and this entailed departing from the 'good wife, wise mother' policy. Some of the articles were written by women teachers who described the real state of women's education

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仁もと子）, who adopted his earlier Christian-influenced policy to found the influential women's magazine *Shufu no Tomo* (主婦の友, housewife's friend) in 1908 (Koyama, 1999:44). It should be noted that Iwamoto also advocated women's economic independence (before the Sino-Japanese War) and campaigned for the abolition of prostitution. He insisted on monogamy based on a loving and caring relationship.

[19] The peak time for the debates about women was 1887-89. The linkages between women's issues, the home and family life became much more noticeable after 1905.

(Miki, 1989:65-66). It is important to note that his argument about the development of women placed the central impetus on making them become aware and knowledgeable about the pleasures of stylization and aesthetic taste.

This is illustrated in a leading article of the magazine, which argues that women's education should not centre on sewing, needlework and cooking; rather it should be broadened into education for 'manners and taste'. In other words, Shimoda and members of the Women's Education association encouraged women to explore the 'aesthetic pleasures of everyday life'. Shimoda advocated the education of the 'aesthetic sensibility,' and the importance of a spiritually rich life, as against mere practicalities.[20]

The basic aim of *Jyoshi Kyouiku* (Women's Education, 女子教育) was to develop a critique of conventional women's education and the sense that it was weaker than men's education. It is interesting to note the magazine also proposed that women should enjoy their lives as individuals and not just become 'reproduction machines'. Women should have leisure pursuits, such as a hobby. They should not be sacrificed to domestic work or having babies and should control reproduction. In effect, women should not only endure life, but also have a happy life.[21]

The magazine helped women to get to know the parameters of a better life, a version of the upper class lifestyle. An image of peaceful, graceful and rich women who could refine their tastes and developed new lifestyles, such as going out to see a play, enjoying dressing up,

[20] It is important note here that *Jyoshi Kyôiku* introduced western thought on women, such as *The Biography of Ellen Key* (エレン・ケイ伝) (1905) ; *The Child Century by Ellen Key* (エレン・ケイの 児童の世紀) (1906) by Konishi Shigenao (小西重直); Ellen Key's *The Theory of the Abuse of Women's Power* (1907) translated by Morooka Sai (諸岡在訳). Although it is normally accepted that Ellen Key was first introduced by Kuroiwa Ruika （黒岩涙香）, Kaneko Shisui （金子筑水） (1911) and Ishizaka Youhei （石坂養陽平） in 1912, *Jyoshi Kyouiku* had already introduced Ellen Key's arguments and biography (Miki, 1989:66). This fact is very important in relation to the discovery of childhood in the next sub-section.

[21] The readers of Tokutomi's *Katei Zasshi* (家庭雑誌) were not necessarily women. *Katei Zasshi* was preferred by people who were interested in the theory of state formation and the role of the reform of the family system to further this end. Hence, *Katei Zasshi* was read by men as well. This is similar to *Katei Soudan* （家庭叢談） in 1877, which was published for men who were interested in managing the 'home' (Muta, 1996:64).

having a room with wonderful furniture and tasteful interior design.

Hence, in this period up to the early 1900s, women's issues and the reform of the family and creation of the home, were discussed in public almost exclusively by men. For example, Ueki (植木) insisted in human right, Iwamoto (巌本) highlighted women's rights and Shimoda (下田) drew attention to the importance of good taste and aesthetic sensibilities for the development of women. Yet while their interest was clearly in elevating women, they were, in their own particular ways, working within the context of the nation-state formation process and well aware of the need to fit into the Meiji reform project. Iwamoto, for example, found the experience of the nationalism surrounding the 1894-5 Sino-Japanese War, so forceful that he revised his more liberal views and argued for the confinement of women to the home to fulfil national ends.

b) Creating a positive image of the housewife and nationalism 1887-1906

It is useful to address the background of some of theorists and advocates of new ideas about women's life discussed in the previous sub-section. Ueki's thought can be linked to his social activities in the popular right wing movement, whereas Iwamoto had a Christian background, which clearly influenced his ideas on women's education. The period from 1887 to 1906 was also a time in which not only theoretical disputes on the question of women were presented, but also the reform of everyday life, with its recommendation of 'rational and scientific lifestyles' was introduced. The 'new or modern wife's way of life' began to become idealized and a good deal of practical and useful information on domestic work provided. At this time everyday life reform was restricted to the discursive level; the actual movement only came into being with government intervention in 1917 (see discussion in chapter 9 section 2 below).

An important argument about the modern wife was introduce in the magazine *Katei Zasshi* (家庭雑誌) (1892-1898)(M25-31) by Tokutomi Soho (Ichiro) (徳富蘇峰), a journalist and historian, who founded a publishing house, the Minyusha (民友社) (Citizen's Association). Minyusha published two magazines, *Katei Zasshi* (家庭雑誌) (1892-98) and an English-language version of *Kokumin no Tomo* (国民の友, the nation's companion) called *The Far*

East (1896-98). Tokutomi's basic mission was how Japan could become modern 'wealthy and strong' along with the recognition of the contribution of women's role in the family. He criticised the conventional *ie* family system, with its strong patriarchal hierarchy. He suggested that women should have the independence to take any man they chose and forgo arranged marriages and living with men who were seen only in terms of making a good alliance between families.

The home was the place where women should be free from pressure and enjoy her independence and creativity in order to make a happy home, seen as the way to women's happiness.' To do this, women should be 'a good wife, and wise mother'. This ideal 'new type of wife' could enjoy managing the home; at the same time, she also contributes to state development in terms of making a happy family, the crucial minimum social unit of the state. Women should identify with being 'a good manager' and 'running the home,' as the home was now seen as the suitable place for reproduction, education, and free time activities. As a result, domestic work and housewife managerial skills were idealized in the 'good wife, wise mother' ideology, with its strong nationalist overtones.

Hence Tokutomi's argument for women's independence still confined them to 'the home' and entailed a clear division of labour between sexes, with men going out to work in order to engage in productive activities, and women placed in charge of the domestic sphere of consumption in the home. At the same time, he also encouraged women to take part in the management of the family budget and keep household accounts (Miki, 1989:24), ideas which were taken over by Hani Motoko (羽仁もと子) (1908). In this family division of labour, to be a 'modern wife' granted women with the role of 'leading consumers' in charge of maintaining the quality of family life.[22]

In this way, to be a 'housewife' became seen as a prestigious job for women. Once women

[22] *Katei Zasshi*（家庭雑誌）(1903-1908) (M36-42). There was another magazine with the same edited by Sakai Toshiko who was a journalist of Manchohôsha (Miki, 1989:75).

married, she would gain some independence and power, being able to exercise control in the home. She could demonstrate her initiative and skills in managing the household, educating her children and making a healthy and happy home. This was seen as a valuable and meaningful job/life for women.

***Katei no Tomo* (家庭之友, Home Companion) (1903) and *Fujin no Tomo*（婦人之友, Woman's Friend）(1908)**

These magazines were not only significant in providing articles on practical domestic skills for new middle class women, they were also important because for the first time the copy was written by women journalists. At the same time, the magazines are not to be seen as radical vehicles for women's rights. They very much fell in line with the new ideology of womanhood, with its 'a good wife, wise mother' slogan, emphasised the importance of housekeeping and childcare for both the family and nation. Hence, to be a housewife was to be a valuable person. Women's magazine also provided a range of practical and scientific advice on housekeeping and maintain the '*homu*'(家庭、 the home).

Katei no Tomo (家庭之友) (1903) and *Fujin no Tomo* （婦人之友） (1908) were the pioneers which introduced practical ideas about family life. Both magazines were edited by Hani Motoko and her husband, Yoshikazu (or Kiichi) (吉一). *Katei no Tomo* (家庭之友) aimed at the reform of the home with the intention to create a modern family and associated lifestyles (Koyama, 1999:44). As mentioned earlier, *Katei no Tomo* (家庭之友) had both a female and male readership, who were often intellectuals. Before women's magazine emerged to carry information and ideas about new lifestyles, the general interest magazines, mentioned in the previous section, carried out this function.

It is worth examining the case of *Fujin no Tomo*（婦人之友） to better understand the early stages of the development of a more positive concern with the new lifestyles for women. There are two good reasons. Firstly, this was probably the first time that a women journalist (Nani

Motoko, 羽仁もと子） began to write articles about everyday life from a woman's viewpoint.[23] To put it more concretely, it emphasised the pleasures of a happy home （一家団欒, *ik'ka danran*） , house management, the rationalization of housework, and scientific childcare. It also recommended that women should have their own space and time in the home in order to have the opportunity for self-development.

Shufu no Tomo （主婦之友, housewife's friend） was first published to coincide with the initiation of the movement for the reform of everyday life which began in 1917. *Shufu no Tomo* was influenced by *Fujin no Tomo* （婦人之友） and *Fujyokai* (婦女界). The contents focused on the new/modern lifestyle, and hence these women's magazines were full of new ideas and advice about housekeeping childcare, health and so on. *Shufu no Tomo* and *Fujin no Tomo* had different readerships with the former being read by women in the 'middle' or 'lower' sections of the new middle class (such as lower paid salary workers), and the latter by women in the 'upper' sections of the new middle class (such as wives and daughters of higher public officials, executive business men, and professors).

3. Representations of new lifestyles and department stores

3-1) Mitsukoshi's representations

The peak of the 'movement for the reform of everyday life'（生活改善） is usually seen as 1919 (Taisho 8), when an exhibition for the reform of everyday life was held by the Ministry of Education. In fact that there was an earlier exhibition 'The exhibition of scientific housekeeping' organized by the Ministry of Education in 1918 (Taisho 7), which was also important. The aim of these exhibitions was to educate people to adopt strategies to make life more rational,

[23] The forerunner of *Fujin no Tomo* （婦人之友） was *Katei Jyogaku Kougi* （家庭女学講義） first published in 1906 and renamed *Fujin no Tomo* （婦人之友） in 1908 (Miki, 1989:95). *Fujin no Tomo* focused on the changes in women's social position and provided practical advice on the new ways of life, the modernization of lifestyles.

scientific, and efficient (Koyama, 1999: 90).[24]

It is clear that department store magazines were affected by the movement for the reform of everyday life. At the same time, they started to provide not only practical advice on the techniques and technologies of everyday life, but also sought to educate people to enjoy the pleasure of living, to become stylish - qualities which can be associated with the 'aestheticization' of everyday life (Featherstone, 1991:65). In terms of the relationship between the movement for the reform of everyday life and the department store's commercial strategy, we will focus on: firstly, the shift from Japanese clothes to Western clothes; and secondly, the invention of new household styles and the refashioning of the home. The message was to encourage people to enjoy creating a cosy home, to dress up more stylishly, to go on holiday, in effect to imitate a quasi-bourgeois lifestyle. In other words, people were encouraged to start to enjoy what we now call 'consumer culture'.

Ironically, while the reform of everyday life explicitly encouraged thrift, saving, and recycling, at the same time, it helped to generate a consumer culture with its emphasis upon changing fashions, styles, aesthetics and 'new lifestyles'. Department stores not only provided a tremendous range of new products, and large amounts of information on leisure and hobbies, they also placed these in entertaining and spectacular settings. Hence it can be argued that while on the surface there would seem to be a clash between the rationalizing austerity message of the reform of everyday life and the thrift campaigns and hedonistic consumer culture, in reality they fitted together well (see Garon, 1997, 1998). Consumer culture always sought to instil a calculating hedonism' in consumers, who could plan and check, as well as succumb to the power of images and impulses. As they became drawn into the world of consumption, women were increasingly asked to acquire the capacity to switch contexts between calculation and hedonism, rationality and emotion, the new public spaces of consumption and the private domain of the home, as they grappled with the new lifestyles.

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[24] The national education movement (民力涵養運動) was also established by the Home Office in 1919. It encourages people to make changes to their lifestyle, such as housing, diet, clothing and saving time and money, in order to live more efficiently (Koyama, 1999:88).

In the 1920s we see a shift taking place in the balance between the various institutions of the nascent consumer culture. In the late 19th century, there was a shift from general magazines to women's magazines and along with this the rise of department store magazines. The 1920s saw the beginning of the decline of the department store's magazine. It can be seen as a part of a transition in information provision from the 'two-dimensional imaginary space' of the magazines to the 'three dimensional display spaces' of events and exhibitions.

Many commercial women's magazines also took over the role of providing information on fashion, which had been largely the province of department store magazines. The number of department stores increased and with this increased the chances for women to go, look and shop, in many parts of Japan. Hence, the role of the department store magazines as a mail order catalogue become less important (Tsuchiya, 1999:239).[25] The second phase in the fall in department store's magazine occurred in the 1930s, with the Sino-Japanese war. The strict economical regulation and the enforcement of a more frugal life affected retailing industries, especially department stores, which suffered a huge decline in business activity.[26]

It will be useful to look at the development and trajectory of department store magazines, especially Mitsukoshi's various magazines from 1905 to 1931, to investigate how department stores presented the new lifestyles. Mitsukoshi was the leader in the field and published several types of magazine, which we have described in Chapter 8 above. Furthermore, Mitsukoshi department store continued publishing over a long period of time under a range of different social conditions, which can help us to better understand the trajectory of the shifts in lifestyles and the emergence of new women's lifestyles.

3-2) The westernization of fashion: the shift from Japanese to western dress

For Japanese society, the shift from traditional to western clothes is a good illustration of the

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[25] The Shiraki-ya department store's magazine *Ryukou Taimuzu* and Takashima-ya's *Shin Ishou* both ceased publication in 1921 (Tsuchiya, 1999:239).

[26] The Matsuzakaya department store's magazine *Shinsô*（新装） ceased publication in 1938 (Tuchiya, 1999:243).

changes in the structure of everyday life and the associated value standards of life.[27] The main transitional phrase for the shift from Japanese clothes (kimono) to western clothes, took place between 1890 and 1930. In the first part of this phase, from 1890 to 1918, the emphasis was on learning how to use western clothes, as part of the state's efforts to represent Japan as a civilised country. After the movement for the reform of everyday life (1918 onwards) there was a practical shift from Japanese clothes to western clothes, with western clothes seen as pleasurable, fashionable, and stylish.

It is generally held that western clothes for women became more popular by the beginning of the Showa era.[28] As has been argued the department store along with their magazines played a key role in the promotion of new forms of clothing. We can understand this process in terms of two main phases, with a noticeable shift in the content of the articles in the department store magazines after the start of the reform of everyday life movement in 1917. Here we will focus on the dress section of the various Mitsukoshi department store's house magazines.

The introductory period (1888-1917)

In this first stage the main concern is to introduce the form and images of western clothing. In this phase, very few women (usually upper class) wore western clothes, but representation, images of western clothes began to circulate widely. The Mitsukoshi dress shop, a European-style building and forerunner of the Mitsukoshi department store opened in 1888. Before designing it, Fujimura and Yamaoka visited Europe in 1856 to bring back western sewing masters for the new dress shop. As a result, Mitsukoshi employed three French needlewomen in

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[27] When we refer to fashion, we can point to the basic distinction between fashion and costume (see Simmel, 1997e). In many pre-modern and non-urban societies costume hardly changes over the generations - it is effectively a sort of uniform and clear marks the status of the wearer. In the Middle Ages in Europe, for example, sumptuary laws operated which restricted the wearing of fine clothes to aristocratic circles.

[28] Nakayama Chiyo（中山千代） points out five main factors to account for the diffusion of western clothes. 1) Working women's preference for western clothes. 2) Western clothes were widely advertised within department stores. 3) The spread of home sewing and dressmaking with western dress patterns. 4) The increase in number of dressmaking schools along with the development of the women's dress industry. 5) The general social advancement of women (Nakayama, 1987 *'Nihon Fujin Yôsôshi'*（日本婦人洋装史） cited in Kumazaki, 1999:91). The problem with this type of analysis is the lack of specificity – do all working women in 1) prefer western clothes? This could hardly have been the case, in terms of Kon Wajiro and other evidence of women in public in the 1920s.

1887 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990: 31).

Mitsukoshi's expectation had been that western clothing would become popular in the wake of the Rokumeikan Era (鹿鳴館)[29] (1883-), when upper class Japanese men and women socialised and danced with foreigners. Unfortunately, western clothing was extremely expensive for ordinary people and also had a very different look and feel to traditional Japanese clothes which was a further impediment. As a consequence, the western clothing section was closed for a time in 1895, to be reopened in 1906, just after the Russian-Japan war. Yet, Mitsukoshi persisted with western clothes and endeavoured positively to re-think its strategy. Mitsukoshi's faith in the eventual success of western clothing is indicated by their purchase of another western clothing shop, Hirayama in August 1906. In October the same year, an Englishman, Alexander Mitchell, was installed as manager. Furthermore, a clothes factory to supply the western clothes section was built in the Nihonbashi area of Tokyo in November (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990: 47). From this time on, the selling of western clothes, especially gentlemen's clothes, intensified.[30]

Tsubota Sentaro （坪田千太郎） who was one of the staff of the western clothes section, returned from studying dress cutting in the United States and England in 1912 (*Mitsukoshi*, May 1912:17). The same year, men's coats made by Burberry began to be imported. Mitsukoshi produced their own brand of men's suits in 1918, called *tan yôfuku* (単洋服, simple western clothes). It was an unlined western style suit. Presumably, Mitsukoshi saw a market for relatively simple and cheap western style suits instead of the expensive imported men's suits (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990: 47).[31]

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[29] See discussion of Rokumeikan earlier in this chapter and also in chapter 10 below.

[30] Mitsukoshi's original commodities were not only clothes such as Mitsukoshi veil (*Jikou*, May, 1908:2-3), original kitchen apron in 1919 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:75), but also cosmetics, such as original eau de Cologne (Mitsukoshi, August,1917), soup (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu*, October 1908:30), food such as butter (1918), oolong tea (1925), organic bread (*Mitsukoshi,* September 1931:28), suites of furniture for the living-room (*Mitsukoshi*, March, 1927:19-20), refrigerator (The Record of Mitsukoshi,73) and so on. These original Mitsukoshi commodities were presented as part of 'Mitsukoshi taste.'

[31] Alexander Mitchell (1911) introduced a report entitled 'the current trend men's wear in London', in which he confirmed that the prices of men's wear was very expensive for working people. For example, a morning coat was

Mitsukoshi also sought to widen people's knowledge of the function of western clothes. In 1908, an article on 'the meaning of wearing clothes' appeared in *Jiko* (時好) which described the new idea of 'fashion' based on what we would today call 'fashion psychology'. The author, Kanbara Kyouzou, (菅原教造) discussed how clothes could be seen as an extension of the body. He also discussed the ways in which a change of clothes could lead to a change in character, and an enhanced self-image. Furthermore, he pointed out that the clothes instantly reveal the social position of the wearer, and indicate their social class. He analysed clothes from a psychological perspective, especially the psychology of the senses, social psychology and research on character and ego formation, which he had studied at university (*Jikou*, April 1908: 15-18).

Important here is the note of Mitsukoshi in not only providing Western clothes, but also publicising new ideas about clothing in order to educate people to become good customers who were capable of enjoying wearing clothes. Furthermore, there was another article which was written by Kaetsu Takako （嘉悦孝子）, a teacher at the Japan Women's Business School (日本女子商業学校学鑑), who recommended women in the upper class to start to wear western-style clothes, when they attend a public occasion with western peoples. Kaetsu suggested that when Japanese women go to a formal dress occasion, such as a reception, dinner or ball, they should always wear western clothes (*Jikou*, 1908, April:18-20). It can be said that Mitsukoshi articulated the meaning of 'wearing, changing and choosing clothes' emphasising that they act as signs and 'communicators,' which display social position. These new ideas stimulated the appetite for 'fashion'.

After the Reform of Everyday Life Movement in 1917, we have a more practical emphasis on wearing western clothes for their efficiency, hygiene, health and beauty. The new types of

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48 yen, a two buttons sack coat (suit) was 41 yen, riding outfits 49 yen, greatcoat 32 to 49 yen (*Mitsukoshi,* March 1911: 11-17). According to the menu of the dining room in the Mitsukoshi in 1907, a Japanese set meal was 50 sen, sushi 15 sen, Japanese-style confectionary, coffee, and tea were at 5 sen each. (1 sen = 1/100 yen). The price of Mitsukoshi original suits was not given, however it is clear that Mitsukoshi's suits would be cheaper than imported western clothes.

western clothing became seen as an important aspect of the government campaigns to introduce more rational techniques into everyday life.

3.3) The changing discourse concerning women's bodies

In general, the speed of take up of westernised clothing was slower by women than with men and children. Women in Japan had fewer opportunities than men to participate in public life. Children, on the other hand, were seen as an investment for the next generation (the future citizens, 第二国民) who will inherit the nation and therefore, their educated and health needed to be considered carefully. It was also believed that western children's clothes were better suited for an active life and freedom of movement. Dressing children in western clothes, in addition, became a status symbol for the upper class.

Articles on wearing new women's clothes became more prominent after 1918. According to *Mitsukoshi* (三越) in 1922, the need for women to take up western style clothes was presented in terms of 'good hygiene' and making possible 'more active behaviour,' both were regarded as important aspects of *bunka seikatsu* (文化生活, cultural living) (*Mitsukoshi*, January 1922: 24).[32] There had previously been some advertisements in women's publications, such as *Jikou* (時好, fashion) January 1905 which sought to illustrate 'the reform of clothes.' The commentary was written by a medical scientist, Yamane Shouji (山根正次), who argued about the importance of the relationship between clothing and bodily health. Although, it was not a new idea to wear clothes for hygienic and health reasons, in 1917 with the start of the government-led campaign for the reform of everyday life, such ideas became more widespread.

It can be argued that the concern for hygiene and a healthy body were part of a wider set of changes in the perception of women's bodies. We need to reflect on why questions of hygiene and a healthy body become important social issue. Firstly, they can be seen as a part of the changing discourse on women's bodies, which presented them as essentially sickly, in line with

[32] See discussion of the term *bunka seikatsu*' (文化生活, cultural living) in the introduction of this chapter.

modern western medicine since the 18th century (Ogino Miho 荻野美穂, 1990, cited in Kawamura 1994:92).[33] A similar discourse on women's body developed in Japan in the 1920s, with negative perceptions of menstruation and the womb in the articles published in the women's magazines at that time. *Fujin Kouron* (婦人公論) started a regular serialization called 'science for wives and mothers' in 1926, in which a number of articles inferred that the women had a dirty body in menstruation and also suffered mental abnormalities such as envy and hysteria. Furthermore, it was stated that women should not study excessively and move actively during menstruation periods, if they wished to avoid physical and mental problems (Kawamura, 1994:94).

Sickness was seen as a permanent threat to women, because it was believed that anyone born a woman would have 'genuine sickness.' A peculiar type of women's sickness derived from the possession of a womb, and the associated menstruation. As a result, women have an inbuilt sickly body and are necessarily inferior to men. The own recognition of their sickly bodies would necessarily suppress the possibility of a positive mental condition and restrict women's social practices. The associated ideology was that 'women must not be active and mobile because they are weak and sickly.'[34] This 'ideology of disgrace and unseemliness of women' not only led to restrictions in women's behaviour, but also in women's sexuality.

The 1920s was a key time in changing these views about women's bodies. While assumptions about the sickly on women's body were still widely held, girls' physical education began to become important in girls' schools in 1920s in Japan.[35] Similar debates about women's bodies

[33] See Gallagher and Laquer, 1987; Laquer, 1990; Turner, 1996, on the control of women's bodies and sexuality in the West.

[34] This limiting view of woman's bodies also has a huge history in Europe and China. 'In Anglo or European history, the taboo was based on beliefs that menstruating women cause meat to go bad, wine to turn, and bread dough to fall' (Emily, 1987; 97). Emily also remarks that 'in Cambridgeshire, well into this century, menstruating women could not touch milk, fresh meat, or pork being salted, lest it go bad' (cited in Porter, 1969:22). We can also find similar beliefs in China. 'A woman who has borne a child must stay in her room and eat only nourishing foods for month afterward because she is 'unclean' (Emily, 1987; 98).

[35] According to the minute of the special education conference, held in 1917, Kenjiro Yamanaka president of Tokyo University, insisted that an advanced education for girls could be harmful well-being of the Japanese race. Yamakawa argued that it would be undesirable for racial efficiency if girls had advanced level education during their 21st to 22nd years, as this was the most suitable time for pregnancy. Furthermore, in the new public climate,

had taken place in the West in the first two decades of the 1900s and there was an increased sense of women's bodily health; fitness and healthiness being one aspect of the 'new woman.' The 'new woman's' body was also more openly acknowledged as a sexual body and in the 1920s the theories of Freud and Havelock Ellis and their popularisers that sex was healthy, was also widely discussed. The Japanese reception of these ideas was filtered through governmental policies and the national project (see the discussion of the 'new woman' in chapter 7 above and chapter 11 below).

Scientific findings shift the perception of women's bodies

It is important to try to understand the process of how the female body image changed, not just in terms of the state ideology, but also the body image women themselves held. The appeal of being healthier and having a more positive body image, would seem clear. Hence advice on the importance of a good diet, fitness along with body care and discipline through magazines, books and other sources, proved popular.

In addition, the rise of the population problem can be pointed out as a social factor contributing to women's sense of their changing body. It can be argued that the higher infant mortality rate in the 1920s brought about a concern with the population problem. The infant mortality rate in Japan was very high compared to America and European countries (table 9.1).

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in which a girl who did not have an advanced education was less able to have a chance to marry, this meant the girl would experience a good deal of uneasiness and uncertainty. At the same time, the girls would feel social pressure, because of the negative stereotype of the older single women. It was added that women were weak and their bodily health could be easily harmed by social pressures (Yamakawa Kenjiro, the minute of the special education conference in 1917 No. 23:47-48 cited in Karasawa, 1979:164-166). This was the type of issue discussed at length when people turned to the question of women's education. The counter arguments of Naruse Jinzo (成瀬仁蔵) to the debate were very progressive. He insisted on the importance of women's education from the latest scientific perspective of his day. Naruse disputed the argument that study could impair women's bodies and denied the idea that using the brain could damage women's health. He also criticized that the assumptions about women's inability to do mathematics along with its link to the view that women had smaller heads. Although he did not mention in detail the specific data from women's body research around the world, he introduced the conclusions of current research, which destroyed the myth of sickly and weaker women's bodies. In order to make women's bodies stronger, he insisted that women should have knowledge of their own bodies to scientifically understand their own bodies as well as those of family members. He argued that the main cause of unhealthy women's bodies was the low position of women in the home, as they always suffered from the malnutrition and the effect of heavily domestic work (Naruse, 1918, cited in Karasawa).

<<Table 9.1>> International comparative table of infant mortality rate in 1920

Countries	Infant mortality Rate
Japan	166
Sri Lanka	182
U.S.A. (Caucasian)	82
U.S.A. (African-American)	132
Argentina	127
Australia	69
Sweden	63
France	123
Germany	131
England・ Wales	80

(Source: Macmillan World History statistics I-III 1983-1985 cited in Koyama, 1999:126)

<<Table 9.2>> Yearly comparative table of infant mortality rate

	a Birth rate (‰)	a Death rate (‰)	Infant Mortality rate (‰)
1880	24.1	16.5	
1885	26.7	23.1	
1890	28.7	20.6	
1895	30.0	20.5	
1900	32.4	20.8	
1905	31.2	21.6	155.0
1910	34.8	21.6	151.7
1915	34.1	20.7	160.4
1920	36.2	25.4	165.7
1925	34.9	20.3	142.4
1930	32.4	18.2	124.1
1935	31.6	16.8	106.7

(Source: 'Compendium of Japanese long-term statistics table Vol.1', Japan statistical association, cited in Koyama, 1999: 126)

After the first national census in 1920, the population problem becomes a serious political issue. The population problem was discussed from a range of perspectives including: the pros and cons of birth control, how to improve the physical strength of women, and eugenics (Koyama, 1999:127). As a result of these discussions, the need to make a sanitary environment came to be linked to the importance of making a healthy women's body.

This problem can be traced back to 1871, when it was remarked that Japanese bodies were

smaller than westerners (Saito , 1993:130). Therefore, it can be argued that it gradually became clear that a strong western body with 'sturdiness of limb' became the ideal for women's bodies in Japan, with physical education and hygiene seen as the ways to this end.[36]

An interesting point in this process was the shift in women's body images from 'the static body' to the 'kinetic body.' In the 1920s, physical education started to be encouraged to improve women's physical strength, with western clothes seen as more appropriate for exercise for schoolgirls (Kawamura, 1994:164).[37] An exhibition for sports and physical education was organized by the Minister of Education in 1922 with the concern for a healthy body becoming an important public issue. It should be noted that the students of Atomi girl's high school (跡見高等女学校) gave a demonstration of physical training at the exhibition (Koyama, 1999:136).[38]

The shift from kimono to western clothes allowed women to move more actively, freely, and easily.[39] Although the girl students were always taught to be alert and pay attention, western clothes made girl's bodies more visible, and they became more of 'a looked at body'. It is worth tracing the history of athletic meetings of the girl's schools to examine how women's athletic body become associated with 'the looked at body' (figure 9.6, figure 9.8).[40]

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[36] From 1918 onwards, attention turned not only to women's bodies, but children's bodies too. How to produce healthy children became seen as an important topic and activity was held to be the key. Hence, western clothes were seen as more suitable for children as they allowed them to act more freely.

[37] For example, western dress for physical education was adopted by the Oita girls high school (大分高等女学校) in 1920 and Kôzen girls' high school (弘前高等女学校) in 1919 (Kawamura 1994:164).

[38] Western clothing was adopted as not only kit for physical exercise but also as school uniform. This was a transition period, with the shift from the *hakama* (long pleated culottes/Japanese trousers) to western clothes noticeable in 1920. When the Yamawaki girls' high school (山脇学園) became the first school to adopt western clothes as school uniform in 1920, they were seen as permitting freedom of movement. Mitsukoshi sewed the uniforms for Yamawaki girls' high school for ten yen in 1919 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990: 75).

[39] Bus and train conductors had already started to wear the western style uniform in 1920 on the Shinbashi to Ueno bus line '*Ao basu.*' Women first became bus conductresses in 1920 (The Chronological table of domestic history , 2000:445).

[40] Before adopting western style uniform, girl students changed from the *kimono* to *hakama* in accordance with the 'advanced girl school regulation' promulgated in 1899 (Meiji 32) which had increased the number of girl schools. According to Shinoda Hidetoshi (篠田英利), who argued that women should have physical exercise, the *hakama* made possible more active and easy movements for women. Hence, Ochanomizu Women's University (御茶ノ水女子大学) proclaimed in 1898 (Meiji 31) that the *hakama* should be worn by schoolgirls (Karasawa, 1979:140. The *hakama* has become the symbol of schoolgirls ever since.

3-4) Athletic meetings and the 'looked at body'

The first girl school athletic meeting was held in 1901, organized privately by the Japan Women's University. In 1902, the scale was gradually expanded with more than 1,200 spectators attending. In 1903, more than 3,000 spectators turned up to the third athletic meeting. The most popular event was the bicycle race (Karasawa, 1979:113) (figure 9.6, figure 9.7, figure 9.8). The sight of skirts riding up to the knee as the girls rode their bicycles provided a new image of young women, who now were seen as enjoying both a healthy and an erotic body. Although there were some criticisms of the girl's bicycle ride as unwomanly, it become generally accepted and justified as a necessary exercise for making a healthy body (Karasawa, 1979: 113). Hence, athletic meetings provided the opportunity to see young women's bodies in public in large numbers, for the first time. Crowds gathered to see the strange sight of women's bodies moving freely and actively, which was a totally new sensation. Subsequently the Japan Women's University Athletic meeting became a famous popular annual event in Tokyo. The girl students became increasingly aware that they had a 'looked at body' and that their bodies were eroticised.

They also began to become conscious of the importance of 'a nice body shape.' Hence the 'looked at body' created the awareness and motive for a greater interest in bodily aesthetics and the attraction of being 'a beauty,' increasingly based on the image of the western women's body.[41] In the 1920s, the fit sporty body became popular through Hollywood flapper movies and their Japanese imitations. This image also gained impetus through the development of women's athletics.[42]

Scientific knowledge of women's bodies and the image of menstruation

Around the turn of the century the image of menstruation as defilement and sickness became

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[41] An advertisement for pills for losing weight, called 'Yodochirin' (recommendation by a doctor) appeared in Jyogaku Sekai (March, 1918) (figure 9.9). Another advertisement for a machine for 'making a high-bridged nose,' offered readers a free trial (*Jyogaku Sekai*, March, 1918). For Japanese a large high bridged nose, was seen as a major characteristic of western faces and regarded as strangely attractive (figure 9.10).

[42] The first Japanese woman to win a medal at the second women's Olympic Games was Hitomi Kinue in 1926.

superseded by more scientific medical approaches. In an article about the female body in *Jyogaku Zasshi,* January 10th 1900 (Meiji 33), Aoyanagi Yumi (青柳有美), argued that 'women in menstruation should avoid hard work, walking a long way, riding in carriages, horse wagons or rickshaws' (人力車, *jinrikisha*). Although this article still perpetuated some of the old negative myths about women's menstruation, the important point is that women's bodies had now surfaced as a valid topic in women's magazines. Women, therefore, started to think more about their bodies and went beyond the old myths of menstruation as a dirty defilement found in Confucian and Shinto ideas (Amano et al, 1992:67).

Menstruation, however, still remained seen as a disease, which caused many physical and mental problems. The medical advice book, *Hygiene for Women and the Family* published in 1907, by Ogata Masakiyo（緒方正清）, described the damage to the womb and ovaries caused by menstruation and the subsequent effect on women's bodily and mental condition. He continued to assert that women in menstruation could suffer nervous depression or an excess of fever, and in more serious cases, abuse their children (Kawamura, 1994:92).

The American birth control activist, Margaret Sanger visited Japan in 1922. She provided information on contraception, based on a scientific perception of the woman's body. She also equated bodily health, mental health and sexual health. Sanger's ideas were influential in the genesis of a new view of the body and women's sexuality, which became incorporated into the 'new woman' (see discussion in chapter 7 above and in chapters 10 and 11 below).

One important aspect of the shift in attitude towards menstruation was the development of the menstruation belt, which enabled women to reject the notion of menstruation as a disabling sickness and be able to move around more freely in public during menstruation than in the past.[43] This was part of a series of changes, in which the consumer culture emphasis upon

[43] Menstruation belts were first imported in 1900 (Kawamura, 1994:125) and domestically produced ones called *Tsuki no Tai* first put on the market in 1908 by Shiseido (月の帯)（Kawamura, 1994：130）. The advertisement copy for *Tsuki no Tai*（月の帯） emphasised that they were 'physiologically hygienic' and 'convenient for women's works and activities.' It stated that the menstruation belt was suitable for work for long periods of time

appearance and presentation of the self became conjoined with scientific techniques of body care. It facilitated a situation in which the size, shape and appearance of the body become part of an expressive exterior of the self that is constantly monitored and managed (Shilling, 1993). The representation of the body became increasingly seen as the responsibility of the individual, who was subjected to the gaze of others along with greater reflexive self-scrutiny.

Featherstone (1991:170) points out that the body maintenance and appearance within consumer culture suggest two basic categories: the inner and the outer body. The inner body refers to the concern with the health and optimum functioning of the body. While the outer body refers to appearance, as well as the movement and control of the body within social space. 'Within consumer culture, the inner and the outer body become conjoined: the prime purpose of the maintenance of the inner body becomes the enhancement of the appearance of the outer body' (Featherstone, 1991:171). The western association of the healthy (inner body) with an attractive or sexualised appearance (outer body) and the sense that both could be worked at, improved and reformed, became more significant in Japan with the series of changes about health and clothing just referred to. It can be argued that women's increasing identification of the body as a sexual body became linked to the process of making a healthy body, through the series of changes which occurred between 1900 and 1920. In this phase, women who had an active, athletic and kinetic body attracted a great deal of public attention. The increasingly 'looked at body' awoke in Japanese women a greater sense that the body could and should be attractive, sexy and beautiful.

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and sport. With women's everyday life increasingly controlled by strict time regulation (study time for schoolgirls, working time for working women), the menstruation belt was seen as a boon for the women at that time. Moreover, the menstruation belts become fitted into the women's status hierarchy. The ones imported from America were very expensive, therefore, few women could afford them. Hence, the menstruation belts were not a secret commodity, but become a status symbol for upper class women and openly discussed by the public. Additionally, advertisements of menstruation belts generated a positive active image of the modern women (figure 9.11).

4. Developments in clothing and accessories after 1920

The department stores helped fuel the concern for becoming beautiful through its emphasis on the pleasure of being stylish, engaging in conspicuous consumption and the aestheticization of everyday life. Department stores offered information on appearance and style, plus a lot of advice on make-up and fashionable clothes. It is important to note here that the department stores offered complex blends of rationality and emotions, work and leisure, efficiency and style. Efficiency, functionality and rationality were evident in organization and planning, but they also offered new lifestyles, based on more refined ideas of aesthetics and leisure.

It has been remarked that the body attained a central significance within consumer culture:

> Within consumer culture, advertisements, the popular press, television and motion pictures, provided proliferation of stylised images of the body, In addition, the popular media constantly emphasise the cosmetic benefits of body maintenance. (Featherstone, 1991:170)

Many of these aspects can be traced back to the 1920s. In Japan department stores in the 1920s were one of the main sources of information for 'positive images of the body and the good life' through consumer goods and new lifestyles. Following Stuart Ewen (1976) who focused on the 1920s as providing key developments in consumer culture, Mike Featherstone (1991: 172) remarks:

> Workers who had become used to the rhetoric of thrift, hard work and sobriety, had to become 'educated' to appreciate a new discourse centred around the hedonistic lifestyle entailing new needs and desires. In the 1920s the foundations of a consumer culture become established with the new media of motion pictures, tabloid press, mass circulation magazines and radio extolling the leisure lifestyle, and publicising new norms and standards of behaviour.

The new middle class in the 1920s were seeking to explore and develop their own new lifestyles, which not just paler versions of traditional upper class lifestyles, but were associated with a new discourse: modern, stylised and urbane.

In Japan, even though the movement for the reform of everyday life started to encourage people to save time and energy, consumption activities expanded. Mitsukoshi extended its main building further in 1921, and began to sell medicine, books and musical instruments (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990: 78).[44] Mitsukoshi had begun to sell ready-made commodities such as *futon* (Japanese beds), *hakama* (Japanese trousers), and *yukata* (summer wear) in 1913 (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu*, January 1913:20-21). In 1922, 'practical' women's western clothes were introduced for the fist time. Before then, the emphasis had been largely on accessories and small western goods for women, such as the western style umbrellas, which were described as fashion items (*Jikou*, May, 1908).

Small commodities: parasols and gloves

Many small decorations and accessories, which can be worn together with *kimono*, were major items for women. It was seen as easier for women to buy small fashion articles to wear with kimono, rather than making the shift from kimono to western dress. Many small items such as parasols (figure 9.12) (*Jikou*, May 1908:37), gloves (figure 9.13) (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu,* January, 1909:39), handkerchiefs (figure 9.14) (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu,* July 1912:np) and lace-up boots (figure 9.15) (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu,* September, 1911) were advertised before 1920.

The prices of parasols were 5.50 yen to 10.50 yen. The price of the lace-up boots was 3 yen 50 sen. The priced of gloves were 0.6 yen to 1.25 yen. The prices of handkerchiefs were 1.70-2.30 yen. These prices were relatively reasonable for working women who in the upper and middle classes at that time (the price of coffee in 1911 was 0.5 yen).

According to Kon Wajiro's social investigations in Tokyo in the Ginza 1925, more men wore western clothes than Japanese clothes. Those with western dress made up 67 percent, whereas those with Japanese clothes 33 percent (Kon, 1929, reprint 1986:14). The percentage of Woman who wore Japanese clothes (*kimono*) was 99 percent with only 1 percent wearing western

[44] The variety of goods on display started to increase from 1907 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990: 48).

clothes (Kon, 1929, 1986 reprint: 23-24). This data shows us that while women did not put on western clothes, however, they would buy gloves, shawls, underwear and parasols (figure 9.16).[45]

See drawing of women by Suyama Hiroshi in *Mitsukoshi*, August 1926 entitled 'summer' (figure 9.17). The woman has a beauty spot, short curly hair, gloves, parasol and is wearing western underwear. Her kimono pattern is of a more 'functionalist (following the art movement of the day)' type of design and clearly was not a traditional Japanese pattern. This illustration could be seen as typical of the type of woman *Mitsukoshi's* magazine featured in 1926. (See final part of this section on illustrations in magazines).

There are a number of reasons why Japanese women's clothes did not rapidly change from kimono to western clothes.[46] One factor mentioned was that it was believed that Japanese women's figure was less suitable for western clothes, because the upper half of the body is longer than the lower half. This was different from westerners who tended to have longer arms and legs, and be much taller than Japanese women. There was an article, entitle, 'Impressions of fashion', in *Mitsukoshi* （三越） in January 1928, by Okamoto Kanoko (岡本かの子) which criticised Japanese women, who immediately mimicked the fashions of the United States. She argued that it was unseemly for Japanese women to put on western clothes, which were designed to reveal women's legs. She argued that Japanese women who had fat legs should not put on western clothes. Japanese women who put on western clothes also tended to walk awkwardly. Furthermore, she held that bobbed hair did not suit Japanese women who have flatter faces, better suiting Western women who had more sharply-chiselled features (*Mitsukoshi*

[45] In 1924, 'simple western clothes, '*a p'pa* ' (簡易服ｱｯﾊﾟｯﾊﾟ流行) become popular as summer clothes (The chronological table of family history, 2000: 476) (figure 9.18). These casual-simple western clothes, '*a p'pa'* were very cheap and suitable for the humid Japanese summer. According to Kumazaki, '*a p'pa'* was 'the first home dress in Japan. This type of casual, simple home dress became popular among working class women' (Kumazaki, 1999:93). Before Japanese women could become capable of accepting the idea of wearing full western style clothes, putting on this casual and simple form of clothes was a palatable 'bridge.'

[46] After the Kanto great earthquake, wearing women's western clothing was slowly accepted by Japanese women. Although the Bunka Sewing School (文化裁縫女学校) was founded in 1920, the first students did not arrive until 1923. By 1924 more than three hundreds student were enrolled. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education made dressmaking using western clothes as accepted part of the curriculum of girl's schools in 1926 (Yanagi, 1987:92).

（三越）January, 1928:14).

Another reason was women's self-consciousness and more general sense of unease about their appearance. Some girl students talked about their worries about wearing western school uniform, because they did not have a suitable body for putting on western clothes (*Jyogaku Sekai*, November, 1920 cited in Kawamura, 1994:160). Western clothes tend to show the body line more, therefore, some fatter girls were reluctant to wear western clothes.[47]

Make-up, cosmetics and hairstyle

Advice on cosmetics was one of the major topics in Mitsukoshi's magazines. More important than the concern with the body was women's concern with their 'face.' For Mitsukoshi, cosmetics were one of the first new commodities, which start to sell in August 1905.[48] Cosmetics are very important in seeing the process of the development of women's aesthetic sensibility. An article which recommended imitating western make-up appeared in *Jikou* (時好), April, 1908, and suggested that the majority of Japanese women had changed from *nihon gami* (日本髪) (traditional women's hair style) to *sokuhatsu* (束髪) (bun). The writer suggests that 90 percent of Japanese women preferred a bun. Mizuguchi (水口薇陽) mentions that the change in hairstyle led to a resultant change in make-up. *Sokuhatsu*（束髪）(figure 9.19) was a much simpler style than *nihon gami* (figure 9.20), as women still keep their long hair and was similar to Victorian women's hairstyle[49]

It was accepted that Western hairstyles needed western make-up. Women should not use too

[47] In *Mitsukoshi Taimusu* (三越タイムス) in 1910, there was an article on the changing women's appearance, while started that the Greek women's body is the ideal type of beauty. It argued that contemporary Japanese women were gradually becoming more like men. The changes in physical education in girl's schools and rise of athletics as a fashion among young women led to a shift in body form and images. Contemporary women appeared more like men and were less beautiful, because they were too muscular. A women's body should not be muscular, but be ever so slightly plump. This criticism of the changing women's body was of course made from the point of view of men's view of what women should be like. In this context, more active western clothes were disliked by conservative men and women.

[48] These items were not western cosmetics, but traditional Japanese women's cosmetics (*Jikou*, 1905 August).

[49] Another article was 'Popular Western Hairstyles which Suit Japanese,' (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu*, January, 1911:5-8).

much white powder, and instead keep their natural skin colour. Mizuguchi strong recommended that women should try western ways of make-up and suggested that western women who did not have heavy make-up, were more beautiful than Japanese women who used thick white powder on their face (*Jikou*, April 1908:23). Here again we can see that a new ideal of Japanese beauty was advocated by men who had returned from travels in the West.[50]

Sportswear: swimming, beaches and bathing suits

The bathing suite was actively marketed before other western clothes, being introduced as a necessary article for summer resorts. The reason why bathing suite appear earlier than many other types of western clothes was the popularity of new forms of leisure such as sea bathing, which became a major new pubic and family pastime from 1897 onward (Yanagi, 1987 : 96).[51] Seaside resorts were created in a number of places at this time. At first bathing suits were of a unisex one-piece design (*Mitsukoshi,* January 1919 : 10). They gradually became a fashion object, especially after imported bathing suits and customised bathing suits started to sell in 1920 in the western clothes sections of Mitsukoshi (*Mitsukoshi,* July 1920 : 20-21).

Bathing suits began to be divided along gender lines after 1923.[52] In the magazines, photographs of bathing suits only appeared without models. After 1925, the catalogue of bathing suits in magazines featured real western women models (Mitsukoshi, August 1925:10). Bathing suits rapidly became considered as fashionable 'western' commodities. At the same time, western women were seen as fashionable objects too. In fact that the body shape of

[50] An interesting point of his argument was that women's fashion was linked to the changes in hairstyle and make up. Furthermore, changes in women's fashion led to changes in 'house design', which needed to be based on western style of interior and room structure.

[51] The price of customised bathing suits was 11 yen 50 sen – 30 yen, whereas the price of ready-made ones was 3 - 4 yen. The prices of imported (American) swimming hats was 1 yen 80 sen - 2 yen 40 sen. Sea bathing was initiated by Dr. Matsumoto Yoshikazu (松本良順) in 1885, and followed its European antecedents, being seen as a medical treatment for rheumatism.

[52] The price of men's bathing suits ranged from 85 sen to 1 yen 15 sen, and the price of women's was from 2 yen 40 sen to 3 yen. Domestic bathing suits were relatively reasonably priced, whereas imported one went from 9 yen to 20 yen (*Mitsukoshi* July 1923:16-17). Imported bathing suits were too expensive for anyone below the new middle class. Hence imported bathing suits became a status symbol. The interesting point here is that imported objects invariably helped to prompt conspicuous consumption, because they were usually more expensive and noticeable in terms of their novel, stylish, and modern qualities.

western women was seen as a better proportioned body and was considered more beautiful than those of Japanese women. Hence western bodies were seen to set the beauty standard.[53]

The first catalogue of bathing suits, which were Mitsukoshi originals with Japanese women's model was introduced by in 1926 (*Mitsukoshi,* July 1926) (figure 9.22). As Mitsukoshi began to use Japanese women for bathing suits models, real Japanese women's bodies became seen more often in advertisements.

The use of women's bodies in Mitsukoshi magazines was important in changing the perception of female bodies in the 1920s. This was a part of a process of the commercialisation of women's bodies along with the generation of a new consciousness in women of the greater stylisation and eroticised charm of the female body.[54] It presented the body as something to be looked at, but also as something to be formed, worked on, dressed and stylised through the purchase of consumer goods and services.

In 1927, Mitsukoshi organized the first 'Kimono fashion-show' in Japan, using Japanese fashion models who were predominately actresses such as Yaeko Mizutani〈水谷八重子〉, Hideko Higashi〈東日出子〉, Nobuko Kobayashi (小林延子) (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:97). Moreover, Mitsukoshi produced bathing suit catalogues in 1930, and featured the popular film star, Segawa Mitsuko (瀬川光子) as a model (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:105).

[53] In addition, showing women's bodies in the public, even in catalogues, was considered to be unethical at that time. However, historically Japanese people were more open to nakedness. One piece of evidence is the anti-Tokugawa culture legislation, initiated by the Tokyo Prefecture, to prohibit mixed public baths in 1869 (The chronological table of family history , 2000:23). Before 1868, Japanese people did not to care about seeing the naked body, which was visible in many places in everyday life. A sense of unease about the naked body only came in with the opening of Japan and was clearly influenced by the Western view of the body. Japanese people in Meiji soon learned the sense of shame and embarrassment about the body. In this context it is interesting to note the caricature drawing by Bigo (figure 9.21) of people staring in embarrassment at an oil painting of a nude by Kurokawa Kisho (see Nakayama et al, 1998:37).

[54] The first use of a nude photograph in a poster occurred in a 1922 advertisement for Kotobuki-ya (later Suntory Limited) port wine (figure 9.23). The nude model was Matsushima Emiko and the poster won first place in the world poster exhibition in Germany that year (The chronological table of family history, 2000:465). An earlier instance in 1910 was the use of a realistic nude drawing in a poster for the Sapporo breweries, showing a woman wrapped in a semi-transparent Greek goddess style garment (figure 9.24).

Hence women had to learn to become performers along with their new 'looked at bodies.' Their bodies were increasingly groomed, styled and commercialised by the market. Now, the women who were visible in public were not limited to specialist occupations, such as actresses, models, and dancers. The increased commercial value of an attractive woman's body made the act of showing the body a premium in many of the new service and leisure occupations in which women were employed in larger numbers. Moreover, women learnt how to present themselves and simulate style and charm through magazines advice columns, advertisements, movies, theatre plays and fashion-shows. Mitsukoshi contributed to make women more fashionable by encouraging them to become accustomed to a diet of changeable, spectacular consumption: to be modern, to be in fashion and search out the new. Modern fashion then, was not just a code or style, but also linked to the representation and presentation of the self.[55]

5. Women in magazines: The changing process of celebrity

5-1) Geisha 1900-1925

Upper class women were first featured on the covers of magazines in the early 1900s (*Jikou,* 1905, 1908). These women were not, however, fashion leaders, but just respectable women from the upper class, such as higher-grade officials or long-established families. In contrast, geisha were more important as fashion leaders and celebrities. The geisha and the *demimonde/courtesans* set the standards for beauty in the early phrase of the Mitsukoshi magazines. They were, of course, not fashion experts or professional fashion critics, but to have a good sense of fashion was very important for geisha.

The style of the photographs is interesting. The magazines did not feature photographs, of say a geisha wearing a Mitsukoshi's *kimono* in the manner of today's celebrities in advertisements. However, there were some articles in which the Akasaka (a part of Tokyo) geisha, Hayashiya, discussed the leading items in contemporary fashion and how they bought them at Mitsukoshi

[55] In Mitsukoshi's restaurant waitresses started to wear western uniforms in 1928 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:101). Shirakiya (白木屋) had started to use western uniform a little earlier than Mitsukoshi, in 1924.

(written by Akasaka geisha, Hayashisha 赤坂 林家　女将) (*Jikou,* August 1908:8). Another geisha, Akasaka Harumoto, also reminded readers that she preferred to buy kimonos at Mitsukoshi, which had a large selection of designs, enabling a wide choice (written by Akasaka Harumoto, 赤坂　春本　女将) (*Jikou,* May 1908:9). Furthermore, Masuya added that she was happy to buy her Kimono at Mitsukoshi, and nobody was negative about her sense of taste, when she wore them, so she was sure that Mitsukoshi was the best kimono shop (written by Asakusa, Masuya, 浅草　枡谷小ゑん) (*Jikou*, May 1908:10).

A photographic section was first established at the Tokyo headquarters of Mitsukoshi (Nihonbashi) in April 1907, with the Osaka branch running it from 1908. Once the photography section was established, women came frequently to be photographed. Before the establishment of the photographic section, Mitsukoshi had produced hand-drawn posters of Japanese women for advertisements, such as the Shinbashi geisha poster in 1907 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:49) (figure 9.25) and the picture of a beautiful women drawn by Okada Saburo (岡田三郎), a famous oil-painting artist, which was exhibited at Osaka Umeda railway station in 1908 (The Record of Mitsukoshi,1990:51; see also chapter 4 section 3 above) (figure 9.26). Another poster in 1910 had the slogan, 'A beautiful oriental women introduces you to Mitsukoshi.' The poster was designed to publicise the opening of the new Mitsukoshi building (see discussion of poster in chapter 3 above).

Mitsukoshi organized a prize photographic exhibition in 1910 under the theme: 'A beautiful face and an elegant appearance'. The accompanying slogan ran: 'Let's provide the highest standards of beautiful women in the world' (*Mitsukoshi Taimusu,* April 1910:13). In addition, the photographic section created a montaged photograph of Japanese beautiful women, under the title 'Seven Shinbashi Geisha,' subsequently printed in *Mitsukoshi Taimusu* (Mitsukoshi Times) in 1910 (figure 9.27). The photographic section started to produce postcards of beautiful Japanese women in the same year (figure 9.28).

All the women shown had traditional Japanese coiffure (*Nihon gami*) and appearance, with their

pose derived from a form of Japanese dance, based on demonstrating shyness and calm modest feelings. This was very much the traditional standard of Japanese beauty with the use of Edo-type women's styles and postures.[56]

One early exception after 1910, was the Imperial Theatre's[57] arts school students, who put on western clothes when they danced western dances (figure 9.29). All the students had to learn body language and gestures poses very different from those of Japanese beautiful women at that time.[58] This raises the important question of the influences which dress has on constraining and facilitating particular body languages, gestures and general demeanour which are key aspects of the performance. Different types of dress can hinder or free bodily movement, as well as providing a particular image of the body shape which can suggest ill-defined softness and bulkiness or elegant profiled sharpness or strength etc. At the same time these students could never have acted as a practical ideal for women at that time, because their costumes were not created as ordinary clothes, but for dramas and spectacles. Yet, as we find with the Takarazuka Review, the use of extraordinary appearance could stimulate fantasies which were no less important in shaping women's identities and desires (Robertson, J., 1989). Dancers also worked as models of bathing suits were often seen in Mitsukoshi magazines after 1930.

The evidence suggests that it was not common for Japanese women to put on western clothes. For instance, *Mitsukoshi* ran a number of articles entitled: 'Today's London fashion report' (*Mitsukoshi*, March 1911:11-17), 'The trend in child clothes' (*Mitsukoshi,* May, 1912 : 3-5) and 'The latest fashion in men's clothes' (*Mitsukoshi,* October, 1913). In contrast to the take-up of men's and children's clothes, it took longer for Mitsukoshi to persuade women to adopt western clothes. In 1911 it was very difficult to find Japanese women who were capable of dressing properly and feeling comfortable in western clothes. This situation changed in the 1920s (for

[56] The shift from the shy modest posture to an active pose (more aggressive, masculine style body expression) can be seen in the 1930s in Mitsukoshi magazines.
[57] The Imperial Theatre was completed in 1911 and Mitsukoshi took charge of decorating all the western type interiors with its design section taking charge of providing stage costumes (*Mitsukoshi Taimus,* June 1910).
[58] Some students even put on sailors' uniforms and learn to pose and perform in a boyish way.

reasons to be discussed later).[59]

5-2) Western women designers

As mentioned previously, the Englishman Alexander Mitchell was adopted as a foreign master tailor and cutter in 1906. The first foreign women's designer was a Frenchwoman, Alice Louise (アリス・ルイーズ) in 1925. She was taken on as a designer of children's clothes and women's hats. Alice came to Japan in June 1924 and died there in July 1925, only working in Mitukoshi for one year. According to Kumazaki (1999:92) she was the first in-house department designer, to come to Japan. Alice was seen as an attractive woman with her big eyes and white skin resembling the woman who could be seen in western films. An important part of her attractiveness was her status as a dress designer from France, and Alice become a valuable source of knowledge about western clothes and food.

Alice participated in Mitsukoshi not only as a professional designer and fashion adviser, but also as a model. Her photographs were used in the magazine modelling a trendy western hat (*Mitsukoshi*, March, 1925:13) (figure 9.30).[60] Western clothes for children were advertised in *Mitsukoshi* in July in 1925 and Alice is photographed with a child-model wearing western clothes she had designed (figure 9.31). Alice is presented measuring the height of the one-piece dress with a tape measure, a pose which is intended to show people that she is a 'real' or 'professional' dressmaker.[61] Furthermore, she was introduced as a designer from Paris in this magazine. The photograph's caption ran: 'A new design by Alice Louse who comes from Paris'.

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[59] Photographs of women's bodies were more frequently published after 1923. Advertisements of bathing suits were formerly printed in *Mitsukoshi* using drawings. The first use of a photographic image of women's bodies in bathing suite occurred in *Mitsukoshi* in 1923. As mentioned above (this chapter, footnote 54, figure 9.23), it is interesting to recall that the first nude photographic poster appeared in 1922, which was an advertisement for *Akadam-a* port wine. It can be argued that the early 1920 was the important time for this shift in the representation of women's bodies, with their bodies clearly beginning to be recognised as commercialised bodies.

[60] There were no professional models at that time, hence using a western women designer as a model was relatively easily accepted. Additionally, very few Japanese women knew how to wear western hats, because Japanese women's hair was still long and seen as unsuitable for wearing 'hats.' Very few Japanese women had short hair, such as a bob. Hence, they did not have strong dress sense of western type of hats and clothes.

[61] Interestingly, somebody in the children's section of Mitsukoshi wrote an article about 'Today's western clothes for women and children'. Yet, unexpectedly, the article was not written by Alice, although she must have given some suggestions to the children's section, but for some reason, her name was not mentioned as an author.

It was important to show people she was a Parisienne,[62] because Paris was seen as the leading fashion city.[63]

Since Berthe Morevan Remont came to Japan in 1926, women dress designers came to be treated more openly as celebrities.[64] Remont was introduced in *Mitsukoshi* magazine in August 1926 in an article with an accompanying photograph, showing her wearing the latest western clothes with a fashionable hat and of course, a bob hairstyle. The article tells us that she was 28 years old and just in from Paris, the centre of the fashion world, working in fashion since she was 15 years old. She had a strong reputation for evening dress and about town clothes designs and all her work was praised in Paris. The article mentioned not just her personality, but also her business career and language ability.[65]

The department store intended to build a good image around her, which was made easier not only by her ability with western clothes, which she designed, but also by her own charm. Hence, she was not only a western dress designer who had the know-how about genuine western clothes,

[62] In fact, the terms, 'France' or 'Paris' were frequently used in *Mitsukoshi* in both articles and advertisements. The image of France and Paris was presented as the pinnacle of fashion.

[63] Kumazaki (1999) examined the western designer's roles in the department store in Japan using the case of Elena Ohashi (大橋エレナ) who worked in Matsuzakaya (松坂屋) department store from 1935. Kumazaki's argues that in-house department store designers helped to make western clothes fashionable. At the time, Japanese women were eager to imitate western women. Therefore, department stores were under pressure to obtain 'genuine' western designers to provide real western clothes. The case Ohasi is very interesting and important in terms of her business activities. She was not just an introducer of western clothes, but was also an artist, educator, and tastemaker. She taught dressmaking at Matsuzakaya Curabu (Matsuzakaya Club) which was a sort of culture school cum community centre, with many classes on such cooking, learning the piano, singing etc. It is interesting point that she identified herself as an artist. She held that developing an artistic sensibility led to a more sophisticated sense of fashion. Ohasi was the first person who insisted on her identity as an artist, subsequently other fashion designers began to see themselves as artists and not as artisans.

[64] It is argued that the use of foreign designers became popular in the 1930s, Ohashi's time. But as mentioned earlier, the granting of celebrity status to western designers, occurred in the early 1900s, something which is not considered by Kumazaki (1999), who does not consider the significance of the rise of female fashion designers as a new type of women's professional job. Kumazaki, furthermore, indicates that the diffusion of western clothes was via western fashion designers - but dancers, actresses and media celebrities also played an important role in publicising the new fashions.

[65] In the same year (1926) that Remont arrived, Sugino Yoshiko (杉野良子) founded the women's dressmaker school with just 20 students, who went to school in kimonos and clogs. When western dress was made compulsory, some students were so embarrassed they went to school by taxi (The chronological table of family history, 2000 : 6). Hoshokawa Tadashi （川正） also founded a dressmaking school in 1928, aimed at training tailors and providing a higher level of tailoring skills （The chronological table of family history, 1997 : 20）.

but also an independent career woman who came to Japan determined to keep working as a specialist dress designer. It is interesting to note that whereas Alice's title was only 'fujin' (夫人) (Mrs.), Morvan's was *jyoshi* (女史) (no corresponding English term), which is a title used by women who were intellectuals and had achieved a prestige and sometimes fame. It can be seen here that her image was constituted as a respectable independent career women as well as a specialist dress designer. In short, she performed as a model independent woman.

Remont worked in Mitsukoshi for four years. When she came to Japan, her first impression of Japanese women who put on western clothes was that Japanese women lacked sophistication. In effect they wore western clothes like peasant women in France. She thought that it was necessary to redesign western clothes to make them better fit Japanese women. But she felt that as the body shapes of Japanese women were similar to French women, she was certain that Japanese women would suit the French type of western clothes (*Mitsukoshi,* August, 1926:14). Her impression of Japanese women was very much the opinion of a specialist dress designer, who clearly felt very confident and superior to Japanese women at that time. Her ability as a specialist was very attractive to Japanese women. For instance, in the advertisements for the western clothes she designed, the caption always had 'Morvan-*Joshi*' '*a new designer of western clothes*'. To add 'Morvan Remont' to the caption or label was very important in demonstrating to women that the clothes were genuine western and fashionable (*Mitsukoshi,* May, 1929:6). Remont like Alice, appeared in the Mitsukoshi magazine as a model for western clothes which she herself designed; but she was a considerable celebrity too (*Mitsukoshi*, February, 1929:7-8) (figure 9.32).[66]

The third French designer, Odet Manigrie (オデット・マニグリエ) arrived in Japan in May 1930 and worked in Mitsukoshi Gofukuten until 1936 with a slightly different role to Morvan.

[66] The beauty of western women came to be increasing recognised as valid alongside Japanese standard of beauty. There are a number of reasons for this. The foreign cinema had been introduced and already had become already very popular at the time. Therefore, Japanese women were familiar with western stars and knew how beautiful western women were. A situation emerged in which both Japanese and western criteria for beauty were accepted as parallel standards (see Marwick, 1988; Pacteau, 1994, Scarry, 1999).

She was introduced to *Mitsukoshi*, readers as '35 years old and a career woman in her prime. She graduated from the sewing school of Paris with a top grade. After graduation, she worked for one of the most prestigious sewing shops in Paris for seven years. Then, she managed her own sewing shop by herself' (*Mitsukoshi*, June, 1930:27) (figure 9.33).

From this introduction, it can be said that Mitukoshi intended to present her as a top expert dress designer and independent career women. As an expert, Odet suggested that Japanese women should change from kimono into western clothes in order to adapt better to the 'modern environments' of Tokyo with its western architecture, city bustle and traffic. In order to better develop their quality of life, she argued that Japanese women need to change traditional dress habits. She also advised on how to make-up in a more natural way. Her first impression of Japanese women's make up was too much white powder and thick lipstick, instead she recommended natural make-up. She also insisted that Japanese women who tended to have thin bodies might suit the French type of western clothes best. She expressed that she would take strong responsibility to support the adaptation of western fashions for Japanese women (*Mitsukoshi*, July, 1930:22). As a fashion expert, her views were more detailed than those of Morvan and more persuasive in terms of taking into consideration the particularities of Japanese social and nature conditions. Odet did not appear in the magazines as a model like Alice and Morvan, rather her role was that of an expert, not a highly visible celebrity, such as a model.[67]

Mitsukoshi established a beauty salon and hair-salon in 1927. An expert hairdresser, Koguchi Michiko was also introduced in *Mitukoshi*. The advertisement for the beauty salon in Mitsukoshi offered 'novel and elegant hairstyles' and 'new hairstyles for summertime' by Koguchi (*Mitsukoshi*, July, November, 1927). Koguchi's title was '*Joshi*', which meant that she was treated as a professional hairdresser (figure 9.34, figure 9.35). Although proclaimed

[67] The need for both practical everyday knowledge and technical education in fashion can be linked to the establishment of vocational schools of fashion and the opening beauty parlours. Yamano Chieko (山野千枝子) opened a beauty parlour in 1923 in what was the most famous new modern building (*maru biru*, 丸ビル) in Tokyo. Many working women, such as office ladies, typists, telephone operators worked there (The chronological table of family history, 2000:466). The same year, Bunka Fukusho Gakuin (the cultural sewing school) was established the first clothes education school (The chronological table of family history 2000:468).

as 'new' or 'novel' hairstyles, they were based on making a *chignon* using long hair, and all the styles were designed to be worn with kimono.

Mitsukoshi's strategy to provide fashion, body care and lifestyle information meant that the department store itself was seen as 'a source of expertise in the beauty field.' This marketing strategy intensified when Mitsukoshi began to use film stars as models for western clothes in *Mitsukoshi* magazine advertisements, which were entitle 'Mitsukoshi taste (三越好み)' (see discussion of Mitsukoshi taste in the following section).

5-3) Actresses, dancers, and models

Another reason why Odet did not appear as a model in the magazines was the rise to prominence of show business people, such as dancers, actress, professional models (referred to as 'mannequin-girls'). Dancers and film actresses acted as models for the new western clothes which Odet designed. Here we think of: Ishi Konami (石井小浪), a dancer (*Mitsukoshi* September, 1930:12) (figure 9.36), Tanaka Kinuyo (田中絹代), a popular film actress of Shochiku (松竹), one of the major Japanese film production companies (*Mitsukoshi*, August, 1930:7) (figure 9.37), and Takita Shizue (滝田静江), another famous film actress from Shochiku (*Mitsukoshi*, March, 1931:9) (figure 9.38).

Film actresses began to be featured in *Mitsukoshi*, when the second French designer, Berthe Morvan Remont worked at Mitsukoshi. Before Odet came, actresses had already modelled western clothes for the Mitsukoshi magazines in 1926. For instance, Mizutani Yaeko (水谷八重子) was photographed modelling the dress that appeared in the window in 1926 (figure 9.39). The price of the dress was 34 yen 50 sen, and the price of the overcoat with fur trim was 77 yen. At this time the starting salary of a salary man, even a top university graduate from Hitotsubashi, Tokyo, Waseda or Keio, was 80 yen per month （The chronological table of family history, 2000：8）.

Takita Shizue (滝田静枝) wore a dress designed by Morvan in 1927 (*Mitsukoshi*, December 1927:16) (figure 9.40). In the magazine it was presented with the caption: 'Mitsukoshi's taste.' A taste which now conjured up and featured, images of French designers, popular film actress and very expensive western clothes. There is no doubt that Mitsukoshi intended to create an image for the store as the leading source of fashion, not just presenting 'today's fashion', but also as creating new fashion and setting the trend.

Natsukawa Shizue (夏川静江) and Matsui Junko (松井潤子) were also featured in an advertisement in *Mitsukoshi* in November 1928, entitled an 'All star-cast of Mitsukoshi mannequins' (三越マネキン) (figure 9.41). It is interesting to note that Mitsukoshi not only branded men's suit and women's cosmetics and organic bread (*kenkô pan*, 健康パン), but also produced mannequins which resembled popular film stars. Hence, some popular film stars become synonymous with the 'Mitsukoshi brand' and 'Mitsukoshi taste' (*Mitsukoshi gonomi*, 三越好み).

Mitsukoshi also used (as mentioned earlier) Mizutani Yaeko （水谷八重子）, a leading stage actress, who had starred in roles such as Nora in Ibsen's *A Doll's House* in 1924. Natsukawa Shizue (夏川静江), another popular actress, who was cast as a '*modan garu*' (modern girl) in the film 'Five Girls Around Him' （彼をめぐる５人の女） in 1927 (see discussion in chapter 7 above), was also featured as a 'Mitsukoshi mannequin' in *Mitsukoshi* in November 1928.[68] Both type of women had epitomised the image of the '*modan garu*' (モダン・ガール,

[68] By the late 1920s mannequin girls were also found in many places in the nascent consumer culture such as department stores. Their cheeky sexuality and westernised glamour had become more acceptable. The Tokyo Mannequin Club was founded by Ueno Chieko (上野千恵子) in 1929. From this time, '*manekin garu*' become one of the professional jobs for women （The chronological table of family history, 1997 : 17）. There origin can be traced back to The Peace Commemoration Exposition (平和記念博覧会) of 1922, when women who were dressed up to stand around the exhibition site, were referred to for the first time as 'mannequin-girls' (The chronological table of family history 2000:465). Takashimaya department store used mannequin girls for the first time in an exhibition in 1928 (Wada, H., 2000:120). This event was the stimulus for the Tokyo Mannequin Club (The chronological table of family history 1997 : 16). Some members of the Nihon Mannequin Club were shown as bathing suits model in *Mitsukoshi* in 1929 (*Mitsukoshi*, June, 1929:12-13). (It is not clear if the Tokyo Mannequin Club was the same as the Nihon Mannequin Club).

modern girl). It is important to point out that the Mitsukoshi never missed an opportunity to catch onto any new trend concerning women at that time. Mitsukoshi's sensitivity to the latest fashions meant that it sometimes supported and presented avant-garde developments.

The key background factor to the rise to prominence of celebrity actresses was the upsurge of new schools for dancers, actresses, and models sponsored by the film industry along with other new service industries. A number of dancers were shown in *Mitsukoshi* around 1930. For example, Segawa Mitsuko is shown smiling and looking directly at the camera in a stylised self-conscious pose (*Mitsukoshi,* July 1930) (figure 9.42).

The Osaka Shochiku opera group (大阪松竹歌劇団 (OSK)), a musical drama training institute, was established 1922 and the Shochiku Girls' Opera Group (松竹少女歌劇団 (SSK)), in 1928. Mizunoe Takiko (水の江瀧子) was pictured as a bathing costume model in *Mitsukoshi* in 1931 (*Mitsukoshi*, June, 1931:8-9; *Mitsukoshi*, October, 1930:12) (figure 9.43, figure 9.44). She became a very popular and famous actress, partly through her originality of being a beautiful woman who often wore men's clothes and disguised herself as a man (figure 9.45).[69]

When dancers[70] and member of the opera group appeared in *Mitsukoshi* as models, they smiled and posed in a very different manner from that of geisha. Their body posture was clearly influenced by the stance and style of western dancers and film stars. For example, the Shouchiku opera group's members (figure 9.46, figure 9.47)[71] were often used in *Mitsukoshi* as models for a variety of clothing and goods including skiing and skating items (*Mitsukoshi,*

[69] Mizunoe played on the stage of the Shochiku girls' opera at Asakusa for the first time in 1928. She wore the trade-mark silk hat and short cut hairstyle, and put on a tuxedo. Interestingly, around same time in Hollywood, Louise Brooks, who was famous for being a flapper women with bobbed hair, also performed as a women who disguised as man in the movie 'The Life of a Beggar' (人生の乞食) in 1929. She wore a hunting cap, and put on a man's suit (Japanese nostalgic, *Nihon no retoro*, 1987 : 20). Brooks also had appeared as a boy in the movie *Pandra's box,* which became her most successful movie. Marlene Dietrich, was of course to later take up this style and make it her own (see Riva, 1992).

[70] As mentioned earlier, besides Ishii Konami who was a dancer, there were also other prominent dancers, such as Segawa Mitsuko (瀬川光子) who belonged to *Eriana Paburoba butou kenkyu jyo* (dance studio) (see *Mitsukoshi*, July, 1930 : 12).

[71] The Shouchiku actress training institute in Osaka was established in 1912 to train women for the stage. One hundred eight people attended the first audition with twenty people adopted.

January 1931:23; *Mitsukoshi,* September 1931:no page) (figure 9.48, figure 9.49). [72] Additionally, it is clear that their body posture were very different from Geisha models.

[72] Attention should be drawn to the illustrations, which drew on a variety image of modern girls. Modern girls in illustrations were presented in a futuristic way. They were drawn much more 'modern' looking than the models used in photographs. Some of the scenarios constructed must have seemed like another world to Japanese women at that time. For example, a woman was drawn wearing western type underwear beneath the kimono. She had a fake mole (beauty spot) under her eye. It was drawn by Suyama Hiroshi (須山ひろし) (*Mitsukoshi,* August, 1926) mentioned earlier. Another women presented smoking a cigarette, was drawn by Hara Asao (原 阿佐緒) (*Mitsukoshi,* March, 1926) (figure 9. 50). One woman was presented in pretty modern western clothes with a parasol blown by the wind (artist's name not given) (*Mitsukoshi*, May, 1927) (figure 9. 51). All the women had short hair. The illustration invited Japanese women to contemplate the 'future,' a future which now had a strong possibility of becoming true, the future as potentially achievable sometime soon.

Chapter 10: The New Woman

1. Introduction: The Problem of Defining the 'New Women'

> In the beginning, woman was the sun.
> The authentic person.
> Today, she is the moon.
> Living through others.
> Reflecting the brilliance of others…
> And now, *Bluestockings*, a journal created for the first time by the hands and minds of today's Japanese women, raises its voice.
> (Hiratsuka Raicho, September 1st 1911)

These lines written by Hiratsuka Raicho (平塚らいてう) appeared in the first issue of *Seito* in 1911, the feminist magazine of *Seitousha* (青踏社, Bluestockings Society). Although *Seitousha* subsequently became well known in Japan as a women's rights group, they were initially a group of young writers. The name, *Seito* (青踏) was a direct translation of the term 'bluestockings' used by English feminists, which derived from the derogatory term for women who discussed literature with men in the middle 18th century in England (Horiba, 1991:361).[1]

Another early reference to *atarashii onna* (new women), was again provided by Hiratsuka in *Chuo Koron*, January 1913. The term at the time had the connotation of a woman who tried to develop her subjectivity as a person – in particular, the refined urban woman who was more independent and knowledgeable about lifestyles and demeanour. These 'new women' insisted

1 The primary aim of Seitousha was to advance women's literature by providing opportunities for new women's writers (The Seitousha Programme, article 1) (Suzuki, H, 1989a:36). The magazine *Seito* was published from 1911 to 1916, with a total of 52 issued (Horiba, 1991:359). See further details in the sub-section below on feminist new women.

on some restructuring of conventional sex roles and the family system, and wanted women's rights. They were identified as 'new women', a term which had come to be synonymous with active feminists, such as the members of the Bluestocking Society *(Seitousha)* in the 1910s. Members of *Seitousha* (bluestocking society) were referred to as '*atarashii onna'* (新しい女, new women) and looked upon with a good deal of cynicism by journalists, at the time Raicho published her article '*atarashii onna*' in *Chuou Koron* (中央公論) in 1913 (Suzuki, H., 1989a: 27; see Kato, 1913 cited in Horiba, 1991:101-107).

In this chapter, we will examine the emergence of new women in Japan. As we have indicated earlier the notion of the new woman developed first in the West in the last decades of the 19th and first decades of the 20th century (see discussion in chapter seven above). Developments in Japan were clearly influenced by these changes in a series of complex mediations. Not only did Japan face similar prevailing conditions to those of the West in terms of the efforts of different nation-states to modernize their economies, which impacted on patterns of employment, with women brought into the labour force and accompanying institutions of social welfare and domestic family reforms which affected women's horizons of possibilities. In addition, the images and discourses about new women in books, journals, magazines cinemas and newspapers had begun to shift around the world in what increasingly became a global circuit.

Hence in Japan we have the efforts of the state to pull women into the nation-state building project as rational home administrators (good wives, wise mothers), the efforts of women intellectuals to broach questions of women's rights, along with the wider changes in consumer culture and urban lifestyles which provided images of new women both in the media and in the new urban spaces: the street, the department store, the exhibition, the café, the dance hall, and the entertainment areas. A new definition of what it was to be a woman began to circulate. An image of women who enjoyed different lifestyles and different values from the women of previous generations.

Of course, throughout history there have always been examples of women who were seen as

different, who had new styles, or presented an exotic contrast to other women. But women whose attitudes and behaviour differed substantially from established values, were relatively rare, given the ways in which women were restricted in their access to the various means of violence and information, and economic and political power. Those women who were able to innovate in some way, to form new ideas and styles, were usually restricted to certain areas of ceremonial display and domestic life. They usually belonged to aristocratic and courtly circles within which women could be permitted a greater degree of independence, and achieve some transitory shift in the balance of power between the sexes away from men (see Elias, 1987).

Since the Meiji Restoration, there were active efforts to not only import values and ideas from the West, but to selectively and systematically use these to reform culture and reconstruct many dimensions of the Japanese social structure. These new values, which became part of the Meiji state formation project, as we have mentioned earlier, was influenced by two factors. Firstly, what was seen as necessary to make a strong nation-state and mobilise the population and reform social institutions to this end. Secondly, by the desire of the Meiji reformers to make Japan appear civilized in the eyes of the West: to institute patterns of everyday life and culture which were up–to-date; this meant the systematic reform of practices which could be seen as 'traditional' and irrational and potentially prone to the loss of face.

Women were caught up in this process, seen as a part of a reconstituted family system which would further the aims of the state mobilization and rationalization project, but also in the later part of the Meiji era, increasingly seen as needing formal education to achieve this end. As we have discussed in previous chapters, once educated, women began to develop their own journals and magazines and the first stirrings of a women's public sphere. This indicates that some women were starting to develop their own overlapping agendas which differed from those of the state.

In one sense, then, the new woman was an extension of the reforms of the Meiji state, but the new woman was also in part the result of an active project from middle class women 'below,'

which largely fitted in with these aims. At the same time the increasing employment opportunities for women in the expanding cities offered new spaces for women to move into, which increased their relative power potential and independence. This was something which was fed back into the media images of the new woman: 'the flapper' and the *modan garu*, which became enticing alternatives for a new generation of women.

Given the wide range of characteristics attributed to the 'new woman,' it would be useful to place the various positions in a typology. At one end of the continuum would be women whose characteristics fitted in with the aims of the Japanese modernizing project, either in the form of direct state initiatives, or via the activities of women's groups and intellectuals. At the other end, would be the emergence of relatively independent women, who adopted new modern forms of dress and demeanour and played out scripts embodying new notions of femininity and consumer lifestyles. These women came into being more through the impact of the economic changes which increased women's employment in the service sector. At the extreme of this end of the continuum, would be those young women who had a 'transgressive' image, which disturbed traditional gender demarcations, such as the 'modern girl' (*modan garu*). We can identify four main positions on the typology which will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

First of all, there were the women who were educated to become part of the governmental project. From the early Meiji era onwards, the intention was to produce women who had acquired western manners, clothing and styles of presentation and demeanour (including forms of sociability such as dancing), as a further indicator for demonstrating to the West the degree of civilization that Japan had attained. These upper class women were, in addition, given a good education in the full range of behaviour necessary to act and perform as a civilised woman.[2] They were 'new women,' in the Japanese context and upper class groups in Japan (especially the royal family) were used as models for other women. Yet this 'new woman,' although socially

[2] Here civilization was identified with westernization, Europeanization and modernization and became a key project in the early Meiji era. The West, especially Britain, French and Germany were considered as ideal models to be imitated in order to build a civilized country worthy of both being respected and capable of autonomous action.

radical in the sense of reforming kinship relations via the construction of a modern family and adopting western dress and demeanour, had little intention of challenging patriarchal structures. The image of being a compliant 'good wife, wise mother' was glorified for ordinary women through the active intervention of the state in promoting the expansion of girls' education and the organization of women's charitable institutions.

Secondly, there were women who became activists in social and labour movements and developed a new sense of identity and aspirations through their struggles for recognition. Here we think of women who participated in socialist associations such as Heiminsha (平民社) and Sekirankai （赤瀾会, the Red Wave Society）, which although formed and run by men, provided space for women participants. There was also the important factory workers trade union, Yuaikai (友愛会 Fraternal Society) which developed a women's sub-section in 1916 in which a number of militant women members became involved in disputes, such as the famous Mosurin Azuma spinning factory strike. Some of these women became critical of social conditions from the base of their own experiences. Often these women studied by themselves and started a process of self-discovery, which enabled them to find their own voices. Some of the women in this category became strongly committed activists or idealists, who aimed at liberating women in general from poverty and exploitation. Many were educated and influenced by men in political movements (socialists, communists and anarchists). Some associated with and were influenced by male intellectuals, thinkers and artists.

Thirdly, there were the middle class women who became actively involved in the nascent women's movements and broader questions of social welfare, citizenship rights and reform. The key figure here was Hiratsuka Raicho, who as mentioned above, was the founder of the Seitousha （青踏社）(Bluestockings Society) (1911) and later, after the First World War, the New Women's Association (新婦人協会) (formed in 1919, launched in 1920). These women can be distinguished from the proletarian women's movement, such as the various factory girls labour activists, as they usually had higher educational qualifications or worked in intellectual occupations. At various points they sought to incorporate the working class factory girls,

initially with a very elitist attitude, but were not wholly successful.

Forthly, we have the phenomenon of *modan garu* (modern girls). The term is controversial as for many it suggested merely a media construct: imaginary women found in literature, cinema and the mass media, invented by artistic modernists, such as novelists, filmmakers, journalists and fashion leaders. Some of these men were themselves referred to as *modan boui* (modern boys), or *mobo*, who fashioned their accompanying female partners. Women who were both creations and realizations of the male imagination.[3]

In effect we have a process here of life imitating art. Yet the art which was imitated shifted from a high culture aesthetics which yearned for a separate pure sphere to retreat to, to one which sought to take in the new everyday and mass culture along with the predominance of cultural forms generated and influenced by the cinema and the new urban life. Increasingly, as the 1920s unfolded the styles and tastes which acted as models to be imitated, came from Hollywood and the United States and rather than Europe. Japanese intellectuals and writers in the 1920s became preoccupied with the new everyday life of the metropolis and the theoretical problems it posed for practical and utopian living.[4]

In addition, we need to consider the women who began to appear in the city to imitate and live out the demeanour and styles of these imaginary man-made women. They watched and imitated both the fictional imaginary modern women in the media, as well as their direct real-life embodiments in the companions and partners of their creators, the *moga* and *mobo*. Women in this group did not always have the 'commitment to consistency' characteristic of cultural specialists, which we often find in religious and artistic counter-cultures.[5] For them, the modern

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[3] These were the 'perfect moga,' who underwent complete habitus reform, as described by Sasaki Fusa (figure 11.11), a popular novelist famous for her depiction of the modern girl. This type of girl systematically changed her lifestyle from fashion (public image) to breakfast and domestic habits (private sphere). See discussion in chapter 11 below.

[4] For a discussion of the 1920s intellectual currents which sought to grapple with the everyday, modernity and Americanization as discussed by intellectuals such as Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke (1929) (see Harootunian, 2000).

[5] This commitment was seen as central by Weber (1948; see also Goldman, 1988) in his discussion of the Puritan lifestyle and subsequent life orders such as those of the intellectual, artist and eroticist (see Featherstone, 1995: chs

style was seldom the subject of rational scrutiny and careful systematization of conduct. The object was more to imitate the style of the imaginary modern women, and not, generally, to adopt the rationale, or mentality, of the new women.

Yet, we should not underestimate the power of appearances. The impact on self-conception and the reflexive gaze of others via allegedly trivial signs of new styles, clothing, adornment and accessories (see Simmel, 1991, 1997e, 1997f on style and adornment). The slightly modified hairstyle which revealed the ears, the use of lipstick and powder, the scarf around the neck, the use of high-heal shoes, even when worn with a kimono were often felt by the bearer and read by the passer-by as emblematic of broader changes in persona (figure 10.1, figure 10.2). As embodying some form of general cultural 'ambition,' which however unarticulated and vague, could not just be conceived on the conformity/ nonconformity axis (this will be discussed in detail in chapter 11 below).

While these various types of new women would seem to be clearly differentiated in terms of class background and also differ in their sense of commitment and the ways they sought to articulate, represent, or advance the women's cause, they share some common features. Some of new women shared broadly similar 'fashion codes,' in their preference for western clothes, short hair, and interest in 'modern' lifestyles; yet each type drew on this common repertoire in significantly different ways.[6] In this sense their subtle distinctions of dress and demeanour, were 'readable' and decoded by other participants in social classificatory practices, who had to engage in practical judgements about the status and intentions of others (cf. Bourdieu, 1984;

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3 & 4).

[6] At the same time some socialists and labour movement activists were clearly antipathetic to consumer culture and the new fashions and styles which were seen as 'decadent.' The leading socialist women activists in the early phrase were most likely to come from the middle class. Most of them in the 1920s were women's college students or graduates (Yamamoto, Interview, 2001). Many of them gave way to the attractions for nice clothes, cosmetics and the stylish and modern life – albeit in toned down versions. Leading feminist figures, such as Hiratsuka Raicho wore western clothes and had short hair in the 1920s (Takahashi, Y, 1999:78). Such were the ambivalences of reading the signs of the modern and the complex set of oppositions modern styles could be used to signify in different contexts (figure 10.3).

Featherstone, 1981).

2. Exemplary official new women: upper class wives of military officials, the royal family and high governmental officials

2-1) Civilization in Japan and 'new women'

While there were clear parallels in the historical conditions in terms of the modernization of societies, which created spaces for new women evident in both the West and Japan in the early decades of the 20th century (discussed in the previous chapter), one significant factor in the Japanese context was the predominant aim of the governing strata in the Meiji era, to deliberately construct a modern nation-state, which enhanced the role of governmentality (see Rose, 1989).

After the 1868 Meiji Restoration 'civilization was equated with 'westernisation.' Hence for the Japanese government and Meiji reformers, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi（福沢諭吉）, this entailed a double strategy.[7] To identify those aspects of western social structure which were deemed most efficient and effective for the construction of a modern nation-state, which would permit Japan to achieve greater control over its own destiny and widen its own sphere of influence. At the same time, it was seen as important to achieve this goal in ways which were credible and legitimate, in effect via means which accorded with the dominant western canon of civilized behaviour. Given the dominant patriarchal philosophy of the Meiji reformers, the attitude towards women betrayed a good deal of ambivalence. They could be seen instrumentally as an additional resource in the project of building a 'rich country, strong army'（富国強兵）.[8]

[7] Fukuzawa was one of the founders of the Meiji Six Society, which had a majority of members who were government officials and would find it difficult to criticise government policy (Yamanuro and Nakanome, 1999:446). Fukuzawa preferred to keep his independence and position as an intellectual.

[8] Iwamoto Yoshiharu, the chief editor of *Jyogaku Zasshi* (Magazine of Women's Learning) remarked: 'Recently women's education has become very popular and it is widely accepted for Japanese people that education is important for women. Many parents wanted their daughters to go to women's school to learn foreign languages (English or French). The increasing numbers of women who wanted to go into higher education has led to the expansion of the number of women's school (*Jyogaku Zasshi,* 1887:101 cited in Karasawa, 1979:73).

At the same time, this drive entailed not only taking in western things, the new commodities and technological material things, but also new ideas on as technology, science, and Christianity. For the Meiji reformers to construct and integrate the nation-state along the lines of Western civilized countries involved not only using western technology and commodities, but also showing that Japan was civilised by adopting western ideas and customs.

The underlying ambivalence of a patriarchal society to towards the dangers and advantages of changing the role of women led to a series of conflicting positions and struggles to define women. Along with the impact of external events, this produced a series of waves of opening up and closing down opportunities for women's education. For example, at the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), with increasing nationalism, women's education began be seen as a less important and associated with the threat of too much westernization.[9]

Women were not expected to be 'intelligent' and have general knowledge (such as literature, history, and foreign languages), as this was considered useless knowledge for women's everyday life.

> Today nobody is talking about women's education at all, which used to be a very popular issue with the public. The women's question is again no longer an issue and many women do not care about having an education.
> (*Katei Zasshi,* 1895, cited in Karasawa, 1979:79)

However, on the other hand, in line with the 'rich country and strong army' doctrine, the government needed to incorporate and mobilise women, hence the new ideology of 'good wife, wise mother.' The article continued:

> The government has encouraged the education of women to be 'good wives and wise

[9] This can be seen in the drop in the rate of girls' school attendance. Yet despite this the overall trend was a gradual increase. The girls' (elementary school) attendance rate was: 1894 - 44.7 (Sino-Japanese War); 1895 - 43.7 (Sino-Japanese War); 1896 - 47.53; 1897 - 50.86. It should be noted that these figures are the elementary school rate, not junior high school - parents did not think women need further education.

mothers' for several years. If parents follow the current negative public attitude and do not provide education for their daughters, they will live to regret it.
(*Katei Zasshi,* 1895 cited in cited in Karasawa, 1979:80)

This illustrates the ambivalent attitudes of both the government and parents. The solution was to offer a curriculum which provided a limited women's education with practical domestic and household knowledge and child-care skills and less general knowledge.

***The New Greater Learning for Women* in the Meiji era**

In the early years of the Meiji era, the notion of women's education was still defined by a text written in the Tokugawa era, Kaibara's *Onna Daigaku* (The Greater Learning for Women, published in 1716). One of the leading Meiji reformers, Fukuzawa Yukichi, spoke against the continued use of this archaic work, by arguing that to continue to seek to maintain the traditional status of women was detrimental to Japan's key project of adopting western standards of civilization. *Onna Daigaku* (The Greater Learning for Women) had been very influential in Edo, but was still central in early *Meiji.*[10] It promoted an ideal of marriage based on Confucian philosophy, which emphasised women's subordination and domestic skills and duties.

In 1898, Fukuzawa wrote *Shin Onna Daigaku* （新女大学） (The New Greater Learning for Women) criticising Kaibara's principles, and also setting out revolutionary ideas concerning the roles men and women should assume – in effect he spelled out the new habitus necessary for Japan's modernization project (Nozaki, 1975:210). Fukuzawa stressed the importance of equal property rights between husband and wife and recommended monogamy in his book *Nippon Danshi Ron* (Theory of Japanese Men) in 1888. Moreover, he argued that the ideal family from was the nuclear family, not the conventional samurai *ie* family. His ideas were taken up by the

[10] Kaibara Ekken remarked that: 'A women has no particular lord. She must look to her husband as her lord, and must serve him with all worship and reverence, not despising or thinking lightly of him. The great life-long duty of a woman is obedience. In her dealings with her husband, both the expression of her countenance and the style of her address should be courteous, humble, and conciliatory, never, rude and arrogant.' He added 'It is well that women should be unlettered. To cultivate women's skills would be harmful. They have no need of learning' (Tamei, 1987, cited in Bingham and Gross ed, 1987:96-98). This ideology survived for almost 150 years until 1868 when the Meiji reformers started to criticise it.

Meiji government to reform the family (see discussion of the modern family in chapter 9 section 1, above). Yet although he held that women should be allowed property rights, he completely ignored the question of women's political rights (Nozaki, 1975:211).

A number of other strong critiques of the submissive position of women emerged around the same time. In 1884, Iwamoto Yoshiharu (巌本善治) published the magazine *Jogaku Shinshi* (女学新誌) (women's new magazine) in which he pointed out that Western scholars considered the position and condition of women to be a key indicator of the level of civilization attained by a country (Miki, 1989:9).[11] Iwamoto additionally established *Meiji Jogakuin* (明治女学院) in September 1885, to further his policy on women's education. He advocated a new school form with pupil representatives attending teacher's meetings. The aim of this girl's school was to provide a strong humanism to counter the conventional women's ideology to create the type of civilized women who could be seen in developed countries in the West (Karasawa, 1979:64).

Despite these arguments put forward by the Meiji reformers in the 1880s, when Japan faced the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), even Iwamoto gradually shift from his initial position of greater freedom for women, to advocating that they should be harnessed to the national effort. He started to suggest women should remain inside the home as good wives and wise mothers (Inoue, T, 1968; Yamanouchi, 1989).

After the Sino-Japanese War, women's education became a major social issue again. In 1897, the school attendance rate increased (the boys rate was 80.67, and girls was 50.86) (see chapter 8, table 8.1). The number of girls' junior schools increased after the new law of 1899. In 1903, the number of public junior high schools was 83, increasing to 154 in 1912 (The research group on girls' junior high schools, 1990:139-Table-1). Kikuchi Tairoku (菊地大麓), the Minister of Education (1901-1903) gave a speech to the meeting of girls' junior schools in 1902, in which he remarked:

[11] *Jogaku Shinshi* (女学新誌) (women's new magazine) was published from June 1884 to September 1885, becoming *Jogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌) from July 1885 to February 1904 (Miki, 1989:9).

> In the Japanese case, a woman's vocation does not mean a professional occupation which makes women independent, but marriage, and to become a good wife and wise mother. Hence, women's education should fit women's practical skills. Although academic knowledge can help women to be independent, the majority of women are going to marry and become good wives and wise mothers. Therefore, I do not think that the government should have the responsibility to create public girls schools [which were academic or vocational schools - added by author] (Karasawa, 1979:88-89).

Even after the establishment of the girls' school law, it was clear that the government was unwilling to provide women with a broad academic education, as it feared women independence and wanted them to remain in the home. Rather it wanted women to receive an education in the practicalities of home-making and domestic labour.

The only alternative to this doctrine was to enter private girls' schools. Hiratsuka Raicho followed this pattern and entered Naruse Jinzo's[12] women's university in 1903, because she was attracted to Naruse's views on women's education, which were based on conviction, creativity, and service. He expressed that the aim of the university was to educate its students as human beings, as women, and as Japanese citizens. The important point here is that he was the fist person to argue woman that the treatment of women as equal human beings should be the guiding educational principle. Yet, Raicho became disappointed with Naruse's views by the time she graduated, as his additional principle that women should be educated to become good citizens could still be seen as based on the conventional women's ideology.

2-2) Representations and practices of exemplary official new women

Given the Meiji project of modernization, it was important that the Japanese people were given models and representations of the new cultural ideals, which were to be adopted. The impact of the Meiji Emperor, who abandoned the seclusion and privacy of the Kyoto imperial court, for a Tokyo based public life is well-documented (Keene, 2002). For the Japanese people it was not

[12] Naruse Jinzo (成瀬仁蔵) founded the private women's university, which become the Japan Women's University (*Nihon Jyoshi Daigaku*) in 1901.

only a shock to see the Emperor in public, but also to see him wearing western dress. The photographs of him in military uniform were widely distributed and became very popular in Japan (figures 10.4, 10.5 and 10.6). In many ways the Meiji Emperor embodied the Japanese modernity project, in his visible competence and familiarity with western demeanour, bearing and styles.

Members of court societies and aristocracies often are given elaborate training in bodily disciplines, deportment, good conversation and good manners (cf. Elias, 1983). They are expected to have a refined sense of dress, knowledge of court rituals, correct modes of eating and drinking and 'good manners' in general. But these usually apply to learning one cultural mode – although it can be argued that in the Middle Ages in Europe Latin amounted to a common second language and that there were also common manners and horizons of expectations amongst European aristocracy who often found the means to associate and relate to each other (war, peace-making and diplomacy being a number of these modes of communication).

For the Japanese ruling elites in the transitional years at the end of the Tokugawa era and the start of Meiji, the West offered a new cultural repository to be browsed through, examined and learned. This learning process involved books, visits and regular briefing sessions with imported foreigners (see Miyoshi, 1979; Tanaka, 1993). It was important that the ruling groups adopted the new competences and everyday customs adequately, so that there was no question of losing face, or worse: 'letting foreigners laugh at us.'[13] These groups because of the normal highly regulated learning mode involved in absorbing the courtly manners code and forms of exemplary conduct, would be well-placed to undertake the additional work to master the new Western forms of dress, manners and bodily competences.

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13 According to Yoshimi (1992:110) when the first Japanese commission, the Takenouchi commission visited the International Exhibition in London in 1862, they participated in the opening ceremony, wearing traditional Japanese clothes, which was described as 'shabbily dressed' by the *London Illustrated Magazine* (3rd May, 1862). The Japanese commission become a big topic amongst British people, because they were recognised as 'strange people who came from the Far East.' For further insight into this process and the first mission to the United States see Miyoshi, 1979 (figure 10.7).

Yet it was not just men who were asked to follow the new modes of conduct. Women in the ruling strata were also expected to participate. Upper class women, such as wives and daughters of the royal family, especially the Meiji Empress, can be seen as one of the key initial forms of new women, because they were trained to perform as 'civilized' women. The Meiji Empress was expected to have the full presentational competences of a skilled performer, which could be paraded in front of western diplomats and other foreigners. She was also expected to exemplify these new competences for other members of the ruling strata, to act as a model for them and the Japanese people at large. To this end it was important she learned and adopted a seemingly effortless and flawless performance.[14] For a nation asked to adopt a new learning mode to life as part of the national state formation process, role models with such high levels of competence, were reassuring.[15]

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[14] A number of contemporary accounts emphasised the nobility and high social competences of the Empress. President Grant's wife, for example remarked: 'I was charmed with her majesty's appearance. She was dressed in a fabrication evidently straight from Paris, of lovely mauve satin, and she wore as ornaments one large diamond brooch, and the star of her country. During the whole time of our interview she never moved a muscle of her face, keeping her small and beautiful shaped month party open, and speaking in a whisper. She never seemed even to blink an eye. Her interpreter repeated all her remarks and mine also in a whisper. To speak in a whisper is, I am told, Court etiquette in Japan (Baroness Albert d'Anethan, *Fourteen Years of Diplomatic Life in Japan*, London, Stanley Paul & Co.,1912: 26 cited in Bingham and Gross 1987:162). A further account was provided by the British ambassador's wife, Mrs. Mary Fraser, who remarked: 'First the Empress asked after the Queen's health: and then, when she had welcomed me to Japan, said she had been told that I had two sons whom I had been obliged to leave in England, and added that she thought that must have been a great grief to me. Her eyes lighted up, and then took on rather a wistful expression as she spoke of my children. The heir to the throne is not her son, for she has never had children of her own, and has, I believe, felt the deprivation keenly; but perhaps the nation has gained by her loss, since all of her life which is not given up to public duties is devoted to the sick and suffering, for whom her love and pity seem to be boundless. When at last the little hand was held out in farewell, I went away with one of my pet theories crystallized into a conviction; namely, that it is a religion in itself to be a good women, and that a sovereign who, surrounded by every temptation to selfishness and luxury never turns a deaf ear to the cry of the poor, and constantly denies herself, as the Empress did, to help them, comes near being a saint (Mary Crawford Fraser, *A Diplomat's Wife in Japan, New York,* John Weathehill. Inc., 1982) cited in Bingham and Gross 1987:163).

[15] One good example of the process of westernisation at that time is the Rokumeikan (Deer Cry Pavilion), built in 1883 (see discussion in chapter 9 above). It was a site of numerous balls and other social events attended by prominent Japanese, such as government officials from the ministry of foreign affairs to meet with foreigners. Charity events, organized by upper class women, widened the attendance. Hence, the Rokumeikan become a key symbol of westernization during the early Meiji period. People who attended Rokumeikan events put on western clothes, and socialised and danced in the western way (figure 10.8).

Women in the royal family and other leading upper class ladies also acted as celebrities and visited women's associations which were established by the government, in order to educate Japanese women into the new range of life skills and western bourgeois lifestyles. As discussed in the previous chapter, such upper class celebrity women were regularly featured in women's magazines as exemplary women, who served the nation as part of the 'rich country, strong army' state formation project. Their role was particularly important under war conditions (the Sino-Japanese War, 1894-95; the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-05; World War I 1914-1918), at a time when the national mobilization of the populace and women's labour were required.

2-3) The image of the Empress

In this context, it can be seen that the Empress was a key exemplary model of the officially legitimated 'new woman'. As we indicated above, her role had two facets. One face was constructed for the West to show that Japan as a civilized country, the other face was designed for the Japanese people, especially women, to educate them to follow the model of an exemplary or ideal Japanese women who would be a 'good citizen.'

The Empress as a symbol of civilization for the West

During the Meiji Restoration the Empress Haruko worked on a range of social and charitable activities. The Meiji reformers were very sensitive to Western opinion. They set out to prove that their imperial court was not a mysterious backward 'oriental,' court. In this, Empress Haruko took the lead with a noted graciousness that impressed all those around her (Bingham and Gross, 1987: 161).

Empress Haruko was also actively involved in social causes and in encouraging and promoting modern views on women.[16] For example, she helped to inaugurate a Peeresses' school for girls

[16] It is interesting note here that the public elementary school textbook on 'moral training' included a story about the Meiji Empress (*shouken koutaigou,* 昭憲皇太后) and her noble and self-sacrificing qualities. In terms of the number of citations of topics in the school moral textbook, the Meiji Empress came surprisingly second, after the Englishwomen, Florence Nightingale (Karasawa, 1979:86).

and wrote its school song (figure 10.9). She started to dress in Western clothes and set court styles. Furthermore, she made personal visits to hospitals (figure 10.10) and schools indicating here interest in her people and the need to improve and modernize everyday facilities. She was also one of the first supporters of the Japanese Red Cross (Bingham and Gross, 1987:161).[17]

The Empress as an idol of Japanese women: the Patriotic Women's Association

In addition to the 'civilized' public face constructed to impress Western societies, the Empress acted as an icon and model to help educate Japanese women to follow new standards of behaviour. Important here was the Meiji government's efforts to define the public role of women through the Patriotic Women's Association (愛国婦人会), established in 1901 to reinforce the preparedness and motivation of the Japanese people for war, with women actively contributing to public services. This occurred in the period between the Sino-Japanese War of 1895-6, and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. The Patriotic Women's Association was founded by Okumura Ioko (奥村五百子), to offer aid and comfort to Japanese soldiers and their families (Katano, 2001:267). Her intention was prompted by visits to China and Korea to help wounded Japanese soldiers during the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. From the beginning the Patriotic Women's Association was supported and supervised by the Home Office and the Army Ministry.[18]

It immediately provided opportunities for charitable activities for upper class women. The organization's magazine, *Aifu*（愛婦） was started in 1902 with Shimoda Jiro (下田次郎) as a

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[17] Yet while Haruko might have dressed in European fashions and encourage western ideas at court, her family life remained similar to that of other upper-class Japanese women of the day wearing kimono and inhabiting *tatami* back stage areas (Bingham and Gross, 1987:163). Hence she had to learn to develop a flexible habitus capable of integrating and switching between different sets of competences.

[18] After the development of the association in the years prior to World War I, the most important shift occurred in 1931 with the Manchurian Incident (満州事変), which led to the formation of the National Defence Women's Association (大日本国防婦人界) in 1932. It governing board consisted of wives of military officers, with a more open membership than the more elite Patriotic Women's organizations (Aikoku Fujinkai 愛国婦人会). The government-sponsored merger of the three existing women's associations: the Aikoku Fujinkai (愛国婦人会), under the control of the Home Office, Kokubo Fujinkai (国防婦人界), under army control and Dai Nippon Rengo Fujinkai (大日本聯合婦人界) controlled by the Ministry of Education, came together to form the Dainippon Fujinkai (大日本婦人界) in 1942（Suzuki, 1989b:56）.

editor. He introduced new western ideas about women and wrote on 'vocational education for women in Germany', 'the social movement of women's suffrage in Austria' etc. According to the association's own data about the magazine's print-run, readership increased dramatically. The increasing membership of Aikoku Fujinkai reached 816,609 (3.1% of the total woman's population) in 1912 (Miki, 1989:72). This was a time when two major popular women's magazines, *Jyogaku Sekai* (女学世界) and *Fujyo Sekai* (婦女世界) were suspended, because of the Russian-Japanese War. Membership expanded steeply and by 1919 reached over one million and in the 1930s reached over 3 million. There was a concomitant increase in the readership of *Aifu*. In the magazine there were articles and photographs of the upper class women and articles on their lifestyles.[19] At the same time, the magazines offered local delivery services for commodities associated with upper class women's lifestyles, such as cosmetics, western fashion accessories and books (Katano, 2001).

The growth in the membership of Aikoku Fujinkai (the Patriotic Women's Association) was enhanced by these images of privileged bourgeois lifestyles. For example, *Aifu* reported on the activities of wives in the royal family, such as Empress Haruko's charitable work. According to an article by Matsudaira (松平正直), she promoted and financed with her own money research on artificial limbs for the wounded and disabled, something which generated a very positive public image and widespread admiration (*Aifu,* January, 1904). As one contemporary put it: 'Charity is the flower of civilization, therefore, the development of charitable activities indicates the level of civilization of the nation' (Matsudaira, 1904, cited in Katano, 2001: 272-273).

Empress Haruko had the public image of a woman who had scientific knowledge and was able to consider things rationally, demonstrating her deep concern with the development of

[19] Some of the upper class women who were member of Aikoku Fujinkai were featured in *Mitukoshi* in March, 1929. This suggests that the upper class's Aikoku Fujinkai were patrons of Mitsukoshi, and it can be assume that Mitsukoshi intended to use their image to enhance Mitsukoshi's corporate image as a leading store. Furthermore, supporting Aikoku Fujinkai was also a visible contribution to the national policy and a demonstration of loyalty to the state.

civilization in Japan and the need to catch up with the West. Moreover, she also enjoyed an image of compassionate sacrifice through her support for unknown wounded soldiers. This image of the Empress had a strong impact in creating a new ideal for Japanese women. At the same time, it was clearly an image of a bourgeois woman.

The most potent symbol of Japanese womanhood, the Meiji Empress, participated in the general meeting of the Patriotic Women's Association in 1908 (Katano, 2001:282) and regularly attended annual meetings, alternating with the Red Cross Society. This combination of strong nationalism and the attainment of a bourgeois western lifestyle proved to be very attractive to Japanese women. The Empress, then, helped to promote an image of a new woman, very much in line with the aims of the Meiji reformers, which fitted in with the national mobilization designs of government officials and the army.[20]

3. Radical activists: socialists and factory girls

3-1) The social context of radical activists and women in social movements

Japanese women were also provided with a very different set of images of new women than the government sponsored Patriotic Women's Association, by socialist and feminists activists. Here it is possible to identify two main types of organizations.

Firstly, there were socialist associations, with the main one being Heiminsha (平民社), formed in 1903. Although run by men, Heiminsha was primarily concerned with the broad social issues

[20] Although the Patriotic Women's Association encouraged women to be thrifty and wear simple and sober clothes, the association meetings became a site for sartorial contests between members of 'upper class salons'. This prompted criticisms from some local associations. Despite these criticisms, the majority of members and working class women in particular, were ambivalent. On the one hand, they criticised the executive member capacity to over dress, on the other hand, they themselves longed to wear nice dresses, like the upper class women. Hence, ironically the temptation to have a nice dress and luxury accessories stimulated ordinary members to consume. In fact, the upper class women who bought new clothes (kimono) saw themselves as needing new 'sober looking clothes' for association activities (Katano, 2001:271).

of the day (such as opposing the Russo-Japanese War), yet it was also sympathetic to women's questions, although it did not specifically encouraged women to join.[21]

Another socialist association was the Sekirankai（赤瀾会, the Red Wave Society）, formed in 1921, although it only lasted for less than half a year, had a major impact. Although established by educated (largely socialist) women, it drew in male supporters and sympathisers (intellectuals, socialists, and anarchists). It was the first women's association which allowed women to demonstrate their leadership abilities and capacity to develop a social movement. The Red Wave Society can be seen as one of the first steps of independent women.

Secondly, the important labour organization, Yuaikai (友愛会 Fraternal Society) formed in 1912 , is a good example of a trade union formed for factory workers. Yuaikai had a women's sub-section, Yuaikai Fujinbu (友愛会婦人部), which was the first women's labour union (1916). The first Japanese labour organization, Rodokisei Domei (労働組合期成同盟, Society for the Formation of Labour Unions) was formed in July 1897. Yet, they did not allow women to join. Rather, they recommend women to stay at home, because they saw increasing cheap women's labour as eroding men's work opportunities. It took another 19 years for women to gain a workers' association through Yuaikai. By this time factory girls, had become highly visible through labour disputes and were central activists via the Yuaikai women's section. The militant factory girls engaged in a number of strikes: the Mosurin Azuma spinning factory strike (モスリン吾妻工場争議) in 1914 and Fujibou Oshiage spinning factory strike (富士紡績押上工場争議) in 1920 (Suzuki, 1989b).

[21] The *Heimin* newspaper was illustrated by Takehisa Yumeji (竹久夢二), who was a famous painter of woman with a distinctive style, representing them with big eyes which were very different from conventional Japanese beauty and indeed the opposite of *ukiyo-e* woodcut illustrations. While his image of women was probably influenced by the western iconography, it is also interesting to speculate that in the early decades of the 20th century, Japanese women did indeed open their eyes more and began to be permitted a more direct open gaze and had to learn a new way of seeing and expectation of being looked at his illustration of women with large eyes became very popular amongst young woman (see illustration in *Mitsukoshi*, November 1927. Mitsukoshi also held a private exhibition of his work in March 1931 (see figure 10.11) (Kogure, 2000:79).

3-2-1) Socialism and women's issues

The first Japanese socialist association, Heiminsha (平民社) was founded by Kotoku Shusui (幸徳秋水) and Sakai Toshihiko (堺　利彦) in 1903. Heiminsha was formed to propagate socialist ideas and oppose the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Its main activities involved publishing the newspaper, *Heimin Shinbun* (平民新聞), and organizing lectures on socialism. Many of the latter featured contemporary social affairs and women's issues such as: the increasing numbers of working women, family reform, women's education, and non-arranged marriages. Socialism was presented as the solution to these problems.

The intention of the Heiminsha socialists was to politicise women and educate them about socialism and emphasise its centrality to questions of women's rights. In a lecture, Sakai introduced the ideas of the German socialist, August Bebel (1840-1913) in his book *Women's Theory* (婦人論) (1891) (Ohki, 1985:122), who argued that women's liberation could only be brought about by socialism (Rabaut trans., cited in Kato, 1987:246). Women's political activities were directly referred to in the maintenance of the Public Order and Police Law of 1900 （治安警察法）, promulgated by the Yamagata Aritomo (山県有朋) cabinet to restrict the freedom of assembly, association, and speech. Article 5 overtly forbade woman to engage in any kind of political activity.

For example, there was a critical article toward the Public Order and Police Law in *Heimin Shinbun* in 1907 (*Heimin* newspaper, 24th February 1907, No 33) (Hayashi and Nishida, 1961:185-187).

> From the viewpoint of the West, women's rights are seen as a key component of the standard of civilization attained by a nation. Hence, to divest and infringe women's political rights and to treat women like slaves for national policies can be seen as the actions of a non-civilized country in today's twentieth century. (*Heimin* newspaper, 24th February 1907, No 33:186)[22]

[22] Imai Utako (今井歌子) and Kawamura Haruko (川村春子), who were central to the opposition movement

However, it should be made clear that women's rights and liberty were not the main aims of the founders of Heiminsha （平民社）. Their initial aim was to coordinate socialist propaganda against the Russo-Japanese war.

Under these conditions of the suppression of political activities for women, *Heimin Shinbun* (平民新聞) started to hold lectures for women, which were an important alternative source of information for women, especially in the wake of the wartime propaganda. Kinoshita Naoe (木下尚江), for example, in an article 'Women, Open Your Eyes' published in *Choku Gen* (直言), 9th April 1905, argued that women should wake up and recognize that all matters in life are associated with politics and that they needed to be more politically conscious if they wished to safeguard their family life (Hayashi and Nishida, 1961:76).[23]

If we consider the question of how women became actually attracted into the socialist movement, there were clearly a wide range of levels of involvement. Four women who had declared themselves as socialists in *Choku Gen*（直言）, took over the weekly *Heimin Shinbun,* on 23rd April 1905 (菅谷伊和子, 神川松子, 松岡文子, 延岡為子). In addition, we should note that an advertisement in *Heimin Shinbun* mentioned that a number of unknown women had endowed money to sustain the running of Heiminsha （Ohki, 1982:116）. Hence we can

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against the Public Order and Police Law, argued for women's rights through their women's magazine *Nijuseiki no Fujin* (20 世紀の婦人, *20th Century Women's Magazine).* Both joined Heiminsha in 1905 (Ohki, 1982:123).

[23] He also criticised women who were committed to the Patriotic Women's Association, remarking: 'War breaks your ideals, because it break your family. Although, war breaks your family, women still support war. Japanese women did not know enough about war, therefore, many women supported war charities and joined the Patriotic Women's organization.' He continued 'War is typically political' (Hayashi, Nishida, 1961:73). He added that the government prohibited women from anything to do with politics. Yet, the government permitted women to attend meetings to support the war. Women who were involved in war charity work usually tried to justify their activities by saying 'war has nothing to do with politics, it is above politics' (Hayashi, Nishida, 1961:74-75). He suggested that women should become more conscious about politics, because, everything in everyday life, such as the price rises, the price of salt, crimes, miscarriages, capital punishment, and international war, are political issues. Hence, he concluded that women should think about politics if they wanted to make a happy family (Hayashi, Nishida, 1961:76). The opposition to the war and the generation of political awareness were central aims of the socialists who appealed to women via arguments about the importance of family ties and love.

assume that some women came to develop socialist sentiments through the activities of organizations such as Heiminsha with its newspaper and lectures for women.

Yet only a few women were activists, and these were largely women whose 'reference group' (有意義な他者) involved husbands, lovers, or brothers who were socialists. For instance, we can refer to Koutoku Chieko (幸徳千代子), who was the wife of Kotoku Shusui (幸徳秋水), the main founder of Heiminsha. Fukuda Hideko (福田秀子), who had an intimate relationship with Sakai Toshihiko (堺利彦), also one of the founders of Heiminsha. Nobeoka Tameko (延岡為子), who was the sister of Nobeoka Tsunetarou (延岡常太郎), a follower of Sakai Toshihiko (she later married Sakai Toshihiko).[24] Sugaya Iwako (菅谷伊和子), who was sister of Kinoshita Naoe (木下尚江), another follower of Heiminsha.

Some of these activists were self-educated women, who had encountered new social thought in higher education, such as women's high schools and women's colleges. There were intellectuals, such as Kamikawa Matsuko （神川松子）, who had graduated from Hiroshima Jyogakuin (広島女学院) and Nihon Jyoshi Daigaku (Japan Women's College) (日本女子大学). According to Ohki (1982), Matsuko was a rare woman who had already developed a strong interest in the broader theme of social improvement, before they involved Heiminsha's activities. Even if women's education was still based on the conventional view of women's limited role as 'good wife, wise mother,' some of the women managed to break out of these restrictions and read more widely and encounter new ideas through academic life.

Yet the political climate and the government's policies were exceedingly harsh towards women's questions and socialism. Heiminsha suffered under the suppression of socialists and had editors, contributors and printers imprisonment along with the prohibition of sales and distribution. This resulted in severe financial problem and disputes amongst members. As a

[24] Nobeoka Tameko was attracted to socialism by the image of happy family life, Sakai Toshihiko had depicted. He wrote about a new family based on equal rights between the sexes in *Katei no Shin Fûmi* (New Family Taste) and *Katei Zasshi* (Family Magazine) (Ohki,1982:127).

consequence, Heiminsha broke up on 26th September 1905 (Hayashi and Nishida, 1961, 276-277).

A key event which halted the socialist movement in Japan was Taigaku Jiken (大逆事件), known as the Kotoku Incident, in 1910. The event was presented as an anarchist plots to assassinate the Meiji Emperor. The alleged conspiracy led to wholesale arrests of socialist activists in 1911. Kotoku Shusui (幸徳秋水) and 11 other alleged conspirators were executed in 1911, including one woman anarchist, Kanno Suga （菅野すが）. Consequently, the Japanese socialist movement began its 'winter years' (fuyu no jidai, 冬の時代).

The establishment of Sekirankai in 1921 led to a revitalization of the socialist movement. After the disbanding of the women's section of Yuaikai, a women's socialist group was founded Sekirankai in April 1921 with some 40 members, including Yamakawa Kikue, Ito Noe, Kutsumi Fusaki and Sakai Magara (Suzuki H, 1989b: 114). This group, the Sekirankai (赤瀾会) (Red Wave Society) was composed largely of female relatives of male socialist activists and left wingers.[25] The main aim was to organize the first May Day march in Japan. Kutsumi Fusako (九津見房子) provided the name, Sekirankai (Makise, 1975:37). Although, they became an associate of the Nihon Shakai Shugi Domei (日本社会主義同盟, Japan Socialist League),[26] they were an independent organization founded by female socialists.

3-2-2) Women activists in labour movements: Yuaikai and the labour movements

Yuaikai (友愛会, Fraternity Club), one of earliest Japanese labour group, was formed by Suzuki Bunji （鈴木文治） a Christian, in 1912. He was influenced by Yoshino Sakuzo (吉野作造) and the socialist Abe Isoo（阿部磯雄）, and went on to develop an interest in addressing social

[25] They were referred to as 'women samurai' by newspapers at that time, because they fought the police who tried to interruption workers' demonstration and marches (Suzuki, 1989:114).

[26] The Japan Socialist League was the first confederation of socialist, anarchist and labour groups, formed by Yamakawa Hitoshi, and Sakai Toshihiko and other leftists in December 1920.

problems from a Christian and humanist basis in Yuaikai (Suzuki H, 1989a:109). Yuaikai changed its name to Dai Nihon Rodo Sodomei Yuaikai (Great Japan Labour Alliance) in September 1919 with 50,000 members (Suzuki H, 1989b:451). Yuaikai advocated mutual aid through friendship and cooperation in order to promote workers' welfare and encouraged character improvement (cultivation of character, *shûyô*), the furthering of knowledge, the development of skills, and the improvement of the social status of workers.[27]

The women's section in Yuaikai was started June in 1916 and was in part linked to the poor conditions of factory girls which had become major social issue.[28] An investigation into factory girls in 1914 by Ishida Susumu (石田修), a doctor in the Ministry of Agriculture, showed that the severe working conditions, long hours and heavy labour coupled with a poor diet, led to many cases of tuberculosis, with conditions in the cotton spinning factories were particularly bad (Suzuki H, 1989b: 101). The women's section began publishing the magazine, *Yuai Fujin* from August 1916. Under the motto 'cooperation between employers and employees,' with the aim of encouraging friendship among members along with character improvement in line with the conventional 'good wife, wise mother' view of the role of Japanese women.

Although the women's section meetings were in part seen as free time relaxation for the factory girls, they also served an important function for the exchange of information and mutual self-education. These activities provided a platform for some members to start to show initiative as leaders, such as Yamauchi Mina （山内みな）, Nonaka Tsuchino （野中ツチノ）, Kikuchi Hatsu （菊地はつ）, and Ohmori Sen（大森せん）. Given the slogan 'cooperation between the employers and employees,' Yuaikai was supported by a number of employers, such as Tokyo Denki （東京電気, Tokyo Electricity） and Fuji Bouseki (富士紡績, Fuji Spinning Factory), Tokyo Mosurin （東京モスリン, Tokyo Mosurin Spinning Factory）.

[27] The organization started publishing the newspaper *Yuai Shimpo* in 1912.
[28] After two month of establishing the women's section in August 1916, the number of women's member was 788. By June 1918, this had risen to 2,735 (Suzuki, 1980:462).

As the women's sections, such as Fujibanki Houseki Oshiage Koujyo (富士瓦斯紡績押上工場, Fujibanki Spinning Industry Oshiage Factory), Mitado Gomu (三田土ゴム, Mitatsuchi Rubber Industry), Tokyo Mosurin (東京モスリン, Tokyo Mosurin Spinning Factory) became more active, the employees began to try to disrupt their activities, because they had shifted from just social meetings into serious labour meetings. The pressure and restriction on members from the employees become severe in 1918, with the section in Fujibanki Houseki Oshiage Koujyo (富士瓦斯紡績押上工場, Fujibanki Spinning Industry Oshiage Factory), Mitado Gomu (三田土ゴム, Mitado Rubber Industry), still remaining active. The factory girls started to develop consciousness of their situation and began to think of themselves as workers who had right to reform their working conditions.

At the same time, the general perception of factory girl changed. Generally speaking, the image of factory girls was of mindless, uninformed, and uneducated women. However, when Yamauchi Mina (山内みな) made a speech as a representative of the women's section of Yuaikai at the general meeting on 26th January 1919, all the business newspapers reported it (Yamauchi, 1975 : 48). Opinions within Yuaikai also shifted, with the house magazine, *Roudo to Sangyo* (労働と産業, Labour and Industry), strongly praising Yamauchi's speech (figure 10.12) in March 1919:

> The working woman has also found her time of awaking. Yamauchi is the flower of women's labour activists who is dedicated to making our lives better.
> (Suzuki H, 1980 : 472)

Yamauchi made a speech to the general meeting of the Azuma Branch on 15th June 1919, to encourage women member in Yuaikai to become conscious of their status as workers (Suzuki H, 1980:482; Yamauchi, 1975 : 48ff). 1919 was a peak time for the Yuaikai women's section. Yuaikai changed its name to Dai Nihon Rodo Sodomei Yuaikai （大日本総同盟友愛会, Yuaikai All Japan Labour Union) that year. Yamauchi Mina （山内みな）, Nimura Tsushino (野村ツチノ) and five other women, were chosen as representatives of Dai Nihon Rodo

Sodomen Yuaikai. Yamauchi Mina, in particular, became very actively involved in the labour movement after 1919.[29]

Yamauchi Mina joined Yuaikai with the aim as acting as in intermediary to improve the working condition for the factory girls. Her role in Yuaikai gave her numerous opportunities for public speaking, and although she was inexperienced and uneducated, she was a good public speaker who had a persuasive capacity. She always held that she just let the facts speak for themselves in her vivid descriptions of the harsh nature of factory work, the long hours, low wages, regimented spartan dormitory conditions, and poor diet which caused malnutrition among the girls (see table 10.1).[30]

<<Table 10.1>> Typical Work Schedule of Spinning Industry Workers (circa 1897)

Time	Duration in Minutes	Activities
Day shift		
6:10-6:15 a.m.	5	Enter factory
1:15-6:20	5	Oil machines and perform other preparatory works
6:20-7:45	85	Regular work
7:45-8:00	15	Breakfast
8:00-12:00 noon	240	Regular work
12:00-12:15 p.m.	15	Lunch
12:15-6:00	345	Regular work
6:00-6:05	5	Cleaning
6:05	-	Exit
Night shift		
5:55-6:00	5	Enter factory
6:00-6:05		Oil machines and perform other preparatory works
6:00-12:00 midnight	355	Regular work
12:00-12:15 a.m.	15	Supper
12:15-6:15	300	Regular work
6:15-6:20	5	Cleaning
6:20	-	Exit

(Source: Kazuko Kusano, 'Industrialization and the Status of Women in Japan' unpublished PhD. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1973:117 cited in Bingham and Gross, 1987:201)

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[29] Yamauchi Mina was born in Miyagi Prefecture in 1900. Soon after her graduation from elementary school, she was employed by the Tokyo Mosurin Azuma Kojyo (東京モスリン吾嬬工場, Tokyo Mosurin Azuma Spinning Factory). She was 12 years old. She experienced a strike at Tokyo Mosurin Azuma Factory in 1915 for the first time, when she was 14 years old. Through this experience, she developed an interest in the labour movement as well as Yuaikai.

[30] The actual conditions of factory girls were described by Hosoiwa Kizou (細井和善蔵) in his book *Jyokou Aishi* (女工哀史, *The Miserable History of Factory Girls*) published in 1925.

Although Yamauchi was dismissed in November 1919, her activities subsequently become more militant and aggressive. She became more involved as a labour activist and contributed not only to Yuaikai's magazine, *Labour and Industry,* but also to the women socialist magazine, *Sekai Fujin* (世界婦人, women's world) (Suzuki, H, 1980 : 483). *Sekai Fujin* (世界婦人) was edited by Fukuda Hideko (福田英子) who had been a close friend and follower of one of the leading socialist, Sakai Toshihiko (堺　利彦) (Ohki,1982: 126).

The state of the factory girls was a tragedy, which Yamauchi and others sought to build into a national scandal. Parents contracted their young daughters to employers to obtain money, and usually got the wages in advance. Many of the girls were farmers, or farm workers daughters, and with the decline of the rural economy the pressure was on their families to sell them to the expanding female labour market in cities such as Tokyo and Osaka. They were forced to work more than 12 hours or more a day and even compelled to work until midnight, or all night, on a shift system. After work the girls were taken to the dormitory which had high walls to stop them escaping. They were not allowed to go out of the dormitory without permission. Moreover, they always were in fear of sexual harassment. In effect the girls had been 'sold' for cheap wages and contracted into inhuman working conditions (Hosoiwa, 2001).

On 5th October 1919 the working women's conference (友愛会婦人部主催婦人労働者大会) was organized by the women's section of Yuaikai with 1,000, mostly factory girls, attending. Speeches were made by nine factory girls about working conditions, the abolition of night-shifts, reduce working time, and to criticize the wage discrimination between working men and women.[31] Ichikawa Fusae (市川房江),[32] one of the leading feminists of the day,

[31] The nine factory girls were: Tsukamoto Naka (塚本なか)、 Fujishima Tomie (藤島とみえ), Yamada Toyo(山田とよ), Ono Tsuru (小野つる), Kikuchi Hatsu (菊池はつ), Omori Sen (大森セン)、Sakakibara Taki (榊原たき), Yamauchi Mina (山内みな), Nomura Tsuchino (野村ツチノ). When the New Women's Association was established in 1920, Tsukamoto Naka became a councillor and Yamauchi Mina also became member (Suzuki, H, 1980:476-477).

[32] Ichikawa Fusae (市川房江) accepted an appointment as a member of a standing committee of Yuaikai Fujin

chaired the meeting. [33]

This was a time of increasing cooperation between socialists, feminists and intellectuals. Tanaka Takako (田中孝子),[34] a professor at the Japan Women's University, Hiratsuka Raicho (平塚らいてう), Kaneko Shigeri (金子しげり), and Ito Noe (伊藤野枝), all leading feminists, attended and listened to the speeches of the nine factory girls.

The labour dispute at Fuji Banki Oshiage Koujyo (富士瓦斯押上工場, Fuji Banki Oshiage Spinning Factory) occurred in 1920. However, the resistance of factory girls did not last long.[35] In spite of the encouragement and support of feminists, such as Hiratuka Raicho, Ichikawa Fusae, Yamakawa Kikue[36] and Oku Mumeo, the women workers were defeated by the employers. This proved to be a severe blow to the women's section of Yuaikai and subsequently they ceased to function. However, it was clear that more women labour activists were produced through these struggles. Women gained a good deal in terms of self-recognition and

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Rodo Domei (友愛会婦人労働同盟), when the 7th anniversary conference of Yuaikai was held 30th August - 1st September 1919. Ichikawa resigned on 14th November 1919, after the women's labour conference because of a disagreement with Yuaikai.

[33]At the time of the 7th anniversary conference in 1919, the women's section of Yuaikai proposed that they would become an independent section, Yuaikai Fujin Rodo Domei (友愛会婦人労働同盟, Friendship Women's Labour Union) in 1919. The proposal was, however, turned down by Yuaikai's board of directors.

[34] Tanaka Takako was the adviser to the first international labour conference government representative, Kamata Eikichi (鎌田栄吉) in 1919 (Suzuki H, 1980:472).

[35] After the establishment of Yuaikai, a strike occurred at Fuji Banki Oshiage Kojyo (Fuji Banki Oshiage Spinning Factory) with 400 employees over a wage claim of 18% which lasted from 29th July – 2nd August 1920. Chairman Suzuki tried to negotiate a compromise and as a result, the employees claim was revised to 10% and accepted (Suzuki, 1980:481). This 1920 strike was more important in terms of the employee's claim for the right to establish a labour union. The member of Yuaikai in Fuji Banki Oshiage Spinning Factory first planned to establish a spinning industry labour union in 1st July 1918. They expanded their networks, then, they made an announcement of a 'new' spinning industry labour union which included not only Fuji Banki Oshiage Spinning Factory, but also Tokyo Morusin Spinning Factory and others on 13th June 1920. The employers of Fuji Banki spinning industry reacted by dismissing the labour union leadership. About 2000 union members (1600 women, 400 men) went on strike from 14th - 26th July, over the question of union recognition, but were defeated. While this was an important defeat of union rights, the event was an important event in the development of Japanese labour unionism and the formation of consciousness among Japanese factory workers, and factory girls in particular.

[36]Yamakawa Kikue, a leading socialist who had been central in the short-lived but influential Seki Ran Kei movement, was invited to the 7th conference of Yuaikai in 1919 (Suzuki,1980:473). Although Yamakawa had similar progressive goals in regard to women's rights as Hiratsuka, she criticised the latter for her prejudices toward factory girls.

consciousness of their condition and confidence in their power to act on their own behalf. Hence, they can be seen as one of the types of independent women, a variant of the new women.

4. Feminists: middle class women's intellectual movements

In the end, the woman's section of Yuaikai was not able to survive as an independent organization from Yuaikai. However, factory girls who had been seen as ignorant, uneducated and uninformed, had started to articulate their problems and depict their miserable working and living conditions to a wider audience. They began to see themselves as workers who should have rights and started to demand better working conditions. They began to realise that they had the capacity to improve their lives. Their more active sense of their own lives and militancy and assertion of what they started to see as their just rights was a very important stage in the history of the women's labour movement in Japan.

It was also a crucial stage in the redefinition of women's roles in a more general way. Their militancy and assertiveness was certainly a departure from the official 'good wife, wise mother' ideal, and pointed to a new image of working women as more active, capable of speaking out in public; as able to plan, organize and act in decisive ways. Their capacity to articulate their grievances and learn how to put their case with sincerity, in a persuasive and direct manner, endeared them to some of the intellectual feminists, who had previously looked down on them (see Yamauchi, 1975:84-94). This process of 'self-humanization,' the discovery of their own human capacities, then not only gave the factory girls a more positive self-image and self-respect, it also humanized them in the eyes of their potential supporters in the middle classes, many of whom had previously shown little sympathy and in characteristic self-help ways blamed the victims as responsible for their own problems.

The term, the bourgeois women's movement is used by researchers of women's history, or the history of social movements, in order to make a distinction from the proletarian women's

movement, such as factory girls' labour activities. The women who are seen as bourgeois women's movement activists usually had higher educational qualifications or worked in intellectual occupations, such as Ichikawa Fusae who had experience as a journalist, Tanaka Yasuko who was a professor at the Japan Women's University（日本女子大学）, and Hiratsuka Raicho[37] who was well-known as the founder of the Seitosha（青鞜社）(Bluestocking Society) (1911) women's literary group mentioned earlier and chief editor of group's literary magazine *Seito* (Bluestocking) (figure 10.13).

Whereas, the proletarian women movement aimed at liberation from poverty and better working conditions often conceived in terms of class struggle, the bourgeois women's movement aimed at the improvement of women's social status and liberating from sexism, invariably through 'gradualism'. Just after the Women's Labour Conference (October 1918) organized by the women's section of Yuaikai, the New Women's Association was founded by one of the most influential bourgeois feminist, Hiratsuka Raicho in 1919 (figure 10.14). The association was the first voluntary citizen's organization developed by women (Suzuki H, 1989a: 71). The main purposes of the New Women's Association were: firstly, equal opportunities to participate in political activities; and, secondly, the potential annulment of marriage for a man who had venereal disease in order to protection mothers and children.[38]

In the charter of the New Women's Association the women's labour movement and factory girls are mentioned. The intention was to establish a school and publish newspapers in order to educate the factory girls. This was a consequence of Hiratsuka's shift in perception of the factory girls. When she inspected the factory in the Aichi prefecture guided by Ichikawa Fusae

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[37] Hiratsuka wrote an article, 'Japan is factory girls' country (「日本は女工国」) in the magazine, *Labour and Industry* (労働及産業, 1st October, 1919). She also attend the working women's conference（友愛会婦人部主催婦人労働者大会）with Itou Noe (1895–1923, feminist and anarchist) and Kaneko Shigeri (1899–1977, feminist and social reformer) on 5th October, 1919. One of the links between the factory girls and the middle class activists was made with some factory girls (Tukamoto Naka, become a councillor and Yamauchi Mina a member) of the New Women's Association (established 1920). Yamauchi mentions in her autobiography, that Hiratsuka had a negative perception of factory girls (Yamauchi, 1975:84-94).

[38] Article 5 of the 1900 Public Order and Police Act was revised in 1922. This was a major success for women to have the right to attend political activities in the inter-war years (Shimada, 1968:60).

in 1919 (The fifteen women in Meiji and Taisho, 1980:50), she went on to describe her impressions in the association's magazine, *Jyosei Domei* （女性同盟） in 1921 (*Jyosei Domei* Vol.5 February, 1921). She remarks that she was very surprised by the poor working conditions in the factory, at the same time she was astonished that the factory girls were so ignorant, uneducated, and lacked the consciousness to understand their own condition. She remarked 'The solution of the labour problems lies in the work of intellectual women. The factory girls did not have the capacity to solve the problem by themselves' (Suzuki H, 1989a ： 90).

As mentioned in the previous sub-section, the factory girls were women who gained consciousness and self-awareness through their struggles with the factory owners. Although the starting point of their activities was to improve their working conditions and free themselves from poverty and bondage, as they gained experience they learned to think for themselves and gained a strong desire to improve their lives. They were a new type of woman never previously seen in Japan. In terms of our definition of the new woman, the factory girls must rank as new women. Hence Hiratsuka and Yamauchi Mina can be seen to belong to the same category, both were new women.

However, Hiratsuka would not have liked the comparison and did not see factory girls in the same category as herself. In fact, Hiratsuka was a middle class, well-educated woman, who insisted on equal opportunity between sexes, but did not have a strong sense of the relevance of differences between social classes among women. Hiratsuka's perception of the factory girls was criticized as intellectual arrogance by socialists such as Ito Noe.

Hiratsuka, as mentioned previously had gained experience in setting up an organization when she founded Seitosha in 1911, when she was twenty-five years old. Seitosha had been conceived by Ikuta Choko （生田長江）, who was a literary and social critic and supporter of the women's movement. He proposed his plan for Seitosha, an association to publish a literary magazine for women only, to one of his students, Hiratsuka Raicho, who along with colleagues founded the group and its magazine, *Seito* （青踏）. Yet as we have seen with the efforts of

women socialists and the factory girls, there were great difficulties in women establishing and maintaining their own organizations. The new woman relied on men in this early stage. In this, Seitosha (青踏社) was no exception, being a women's organization established by male intellectuals who dreamed of greater social justice and a more equal relationship between the sexes.

Chapter 11: The Modern Girl

1. Imaginary modern women in fiction

> Modern girls...they are the offspring of modernity.
> (Kitazawa Shuichi, 1924)

This tendency for male cultural specialists (intellectuals and artists) and intermediaries (media professionals, advertising, fashion, design, commercial arts etc.) along with others committed to radical social experimentation (socialists, communists, and anarchists etc.) to take an interest in forming and educating a new type of woman, was central to the 'modern girls,' who emerged between 1923 and the early 1930s. This type of new woman was characterised by her visibility. Her resistance to the conventional women's ideology was largely in terms of her appearance and lifestyle pursuits, rather than political commitment.

As we argued in the previous chapter, the first woman in Japan to be called new women around 1911, had a particular articulation and understanding of their subordinate position in a patriarchal society and a determination to find ways to argue the case for greater independence and rights for women. These were the first real-life new women. On the other hand, those women who were first referred to as 'modern girls' around 1924, can be seen to have appeared first in the world of the imagination of intellectual men. In other words, the type of new women who have been called modern girls were in the first instance imaginary modern women, the creations of men who were familiar through travel, reading and watching movies with the new modern women in the West who emerged since the 1920s, such as the flapper (see discussion in chapter seven above). Hence in Japan, the imaginary modern women was first found in the pages of fiction and then rapidly transferred from cultural specialists such as artists and

intellectuals via cultural intermediaries such as journalists, advertisers, market and design experts to become popularised by the expanding mass media. The media adopted an ambivalent attitude. On the one hand it castigated the *modan* garu, on the other hand it was fascinated by the new *modan* style and soon offered advice for women to learn how to dress, how to make up, and how to behave in order to become modern girls.

Furthermore, the developing city culture, with its new sites such as cinema, dance halls, cafés and department stores, offered possibilities for modern women by providing various stages for them to perform on. After the major Kanto earthquake of 1923, the numbers of young working woman expanded rapidly in the metropolises such as Tokyo and Osaka. These young women grew up trying to perform like modern girls. In contrast to their mothers, they grew up in an increasingly mass mediated society, in which images and information about the new women and the range of lifestyles options available expanded. They were performative modern girls. Women who in varying degrees sought to live out versions of the new images and lifestyles, especially in their leisure time.

The term 'modern girl' (*modan garu*, モダン・ガール) was probable first used by Kitazawa Shuichi (北澤秀一) in a letter published by *Jyosei Kaizou* （女性改造, woman's reform) in 1923 (Taisho 12), entitled 'The modern girl and self-expression - a letter to my younger sister in Japan.' In this letter, he told his sister about the new women who had appeared in the West (England), who seemed to be free from all traditions and conventions, who had become consciousness of their capacity to live out their own lives. He suggested that the key word here was self-expression. Perhaps, the term, 'modern girls,' which Kitazawa used in this letter referred more literally to 'recent girls, girls of the present moment, or today's girls' – all these meanings being found in the term 'modern.'[1]

[1] The term modern and its derivatives modernity, modernism and modernization derive from the Latin, meaning 'just now,' 'of today', to the new moment as seen as a departure from tradition and previous times. (see Buci-Glucksman, 1994; Berman, 1982; Habermas, 1981,1985; Hanson, 1995; Miyoshi and Harootunian, 1989; Harootunian, 2000; see the latter especially for a discussion of the use of the term by intellectuals in Japan in the 1920s).

The images and connotations of modern girls change with the changes in social thought, which themselves are related to socio-economic conditions and cultural developments, that is, modernization in general. In the expanding metropolis of Tokyo in the 1920s after the earthquake, with the rebuilding of the city there was a sense that the pace of modern life had been heightened and the quality of the experience of change, the shocks of the new, reached a new peak of intensity. The modern girl was a clear departure from the type of new women who had appeared in the Meiji era, such as the 'new women' followers of Seitosha, who caught the public eye and were castigated by the press for being the first women who challenged and resisted the conventional women's ideology.

The modern girl who appeared in literature, novels and on the streets in the 1920s were different from the earlier new women such as those feminists who belonged to Seitosha, in that they usually did not come from the upper class or have affiliation to particular political groups, but were very much a mass product. Therefore, it can be argued that the emergence of modern girls was an urban mass cultural phenomenon. Yet before this took place, the modern girl phenomenon was born in the imagination of cultural specialists and intermediaries, intellectuals, such as novelists, writers, critics and journalists, people who had a professional interest in the new, and a heightened sensitivity to 'modernity'. The modern girls were in the first instance an idea type, a blueprint of the future new women designed by and for intellectuals.

According to Suzuki Sadayoshi (鈴木貞美), it can be argued that one of the intrinsic characteristics of the novelist, along with artists, journalists and critics, was the pursuit of new experiences, sensations and material to fuel their art (Suzuki S, 1992:152). In short, they should not be seen only as creating material which reflected or represented the existing culture of their age, but as hovering in the places where the new might emerge, to capture the stimulation of new styles, fashions and ideas which could be reworked, articulated and given expression within their particular art form.

In a public discussion to launch Ishihama Kinsaku's (石浜金作) novel, *Aru Ketsumatu* (A

Certain End) in April 1924, hosted by the magazine *Bungei Hyougikai* (art and literature association), we find an interesting perspective:

> It is not important to consider whether the new woman could exist or not. No advance is made when novelists base their work on reality. The novelist's role is to make non-existing things exist. (Ishihama, 1924 cited in Sakou, 1998:132)

There was an increasing reflexive self-consciousness about the literary form amongst writers in late Taisho and early Showa. They needed to express and demonstrate the extent to which they were new writers, and set out their credentials to express the new. One of the most revolutionary topics they could address in this context was women. Women were familiar, taken-for-granted and apparently 'known.' But then, the new woman, the modern woman, could be invented to turn this upside down. The modern woman, of course, inhabited the modern spaces of the rebuilt metropolis which was Tokyo, and breathed the atmosphere of the new urban popular culture. This combination of restyled, autonomous, untameable, sexy, new woman and the excitement of the modern city was a powerful topic.[2]

Kitazawa Shuichi (北澤秀一): a definition of the modern girl

As mentioned above, Kitazawa was the first to use the term, modern girl in 1923. He published the key essay, 'The emergence of the modern girl' （「モダン・ガールの出現」）, in *Jyosei* in August 1924 (Taisho 13). Kitazawa described the characteristics of modern girls in England,

[2] One group of writers who were interested in formulating this topic was the avant-garde artists and intellectuals groups, which formed the New Sense School and the New Art School. Senuma Shigeki （瀬沼茂樹） referred to the *Shin Kan Kaku Ha* (the New Sense School) as generating a form of modernism in literature, which sought to describe the relationships between men and women, set against the backcloth of popular culture and the new modern lifestyles (Shimada, 1982:57). The avant-garde writers who belonged to the New Art School (which came out of the New Sense School) produced a form of modernist literature which had a revolutionary impact in Japan (they were influenced by the Russian, German and French avant-garde movements in the wake of the First World War.) Ryutanji Yu (龍担寺雄) was a central figure in the New Art School, whose masterwork novel *Aparto no Onna to Watashi* (アパートの女と私, Apartment, Women and Me) (1928, Showa 3), published in the magazine*Kaizo* （改造） (reformation), was referred to by the influential literary critic Chiba Kameo (千葉亀雄) as the epitome of '*modernizumu.*' A number of the key New Sense School writers wrote in the magazine, *Modan Raifu* （近代生活） (modern life), which was established in 1929.

remarking that they were not new women who engaged with women's movements, such as feminists involved in women's rights and suffrage, who were part of the upper class intelligentsia and were influenced by others such as male thinkers for the source of their ideas. Modern girls in Japan did not have this form of socio-political consciousness and awareness (Kitazawa, 1924:227) and were indifferent to feminism and women's suffrage, or questions of conventional morality.

Kitazawa suggested that the modern girls' behaviour were based on their *shizen na yokyu* (self-confidence and sense of following their own independent 'natural' impulses) (Kitazawa, 1924:228-229). The new modern girl did not have a sexual relationship with a man unless they were in love with him. Traditionally, women in Japan, especially upper class women, made a match with a man through arranged marriage, therefore it was not necessary for a couple to love each other at the beginning of their marriage. Kitazawa referred to how the modern girl walked side by side with men and were not shy to express what they want, thought or felt in their own words. They were not a puppet or a doll, like Ibsen's Nora they were full human beings, fully fledged living women from the beginning of their lives (Kitazawa, 1924: 227,230).

Kitazawa made a clear contrast between new women and modern girls. The term new woman sounded old-fashion to contemporary women in 1920. He point out that the modern women were ordinary women. They were part of a global social phenomenon which was found in particular in the city of the developed countries. They came along with the 'modern-conveniences,' the applications of modern technology in transport, the city, the factory, the office, the home and leisure facilities which provided a greater sense of freedom and mobility (Kitazawa, 1924:236). Machines were seen as freeing women from domestic labour. Women could now work outside the home to make money and also have the opportunity to enjoy entertainment. Hence, the new machine culture was seen as making women financially and mentally independent. He concluded that the appearance of the modern girl was one of the marvels of the 20th century.

What is important to note here is that Kitazawa was not sure whether the modern girl he described had actually appeared in Japan. Although he found some Japanese women who looked like modern girls, he did not acknowledge that they were modern girls, because they were most likely to have come from uncultured social backgrounds. Therefore, he anticipated that modern girls who were more identical to western women would appear in Japan in the future. From his discussion, it is clear that some new types of women had already appeared in cities such as Tokyo. However, they did not have the characteristics Kitazawa held to have occurred in the West (especially commitment to women's rights), so it did not make sense to call them modern girls (Kitazawa, 1924: 229). Therefore, it can be said that around the time of the Kanto earthquake in 1923, according to his definition, few modern girls existed in Japan and the term modern girl (*modan garu*) had not yet become popular with the public.

The person responsible for making the term, modern girl, well known was Nii Itaru (新居　格), who wrote influential articles in *Fujin Koron* （婦人公論）(women's forum) and *Taiyo* （太陽）(sun) in 1926, arguing against Kitawaza's depiction from a socio-psychological theoretical perspective. He sought to answer the question, whether modern girl had actually appeared or not in mid-1920s Japan.[3]

Nii did not coin the term, *modan garu* (modern girl), but he defined the meaning and fleshed out the image of the term. When he participated in a discussion on the topic held in 1926 (Taisho 15), he argued that modern girls should be considered as 'modern' Don Quixotes (Nii, 1926 cited in *Gendai no Esupuri*, 1983:88). By this he meant that modern girls were intelligent and witty enough to practice what they want without ulterior motives, or any specific political reasons. Their lifestyle lives up to their desires. Nii identified two types of new women. Firstly, were women, who had been engaged in feminist movements, such members of Seitosha: these were called '*soshiaru garu*' (social girls). Secondly, in contrast, we have '*modan garu*' (modern girls). Both were intelligent and witty and behaved positively to realise their desires. However,

[3] Kimura Takeshi （木村毅） mentioned that Nii had a major influence on the construction of the image of the modern girl in Japan through his novels and articles in *Kaihou* （解放） (www.nmt.ne.jp, 1998).

the social girls' practices were based on their beliefs such as communism or socialism, whereas the modern girls' practices were based on the freedom of individual.

According to Nii, the social girls' ideas and practices were associated with communism, while the modern girls' were based on anarchism (Nii, 1926 cited in *Gendai no Esupuri*, 1983:89). Nii was well known as a critic who always defended the modernist standpoint. He was also known as an anarchist. It is clear that his perception of modern girls were strongly associated with his political standpoint as an anarchist. For Nii's the ideal woman was the modern girl, women who would be free from social restrictions and able to fulfil themselves in an ideal world.

Both Kitazawa and Nii held the common position that modern girls were liberated from conventional women's ideology and had strong principles of self-respect and individualism. Another person who actively circulated the term, modern girl in the 1920s, was the journalist Kiyosawa Kiyoshi （清澤　洌） (Hisayone, 1928 cited in www.nmt.ne.jp/junichi/niia.html, writer, Nii Itaru; Ueda, 1983：112）. Kiyosawa argued that the appearance of new women was a clear indication of a changing society. The women who projected the changing society should be called '*jidai no sentan*' (時代の尖端) (newest, most novel, and most modern of the time). These were the modern girls.

He demonstrated that many modern women in England and America had come from the intelligentsia. These he saw as the ideal. Therefore, he held that modern women should be educated, concerned with advancing their social position and seeking out individual freedom and expression without being held back by tradition. Here Kiyosawa has much in common with Kitazawa and Nii.[4] For Kiyosawa, women's rebellion against men was not just to be seen as sexual immorality, but also, more importantly entailed their refusal of pregnancy (Kiyosawa, 1926:207). Hence he saw birth-control as the major form of women's material rebellion against male dominated intellectual civilization (Kiyosawa, 1926:208).

[4] The differences between Kitazawa's and Kiyosawa's depiction of modern girls is clear. Kitazawa argued that modern girls were *a*-moral, because they did not care about conventional morality, whereas Kiyosawa pointed out that modern girls were *im*-moral, because their revolt was against man.

In addition, he sought to justify women's potential equality with men. According to Kiyosawa, if women cannot do the same thing as men can do, this might be seen as evidence that women were physiologically inferior to men. But before we take this line, we need to first see what women can do. He concluded that today's women's movement is at this stage. In his view, women's liberation could only be made possible with women's economic independent (Kiyosawa, 1926:46). Therefore, the key problem to be solved was to make men and women have equal working conditions, and expand the number of working places for women and increase their low wages.

Finally, Kiyosawa discussed the development process of the modern girls in Japan in relation to the women's movements and women who were called new women. His final chapter was entitled 'The Three Stages Process of the Women's Movement in Japan' (Kiyosawa, 1926:215). He saw the first stage as having begun in 1911 with the women in Seitosha, who speculated about the new women and her prospects, often in an idealistic and romantic manner, without any reference to the economy.[5] These women were a small proportion of the educated middle class.

In the second stage, we find female socialists, who followed their male companions. The majority of ordinary women were of course, non-socialist or indifferent to social issues. Hence, these antecedents of the new woman were not to be found in large numbers.

In the third and final stage, we find the modern girls appear in the city. They had neither leaders nor organizers, nor were they attached to any specific social thought or new ideology. Kiyosawa argued that the modern girls in the city were brought about via shifts in the economy and new pattern of living. For him, the emergence of modern girls in the city amounted to a '*Kokumin*

[5] But perhaps Kiyosawa misses Hiratsuka's arguments about the economy – which are largely concretised in terms of women's education. In Hiratsuka's article 'For woman in the world,' she stated that women's education need to be both cultural and vocational education. To be independent from men's economic support, women need to get a job. But as women did not have the means to make money, they therefore had to become subordinate and 'prostitute' themselves to their husbands (Hiratsuka, 1913).

Jyosei Undo' (national women's movement) (Kiyosawa, 1926:21). Yet he also pointed out that modern girls were not part of any specific women's association or group, but in reality a 'mass movement'. Hence Kiyosawa considered that the modern girls were born out of the change in the economy and resultant new lifestyles.

Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke (平林初之助) developed his insights into the emergence of modern girls from the perspective of modernism. His arguments about the emergence of the modern girl was more sociological and socio-psychological than Kiyosawa's. Hirabayashi and other intellectuals in 1920s Japan developed their understanding of modernism from a broad perspective in which their literary and artistic perceptions themselves fed off the new urban culture, the dizzying pace of modern life, the city centre crowds, the traffic, the new modern personae, which provided material for both new content and forms. In this context, the emergence of the modern girl was seen as heralding the start of a new age, the modern age.

In his article 'Woman in the age of the breakdown of authority - social explanations for the emergence of modern girls' (Hirabayashi, 1928; Hirabayashi Commentary Collection No. 2, 1975:389), he argued that there had been three erosions of authority. First of all, there was the fall of parental authority, with their decline in economic power. Parents could no longer afford to support their children properly in times of recession and had to encourage them to start to work and make a life of their own. Hence, young people could become free from parental surveillance. Secondly, with the development of the mass media, such as newspapers, magazines and cinema, young people could get information from a variety of sources, including foreign countries, and did not need to rely on parental wisdom any longer (Hirabayashi, 1928; Hirabayashi Commentary Collection No. 2, 1975:385).

Thirdly, the development of the transport system, the increasing export-import of commodities, the import of foreign books and magazines along with cinemas, music and art along with foreign food through the boom in western-style cafés and restaurants, and the number of foreigners in the city, led to an increasing internationalization (Hirabayashi, 1928; Hirabayashi Commentary

Collection No. 2, 1975:387). He argued that the cult of the West, associated with the internationalization of everyday life, led to a shift in the standard of aesthetics of everyday life. We can find evidence for this in the boom for western clothes and new hair-styles among women, and western foods in the home (Hirabayashi, 1928; Hirabayashi Commentary Collection No. 2, 1975:388). He concluded that the emergence of the modern girl was not just an example of a new 'fashion' among young women, rather it could be seen as an engine to change social mores, popular culture, and tastes (Hirabayashi, 1928; Hirabayashi Commentary Collection No. 2, 1975:389).[6]

The interesting point of his argument was that he regarded women as having the potential to change society and to generate a new culture. Women were central to the analysis of modernity. Both Kiyosawa and Hirabayashi saw modern girls as reflections of the far-reaching social changes accompanying rapid modernization. But Hirabayashi went further and argued that modern girls should be seen as not merely passive projections of social change, but also as active 'creators' of new culture and new lifestyles (Hirabayashi, 1928; Hirabayashi Commentary Collection No. 2, 1975). Hence, while it can be argued that modern girls were imaginary women invented by intellectuals, at the same time, some of these intellectuals considered the modern girl to be the ideal future woman. In effect reality had caught up and surpassed their imaginary creations. By 1926, people were beginning to find women who 'looked like' modern girls on the city streets. What is more these women did not quite behave in the ways their creators, who had breathed life into them, would have approved.

The new economic and technological conditions led to the informationization and rationalization of everyday life, which generated new freedoms for both young people and women. As Hirabayashi indicated above, the decline in the economic power of parents, the development of mass media and the westernization/Americanization of everyday life provided new jobs for women, such as film stars, telephone operators, bus conductresses, cinema

[6] Although Hirabayashi was a Marxist, he did not seek to deny modernism like many Marxists. Hence, he took a positive stance and was able to think about the modern girl as a symptom of 'the new', the harbinger of a new modern life. At the same time, he held that the modern girl can create a new modern world.

usherettes, typists, and shop girls.

At the same time, the growth of city culture expanded the number of consumer sites, which tended to depend upon machines, such as the dance hall with its phonograph, the cinema theatre with its movie projector called 'machinery art, (*kikai geijyutsu*, 機械芸術) the department store with its escalators and elevators and the café with its colourful electric lighting. In short, the growth in the numbers of working women who wanted to be modern girls, the development of mass media, which provided the equivalent of the guidebooks and manners books on how to be a modern girl, the expansion of transportation, which make possible easier access to the city and the rise in numbers of sites of consumption in the city, all helped to provide conditions in which the modern girl could flourish.

Generally speaking, there are two major perceptions of the modern girl amongst intellectuals. One sees them as a positive symbol of modern life, while the other more negative perception is associated with Marxism and sees the modern girl as a symptom of the immanent collapse of capitalism. Hence, interpretations of the emergence of the modern girl tend to emphasise the adjective 'modern,' and take their position in terms of how they interpreted modernization. As Marxists, Kitazawa and Hirabayashi were rare in having a positive perception of the modern girl. Generally, Japanese Marxists in the 1920s saw the modernization process as corrupted by capitalism.

The Marxist critic, Ohya Soichi (大宅壮一), for example, depicted modern life as a decadent consumer culture and mindless hedonism (Ohya, 1981, 1929a) . He argued that the modern girl who wore a short skirt and twirled a parasol was just concerned with 'feeling good,' and the pursuit of the transient happiness of leisure and consumption, she had no sense of morality. The negative perception of the modern girl became stronger with the use of the term, '*moga*,' which was inevitably used in a deprecatory and pejorative manner.

2. The performative modern girl and women's sexuality

The negative perception of modern life as well as modern girl became stronger after the major Kanto earthquake of 1923,[7] with the reconstruction of Tokyo, seen by the government as an opportunity to present Japan as one of the most advanced countries in the world. The revival of Tokyo not only brought about a new cityscape, with a reconstituted Ginza and impressive business buildings such as Marunouchi business area, it also involved the reconstruction of people's lifestyles.[8]

The experience of the earthquake, led to ambivalent attitudes. On the one hand it led to demands for greater planning and modernization of life; one consequence was an intensification of the government's campaigns for the rationalization and scientization of everyday life, including the thrift campaigns. On the other hand, the greater sense of fluidity of lifestyles and the changing urban fabric, coupled with the sense of living in the shadow of death, helped to prompt consumption and leisure. A new urban culture emerged in the wake of the city redevelopment along with the new infrastructure centred around transportation, magazines, radio, entertainments places, such as cinemas, cafés, dance halls and department stores.

As mentioned earlier in chapter 5 above, women's employment expanded strongly in the 1920s. According to the Research on Working Woman Survey conducted by the Tokyo City (Social Affairs Bureau) in 1924, there were 3.5 million working women (Nagy, 1991:202). In the 1920s it has been suggested that women made up 35% of employment in all industries and well over 50% of factory workers (Harootunian, 2001:12). Yet many of the most noticeable new

[7] Tanizaki Junichiro （谷崎潤一郎） rejoiced when Tokyo was ruined as his imagination was stimulated by the destruction and possibilities of rebuilding. Although he worried about his relative's safety in Tokyo (Minami, 1965:354; see also discussion in Seidensticker (1990).

[8] When Tokyo was paralysed with the rebuilding, Osaka enjoyed a temporary phase as the centre of the economy and culture, and in turn some of the cultural innovations – such as café life were fed back to Tokyo a few years later. (see Silverberg, 1998; Tipton, 2000). See also discussion below in this chapter.

occupations were in the city: office workers, such as typists, telephone operators, and bank clerks; along with the new service and consumption occupations in department stores, dance halls, cinemas and cafés. Although the majority of the female labour force was still engaged in industrial and agricultural sector occupations, it was the service sector women who were most visible, given their strategic position in the city centres dealing with customers. Hence, the number of working women, who looked like modern girls, expanded in the city (figure 11.1). Given their smart modern appearance, these new working women were also more likely to be visible to men and seen as exotic and as sex objects. For example, the Marunouchi Building completed in February 1923, had over 300 companies and 700 working women amongst its 4700 workers (Saito M, 2000:49), referred to as '*maru biru garu*' （丸ビル・ガール） (Marunouchi Building girls) (Sato. B, 1987: 207).[9]

This visibility led to strong assumptions about the effects of the number of modern girls and working women in Tokyo. It was easy to see this as an indicator of more fundamental shifts. As Harootunian reminds us, Hirabayashi referred to a greater 'feminization of culture.' This meant that:

> If Kagawa and Ando's figures are correct, tens of thousands of young women streamed in to the 'pleasure zones' to staff their large entertainment quarters, cafés, coffee shops, bars, dance halls, and theaters, and to service the sex trade. The Marxist critic Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke was close to the truth when in the mid 1920s, he pointed to the progressive 'feminization of culture.' (Harootunian, 2000:11)

Women working in occupations which involved what we now call 'emotional labour,' (Hochschild, 1987; Smith, 1999; Bendelow and Williams, 1998; Williams, S., 2001) and

[9] When new types of women, such as girl students or working women, were introduced they were invariably criticised and perceived negatively, when they first became visible to the public. Ohya reported on '*maru biru garu*' (working women in the Marunouchi Building) in a discussion on working girls (entitled 'review of working girls') in *Kindaiseikatu* in 1929. His friend who had a company office in the Marunouchi Building employed a typist. She was a very promiscuous woman and had sexual relationships with almost all her male colleagues (Ohya, 1929b: 95). Yosano Akiko (1909) discusses the negative perception of girls student in an article entitled 'Degenerate Students' in *Tokyo Nichinichi* Newspaper, 25th June 1902, which reported that nurses, telephone operators, factory girls were treated in the same manner as 'degenerate' students. They, as to be expected, rebelled against this label (Kawashima, 1996:116).

providing a range of para-sexual services, or indeed working directly in the sex trade, was not, of course, new. Indeed, in the history of Japan the role of the 'floating world' and pleasure quarters such as Yoshiwara in Edo, is well documented (Seigle, 1993; Michener, 1983; Longhurst and Longhurst, 1988). But in Tokyo with the destruction of Yoshiwara in the 1923 earthquake, [10] the strict 'pleasure zones' began to give way to more diffuse *sakariba* 'entertainment areas' (Yoshimi, 1987) and many occupations became sexualized, such as the café waitress, which will be discussed below in this chapter (see also Silverberg, 1998; Tipton 2000).

What was new in the 1920s was that a large number of ordinary working women became criticised for their alleged 'immorality.' Indeed the modern girl was in part defined as 'promiscuous.' The important point here is that the leading 'new women', such as Hiratsuka, Yosano and Yamakawa, who had themselves been criticized for their liberal attitudes, were now critical of the modern girl's sexuality.

2-1) The sexuality of the 'new women'

The debates about the sexuality of the new woman can be traced back to the early 20th century 'virginity controversy' of 1912, whose main participants were Ikuta Hanayo (生田花世), Yasuda Satsuki (安田皐月), Hiratsuka Raichou (平塚らいてう), Ito Noe (伊藤野枝), and Yosano Akiko (与謝野晶子). Hiratsuka, Ito and Yosano insisted on the importance of virginity for women. Not because of any notion of preservation of purity for men or family honour, but rather because they wanted women's sexuality to be controlled by women to enhance their self-respect, something which they themselves could choose to relinquish to the man they decided to marry as an expression of their pure love (Muta, 1992:226). At the same time in their own lives, they argued that relationships should be entered into on the basis of true love and that the formal tie of marriage was of secondary importance.

[10] In Japan, the licensed prostitution system survived until 1956.

Hiratsuka Raicho started to live with Okumura Hiroshi without marrying in 1914 (referred to as 'partnership life') （The programme of documentary film of Hiratsuka Raicho, 2002:13）. She suggested that it was natural for lovers, who were sincere and serious to live together (Hiratsuka, 1914, cited in Kobayashi et al, 1987:56).[11] Another prominent new woman activist, Yosano Akiko start to live with a poet, Yosano Tekkan (与謝野鉄幹), who already had a family in June 1901. After their marriage later the same year, she went on to have eleven children, yet continued her activism and work as a poet (*A History Reader*, special issue, Fifteen Women in Meiji and Taisho, 1980:110). Both their philosophy of women and views on sexuality was based on the supremacy of love principle, a romanticization of the pure love ideal. Additionally, they emphasised an active positive love, the act of loving someone, the need to love rather than be loved. Sexual relationships were to be seen always as a derivative of pure love.

The position of Hiratsuka Raicho, Yosano Akiko, Yamakawa Kikue (山川菊枝), and Yamada Waka （山田わか） towards sexuality can also be seen in their contribution to the 'Motherhood Protection Controversy' (母性保護論争), 1918-1919.[12] Hiratsuka Raicho strongly insisted that fertility and motherhood were crucial for woman to develop as human beings.[13] On the other hand Yosano Akiko insisted that economic independence was more important than motherhood for women, and hence gave strong support to the working women's movement and Yamakawa suggested the changing the economic system via socialism was

[11] Before she met Hiroshi, she had a female lover, Kokichi (紅吉) who were one of the members of Seitosha. Homosexual relations between women (generally without physical sexual relations) were relatively popular, especially amongst school girls, because sexual relations between the sexes was a strong taboo. Under such conditions, the Takarazuka Review became very popular (Horiba, 1988:107). One dramatic case was the double suicide of two 20 years-old girls. According to *Tokyo Nichinichi* Newspaper, both girls had graduated from same middle class girls' school. Since they were students, they got on very well. After graduation, they still saw each other almost everyday. After one girl's parents intervened and warned them to reduce their meetings, the girl ran away and then both committed suicide (*Tokyo Nichinichi* Newspaper, 31st July, 1911, cited in Nakayama et al, 1998:117). To avoid the harsh control of insensitive men and in order to find true love and understanding, women (especially feminists) often chose homosexual relationships.

[12] See Kanai Nobuko (1984) on the Motherhood Protection Controversy.

[13] It is interesting to note that Hiratuka Raicho translated and published the book by the Swedish feminist reformer Ellen Key, *Love and Marriage* （「恋愛と結婚」） in the magazine *Seito* in 1913, which emphasised the rights of motherhood and the importance of state support for mothers (Programme Brochure for the Film on Hiratsuka's Life, 2002:13; see also the discussion of Ellen Key in chapter 9 above).

necessary in order to be make women independent. Yet all of them had in a common the insistence that sexuality must follow from love and all condemned 'loose' and immoral behaviour and hence were very critical of the 'modern girl.'

A further important event in the public controversies over women's sexuality occurred in 1922 with Margaret Sanger's visit to Japan (see discussion in chapter 9, section 2-1-2). Her aim was to spread 'the idea of birth control', which was considered as highly controversial and anti-social and thought of in the same way as socialism, in its advocacy of the pursuit of bodily pleasures. Therefore the Home Office prohibited the use of the term, 'birth control' in her lecture (Suzuki S, 1992:167; The chronological table of family history in Meiji and Taisho, 2000:458).

Sasazuka Koroku （笹塚甲六）, writing in the first issue of women's magazine *Jyosei* （女性）, criticised the Home Office attitude towards the visit of Sanger. He argued that knowledge about birth control should be open to the public. This was particularly important for women in the lower classes, who did not have reliable information about birth control, rather than those in the better-educated upper class (Sasazuka, 1922 cited in *Jyosei*). This was the first time scientific information on birth control was presented to Japanese women and clearly had implications for their stance towards sexual activity.[14]

2-2)'Free love' and 'red love': The socialist view of love

The Japanese term *Jiyu Renai* (自由恋愛), literally means 'free love' - but it must be distinguished from later uses in the English language which suggest free sex (e.g. the 1960s counter culture). In Japan free love was contrasted to the predominant system of arranged marriage (*miyai kekkon*), and meant that women and men were free to choose their partner. It meant that marriage could be based on love. 'Free love' became distinguished from 'red love,'

[14] The first condom made in Japan was in 1909, but only for the armed forces. Ogino Kyusaku (荻野久作) discovered the changing cycle of progesterone and the womb's mucous membrane in 1924. This generated Ogino style contraception (The chronological table of family history, 2000:476).

with the latter term coming into Japan via the controversial book by the Russian woman novelist Kollontai, entitled in Japanese *Akai Koi* (Red Love), which caused a major sensation.

Red love meant sexual freedom for everyone (married and unmarried alike), and even more controversially, the opportunity for women to initiate sexual encounters. Free love was the radical concept discussed in the first two decades of the 20th, century, and red love became the key controversy in the mid 1920s. For members of socialist groups there was little difficulty in supporting 'free love,' as it fitted in with their ideals. But red love was much more controversial, as it involved a radical redefinition of women's sexuality. The sexual freedom advocated in 'red love' (and we should be aware that the term enjoyed wide usage on the part of those who had never seen the book), became associated with the modern girl. In fact many of the modern girls, as mentioned above, had little ideological commitment. In effect their sexuality was often more of a veneer, a surface image, a sexualised look and demeanour. It would seem that many of the modern girls may well have been as conservative in sexual matters as their contemporaries, as they still aimed for marriage (albeit on the basis of free love).

A definition of 'free love' was provided by the socialist, Ishikawa Sanshiro (石川三四郎) in 1904 which is cited in the editorial of *Heimin* newapaper (平民新聞). Ishikawa quoted the definition of the Englishman Robert Brachtford (ロバート・ブラッチフォード), that free love meant that 'couple who clearly love each other should be free to live together.' Moreover, Ishikawa argued that love and sexual intercourse should be considered separate. Whereas, sexual intercourse is not always accompanied by love, he stressed that love is still possible without sexual intercourse. Love is also acceptable without the need to marry. Hence, it can be said that he was a person who advocated love for love's sake（Ishikawa, S, 1904 cited in Hayashi et al, 1961:37）.

Yamakawa Hitoshi (山川均), another socialist and regular commentator for the *Heimin* newspaper, commented on the degeneration and decadence of the relation between the sexes in

1916. Arguing from the perspective of 'love for love's sake,' he insisted that it was necessary to avoid a formal marriage and the aims of obtaining money and social power in order to achieve a marriage with real love. But for this to happen, it was first necessary to revolutionise capitalist society in order to achieve socialism (Yamakawa, 1907 cited in Hayashi et al, 1961:133).

Yamakawa Kikue (山川菊枝), who as we have discussed above was one of the leading socialist women activists who married Yamakawa Hitoshi in 1916, became an influential commentator in magazines after the First World War (Kanai, 1984:302). Especially important was her role in the establishment of Youkakai (八日会) in 1922, which was a women's socialist studying group, the successor to Sekirankai (Suzuki, 1989b:115 and see Chapter 10, Section 2 above). One of her important public interventions was to severely criticise Kollontai's *Red Love* in 1927.

***Akai Koi* (Red Love) by Alexandra Kollontai (1872-1952)**

In the lyrics of popular song 'Tokyo March' (東京行進曲)[15] (1929) there is a phrase which captured the nature of young people at the time:

> Long hair and Marx boy,
> He has the book *Red Love* as usual.[16]

The 'red love' referred to Kollontai's novel, *Red Love*.[17] Just before the hit song and movie *Tokyo March*, the book, *Red Love* had been published in 1927, and became an instant bestseller,

[15] The song was well-known in 1929 as the biggest hit of the early Showa era. It had been written for the film *Tokyo Koushinkyoku* (Tokyo March 東京行進曲), which was originally a serialised novel by Kikuchi Kan (菊地寛) in the popular magazine *King* ('キング') (Ichikawa, 1987: 470).

[16] Initially the song had the above lyrics, but they were altered as follows: 'Shall we go to cinema, or have a cup of tea? Shall we escape somewhere via the Odakyu train?' Odakyu was a famous railway line connecting Tokyo with the new suburbs. Many new middle class salarymen and their families, settled down in this type of new residential area in the 1920s. The song had started to sell, just after the second arrest of leading members of the communist party (16th April, 1929), consequently, the art and literature director of the Victor Record Company changed part of the lyrics of to avoid giving a bad impression to the police (Ichikawa, 1987:473).

[17] *Red Love* is the translation of the Japanese title. In English the title is a more literal translation of the Russian: *Love of Worker Bees* (Kollontai, 1999). The book was first published in Russian in 1923. 'Kollontaism' was discussed by Oze Keishi (尾瀬敬止) in December 1923 in relation to the theory of family liberation, which had a similar position to Kollontai with regard to the family and women's position in society (Oze, 1923: 28-38).

being reprinted in 78 editions by 1930 (Yamashita, 1990:107). The translator, Hayashi Fusao （林房雄）, who was a proletarian novelist, stated that the new women were working woman who had become economically independent, and did not stick to the marriage system. He was of the opinion that the conventional virtues of women, (passivity, lack of individuality, docility and grace) could be harmful to live in the new age. To be a new women and survive in the new era, he added, women should be active, self-assertive, determined and bold (Hayashi, 1928 cited in Yamashita, 1990:108).

Red Love became popular all over the world as a novel which showed the new socialist Soviet Union's experiments with the family, women and marriage. Indeed it was denounced as pornography and a sensation in many countries. The second story in the book, 'Three Generations' tells the way of life of Zhenya （ゲニア, *Genia* in Japanese Romanji）, who practices 'free love.' She had sexual relation with her mother's lover and become pregnant, although she does not love him. For her, having sex did not need to involve the emotions or love. Moreover, she had no hesitation in having an abortion in order to keep her position as an independent working woman.

Japanese women's movement activists were critical of *Red Love*. For instance, Hiratsuka, who was referred to as a 'new woman' in the 1910s, criticised Zhenya's practice of free sex without love. This was because for her, motherhood was always central to her commitment to women's rights, therefore, she could not understand why Zhenya, felt remaining a working was a higher priority than having a child (Yamashita, 1990:114). The Marxist feminist, Yamakawa Kikue （山川菊枝） also criticised *Red Love*, while some male Marxists, such as the book's translator, Hayashi Fusao, as mentioned earlier, had affirmed.

The book was popular with the younger generation who were attracted to socialism and Marxism at this time. It was fashionable to be a *marukusu boui* (マルクス・ボーイ, Marx boy) and *engerusu garu* (エンゲルス・ガール, Engels girl) around 1927. These were young people who were either committed to Marxism, or pretended to be Marxists. Yamakawa Kikue

(山川菊枝) criticized them in her essay on 'Kollontai's Failings' (1929) (Yamashita, 1990:114). According to Yamashita, Zhenya tried to present women's new sexual attitudes as a progressive act for new women, which was mistaken in its attempt to separate sex from love. Yamashita continued to assert that the contemporary 'Marx boy' and 'Engels girl' were wrong, because they exaggerated and misinterpreted the love theory of Kollontai.

A stronger argument against Kollontai came from the women anarchist Takamure Itsue (高群逸枝),[18] who cited the remarks of Ito Hirobumi (伊藤博文), the Japanese prime minister, who mentioned that he would have sexual relations with any women he wanted without love. Takamura devastatingly argued that Zhenya's sexual behaviour was the same as a bourgeois politician – and this was not really new (Takamure, 1928 cited in Yamashita, 1990:117). Certainly, Zhenya's attitude to sex was not different from conventional men's sexuality. In this Zhenya had changed not only her mentality, but also the way of understanding a women's body. Zhenya's idea of women's sexuality implied that she did not consider the womb an important organ of a women's body and like many men she held that pregnancy could be solved by abortion.

If we turn to the influence of the book not just on intellectuals but on popular culture and the everyday practices of young people, then we need to examine more carefully the sexual activities of the Engels girls,[19] who were one variation of modern girls. At the same time, it is doubtful whether modern girls actually practiced sex like Zhenya.[20]

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[18] Hiratsuka Raicho (1927) was critical of the modern girl in her article 'What the modern girl ought to be' (*kaku arubeki modan garu),* in which she sarcastically condemned the fashionable modern women who strolled the Ginza. In contrast, she held that what she called the 'real modern girl' would emerge from working women who were 'social women.' She held that the model for this new modern woman was Takamure Itsue (see discussion below in this section).

[19] We know little about Engels girls. Clearly the term derives from Marx boy, and refers to their equivalent companion as Engels was to Marx. The terms were always mentioned in tandem at this time by young intellectuals. This image easily could be switched with the image of moga and mobo.

[20] Zhenya was the type of women who defined as 100 percent *moga* (modern girl), according to Ohya's article (Ohya, 1929c:245-248; Suzuki S, 1992 :170). According to Ohya Soichi, the significance point about the emergence of modern girls was that they destroyed conventional women's morality, and with it men and women's relationships and lifestyles. (Yet, the second generation of modern girls, such as their daughters, did not know conventional morals, customs, and ideas of women's virtue, because when they were born into families without

Although, it is difficult to understand how Marx boys saw women's sexuality, we can get a sense of some of the dimensions of their ideas through articles in popular men's magazines.[21] If the Marx boy could be seen as a variation of the 'modern boy,' then it is clear that their ideas on sexuality, did not always involve a commitment to communism or Marxism. Kataoka Teppei (片岡鉄平) defined the modern boy in his essay 'A study of the modern boy' (1927), as not necessarily a Marxist or 'would be Marxist'.

'Chic boys' were different according to Hanayanagi Ryunosuke （花柳初之助）, who proposed 13 necessary lifestyle conditions to become a chic boy.[22] One of them was the recommendation to read the *Introduction to Marxism*. However, he proposed that you can even read it if you don't understand it, all you need is to get little of it and be able to memorize some German terms such as *ideologie* or *aufheben* (Hanayanagi, 1926:313). Hence it can be said that to pretend to be a Marxist was a chic style or fashion. To be able to remember more than one hundred movie star names or Marxist terms amounted to the same thing.

The magazine that this advice appeared in, *Shin Seinen* (新青年) (new young man), was a monthly magazine of popular fiction, entertainment and information on modern life, published by Hakubunkan (博文館) from 1920 to 1948 (figure 11.2). In its early years, *Shin Seinen* introduced the Western detective story to its readers and it featured the leading Japanese

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conventional rules). Hence, the second generation or third generation of modern girls, like Zenya did not know what the conventional family was like. They didn't have any idea of 'family' (Ohya, 1929c:245-248). Therefore, they did not need to actively reform their habitus. From the beginning, they lived a new style of life, and new value of life. The discussion about Kollontai's *Red Love* focused on the family liberation theory. In line with this, second or third generation modern girls did not observe any conventional rules, family ties or emotional solidarity. They were extremely individualised and independent in economic, mental and physical terms. To be liberated from the conventional family led to sexual freedom.

[21] The women's magazine *Jyosei* published a feature 'Are modern boys enemies or allies of women?' in November 1926. From this time on the term, 'modern boys' became established in the popular media.

[22] An article on 'chic boys' and 'chic girls', who were the fashion leaders around 1929 and 1930, appeared in the men's magazine, *Shin Seinen* （新青年）, which remarked that they had many similarities with modern boys.

detective writer, Edogawa Rampo, which increased its popularity as a modern magazine for young people (Nakajima, K, 1970:334).

It is generally accepted that the majority of the readership of *Shin Seinen* were young men, such as single salary men or university students. Additionally, it should be noted that *Shin Seinen* was also read by young women, as it had a fashion column called 'Vanity Fair', which always introduced new dresses and miscellaneous goods for men and women. In 1930, this column was replaced by one entitled 'vogue en vogue', which were full of the latest women's fashion trends from the West. In 1929, a special column for girls, 'modern women's college' was started to introduce new lifestyles for women.

Shin Seinen began a series on 'styles of love' from January to October 1929, the year in which the movie *Tokyo March* and the book *Red Love* were popular among young people. The main writer was Masaki Funaotaka （正木不如丘）, who was apparently a doctor, who presented an analysis of love from the scientific and rational viewpoint along with his personal philosophy of love. His discussion of love seems to have been based on medical knowledge and psychological analysis. It also discussed the emotion, the instincts and the influence of personality. He insisted that love and sexual feelings should always go together. If we can assume that this still rather conservative theory of love and sex, was popular and influential and more or less accepted by modern boys and modern girls, we can presume that not all modern girls and modern boys tended to enjoyed the 'free sex', associated with Kollontai's *Red Love*. Hence it was most probably the case that Kollontai's love theory was only a *risqué* conversational style, whereas Masaki's love theory offered more practical advice for young people seeking to develop a good relationship between the sexes without radical new idea about sex, namely free sex.

2-3) Modern girls as made up for male gaze

The criticisms of modern girls began to gather pace around 1926, with the focus on the ways they copied western women's fashions, posture, cosmetics and behaviour toward men. In the

popular song, 'Tokyo Koushinkyoku' (東京行進曲) (Tokyo March), discussed above, there was the line:

> A women was crying while writing a letter
> by the window of the Marunouchi building
> (*maru biru* 丸ビル).
> (Barbara S, 1987: 207)

It seemed to depict a working woman in the Marunouchi Building who was disappointed in love. Journalists and cultural intermediaries in newspapers, magazines and other media outlets, began to present the urban working women as open to love affairs. The image of the working woman became linked to the modern girl, depicted as an immoral and loose woman.

It is not totally clear when the term, *moga* first appeared, but there is no doubt that it was used in 1928, because the cartoon *moga-ko to mobo-rou* started that year.[23] It is interesting to note that Japanese women's names quite often end in –ko (子), for example, Tomoko, whereas men's name generally end in –rou (郎), e.g. Ichiro. *Moga* is the abbreviation of *modan garu,* so basically moga carried the connotation: girl or woman. But if you added –ko to moga, you make a double girl, which is truly excessive. So the meaning of *moga* shifted from connoting a new type of woman as a substantive, to that of an active process and performative. Hence *moga* could be used in the compound *mogaru,* which meant 'doing moga' or 'performing moga' and the term moga itself started to carry this meaning.

The negative image of the modern girl can be illustrated in the essay 'The anatomy of modern girls' by Kiyosawa Kiyoshi (清沢洌) which appeared in 1927, in which he reported that a girl in Niigata prefecture committed suicide, because she was called 'a modern girl' by her friends

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[23] A strip cartoon '*moga ko to mobo rou*' (もが子ともが郎) published in *Shufu no Tomo* (主婦之友) in 1928 satirised the *moga* and *mobo*. They were presented as constantly looking for pure love. Their dress and behaviour was sometimes very radical against conventional rule, but they were depicted as in some ways very innocent. Additionally, from this cartoon, we get the sense that the *moga* was look down on by many people, even children (figure 11.3).

(Kiyosawa, 1927: 97). This tragic event illustrates that the term 'modern girl' was seen as a synonym for 'bad girl' or immoral woman. Another example is that women's magazine *Jyosei* in March 1928 published six stories about women with short hair (断髪物語).[24]

According to Kiyosawa, the general public saw modern girls as bad women who secretly met bad boys, or mischievously enjoyed tricking a man, or having sexual relations with foreigners, or a woman who worked as a café waitress.[25] Kiyosawa explained by saying that although the early impression of modern girls was of a tomboy who was heavily made-up to mimic western women, the image of modern girls also started to become blurred with the image of a promiscuous and coquettish woman (Kiyosawa, 1927: 98). He was also critical of the fact that many Japanese modern girls did not come from the intelligentsia, which was different from the case of western modern girls.[26] He also doubted that Japanese modern girls changed their hairstyle (e.g. bob or 'all-back') and put on western clothes merely to be seen as attractive to men.

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[24] One of them Hara Asao (原　阿佐緒), a poet, was involved in a scandal in 1921. She fell in love with professor Ishihara Atsushi (石原　純) who was famous for being a student of Albert Einstein, and was one of the top academics of the day. But he was a married family man. She was pilloried as an enchantress by the public (The Reader of History, 1980:121). When she first had short hair around 1918, people who looked at her were shocked and whispered disapproving remarks and children did not hesitate to insultingly tell her that she looked like 'a living doll.' Her mother started to cry and shout at her in anger, rebuking her for doing such a stupid thing without permission, adding that she looked ridiculous, like a pumpkin. When her mother had previously cut her own hair, it was because her husband had become seriously ill, and consequently, she offered her hair as a sacrifice to the gods. When her husband died she buried her hair with him, as a women's hair was a symbol of life. Therefore, for her mother, to cut a women's hair had a very strong spiritual meaning. Hence, Asao's short hair made her mother both angry and sad. For Asao, short hair was just a practical and convenient style for the new busy life without spiritual significance. But she would be clearly aware of the importance of her act (Hara, 1928:44).

[25] Tanizaki's main character in his acclaimed and popular novel, *Chijin no Ai* (痴人の愛, *A Fool's Love/ Naomi*) is presented as having many western boyfriends, whom she met at dance halls. Hirabayashi mentions a girl who was the plaything of foreign men as saying to the police that she preferred foreigners to Japanese men (Hirabayashi commentary collection No. 1, 1975:387). It seems these alleged 'bad girls' fancied not only western clothes, cosmetics, customs, but western men too, as all western things, including men, were exotic.

[26] Contrary to this view, it seems that some of the Ginza café waitresses were intellectualised and had the capacity to have good conversation with any type of customer. Hence, Ginza café waitresses were very different from both Geisha and 'Kansai' café waitresses, whose appeal was only in terms of sexual attractiveness (Ando K, 1931:176). In general, 'good looks' was one of the main qualifications to get the job. Advertisements for café waitresses were placed in tabloid newspapers, such as *Miyako* (Ando K, 1931 187) and hence we can assume that a wide range of women would have applied, given that the advertisements specified that no qualifications were needed. This meant that it was likely that many working class women would have become café waitresses.

Hiratsuka Raicho （平塚らいてう） also criticised modern girls, in her article, 'What modern girl ought to be,' who put on luxurious western clothes and accessories and strolled the Ginza, without any thought about the implications of their dress and being a sexual object for men. Rather they should strive to be a person who has the same human rights as men (Hiratsuka, 1927). Yosano Akiko （与謝野晶子） was also critical, arguing that (modern) women who looked like prostitutes and put on vulgar western clothes were created to meet the needs of the 'decadent new man,' who might be one of the 'modern boys'. She added that this 'decadent new man' produced the 'decadent new woman' (Yosano, 1926, cited in Yosano Akiko Collection No. 19, 1981:282-283).

We can now discuss this hypothesis that the modern girl is a male creation, a woman constructed to fulfil a man's fantasies. In this context, we can examine the article, 'Are "modern boys" allies or enemies of women?' (*Jyosei*, November 1926). According to Yamada Junko's column (written in the form of a conversation between women), as modern boys were the type of men always searching for something new, this modern boy's nature had an effect on women, who strove to become more beautiful. Yet although they influenced women's appearance, he argued that they did not have any profound effect on women's mentality (Yamada J, 1926 cited in *Jyosei* :257-260).

According to Minami 'The *moga* was accompanied by the *mobo'* （Minami, 1982: Introduction, x） . The *mobo* was seen as only a fashion, a form of dandyism （Ozaki, H, 1978:56） . These modern boys were men who had a strong sensitivity for seeking out new fashion and lifestyles, invariably copied from western men. They were not interested in politics, but very concerned with fashion style, taste and their own principle on lifestyles.

2-4) Modern girls and Kataoka's theory on modern boys

Kataoka Teppei (片岡鉄平) wrote about the characteristics of the modern boy in 1927. He argued that the modern boy was searching for a more rational and intellectual love. He was

meant to never lose his temper and never to be too zealous or eager. He could easily succumb to the charms of good looking women, who looked like western women and had nice shapely legs. He appreciated 'good technique and artifice', and therefore loved a woman who was good at make-up. He valued momentary things most highly, such as the cinema and music; in the same vein, he liked to have a short-term love affair, as he did not believe in eternal love. He put demands on women to have sexual relations without any hesitation. Kataoka concluded that this type of new man will increase in the future (Kataoka, 1927 cited in *Gendai no Esupuri*, 1983:114-128).[27]

We can find many similarities between modern boys and modern girls. Both have the image of being apolitical, hedonist, as devoting themselves to the pleasures of the moment. One explanation of the emergence of these highly criticised modern girls, especially *moga* who were seen as immoral, apolitical, and hedonistic, may be that they were a projection of men's desires. In other words, the men who became modern boys, especially *mobo*, generated modern girls, especially *moga*, to become their ideal female companions, and then found ways either individually, or through the media, of persuading women to flesh out the role and play the character part they had written.

What, then, is interesting here is, not just the fact that modern women were persuaded to act out a male fantasy, but that many of the actual modern girls, who gained a high profile, such as popular film stars or female novelists, did not seem to be immoral, they were much more conservative than people's image of them.

In the discussion on 'Modern female criticism' in *Fujin no Kuni* (Women's World) in 1925, Hisayone （久米正雄） stated that modern girls were very good at preserving their chastity. Another writer, Hayasaka (早坂二郎) inferred that modern girls were already well aware of the

[27] Kataoka cautioned that his analysis of the modern boy could well be an imaginary construct, because it was realistically impossible to find perfect modern boys. His method of analysis was to try to make up the 'perfect modern boy' – in effect an ideal type.

economic value of a women's body, and therefore reluctant to give it away by having sexual relations with men easily. Chiba (千葉亀雄) continued this line of argument by remarking 'they even might enjoy controlling their own sexuality' (*Fujin no Kuni,* 1925, in *Gendai no Esupuri*, 1983:100).

Further evidence can be provided from the discussions of the high profile modern girls in the media, on and by female popular film stars, dancers, along with male novelists. In these discussions of modern girls' lifestyles, it is clear that they are seeking an intelligent man, who is superior to them. They also wished to marry a rich, witty, good-looking man – nothing very new or radical here. In terms of chastity, they thought that if they fell in love with somebody it was all right to have sexual relations. They also said they tried to avoid having sexual intimacy with men without love. It was clear here that they did not follow Kollontai's *Red Love* theory. This would suggest that their idea of sexuality had become relatively flexible, but they still tried to follow a conventional sense of chastity.[28]

[28] Tanizaki Junichiro's novel *Chijin no Ai*, (A Fool's Love; English translation as *Naomi*) and its central character Naomi, become very popular among young girls in Tokyo and Osaka in 1924 (*Women's World* 1925, cited in *Gendai no Esupuri*, 1983:96). *Naomism* emerged at the time as a term in the popular vocabulary. In the novel, Naomi was a Pygmalion-like construct of Jouji, a middle class salaryman. She enjoyed dancing, speaking English, having a foreign boy friend. She was a big spender, hedonist, and apolitical. Her appearance Tanizaki tells us resembles Mary Pickford, the famous Hollywood movie star of the day, who was very popular among Japanese people. The novel was strongly linked to Tanizaki's personal life experiences. Naomi's model was Hayama Michiko (figure 11.4) who was Tanizaki's young sister-in-law, whom he actually schooled and tried to mould into his ideal women and with whom he later had an affair. When Tanizaki made the film, *Amachua Kurabu* (アマチュア 倶楽部, amateur club) in 1920, with a Japanese director who had just come back from Hollywood, Thomas Kurihara, Michiko appeared in the film as a modern girl (Takahashi,Y ,1999:62). Michiko went on to become famous for her looks, radical behaviour and witty conversation. The popular film star, Okatada Tokihiko (岡田時彦) who appeared with her in first film *Amateur Club*, was one of her lovers. Her reputation as a modern girl, both on and off screen, helped to reinforce the image of the modern girl for the public (figure 11.4).

3. Performance, practice and theatrical sites: street culture, mass culture and consumer culture: the department stores, dance hall and café

The popular song, 'Tokyo March' also refers to the department store in its very last line:

> Changing trains at Shinjuku, the moon above in Musashino,*
> casts its light on the roof of the department store.
> *a suburb of Tokyo
> (Ohki Sanshirou, 'Study of department girls' in *Shin Seinen* October, 1929)

The Department stores in Japan were not just places for shopping, but places of public amusement in the city. The department store appeared as linked to street culture (*gaito*、街頭), which meant crowds of unrestrained people. *Gaito* (街頭) was a popular term which initially meant 'public society' or 'public sphere.'[29] It referred to the variety of people gathered in the *gaito* (street).

The *gaito* was an example of *odoriba* (おどりば), the place between the home and the office. A transitional or liminal space where people, such as salarymen, students or single working women, could forget their family obligations and responsibilities. In this sense of liminality (Turner, V. 1969; Martin, 1982), an 'in-between' or threshold space, the meaning of *gaito* is closer to that of festival. There is a further term which is relevant here *sakariba* (盛り場) the public space in the city, which are generated via *gaito*. According to Yoshimi, the *sakariba* are that the pleasure districts, in which masses of anonymous people come together for relaxation and enjoyment after work. It is also possible to find not only passive relaxation, but energetic enjoyment, the excitement as people come together in a festive mood. The meanings of the term carries the sense of 'sexual heat.' Hence, *sakariba* means not just 'a site' of pleasure, but also the active 'performances' (Yoshimi, 1987:24). Performances, in the various stages such as the café, dance hall and department store.

[29] For example, there is a phrase: 'women who awaken to new ideas appear in *gaito* (*Jyosei* 1924,9：171).

In Gonda Yasunosuke's（権田保之助） discussion of 'Modern Life and Entertainment'（モダン生活と娯楽） (Gonda, 1931), he emphasises that modern life is urban life. It can be found in particular places in Tokyo, such as the Ginza, *Maru Biru Jyûjigai* (crossroads around the Marunouchi Building), Hibiya, Shinjuku, Kagurazaka. More specifically, it occurs in the dance hall, café, and at the first floor of the *senbikiya* (fruit parlour), a seat in the cinema, the corridor of a music hall, in a salon and restaurant (Gonda, 1931:99). Gonda Yarunosuke (権田保之助) classified people who live in modern life into three categories. Firstly, people who naturally live in modern life, these were 'genuine modern people'. They were most likely to be *moga* (modern girls) or *mobo* (modern boys) who come from the propertied classes (the bourgeoisie), such as single salarymen and students. They are naturally able to 'act' as 'genuine modern people' (本質的モダン生活者), such as a genuine *moga* and *mobo*. Secondly, there are 'would be modern people'（一時的モダン生活者）, such as those who temporarily 'perform' as 'modern people', such as the 'fake *moga* and *mobo*' (writers, artists and novelists). They were not sophisticated enough to be modern people. Thirdly, there are the people who work for modern people in order to make a living, such as waitresses in the café and dancers in the dance hall（モダン生活業者）. They were the partners, the associates or companions of modern people (Gonda, 1931:103).

The most criticised category, the modern girls, are likely to belong to and the third type: those people who worked for modern people and would be modern people. This is because, the ultra modern women who had bobbed hair and modern fashions, had no chance of getting a job in institutions, such as governmental offices, banks, or transport services (e.g. tram conductors (市電の車掌)). They had more chance to get jobs which were related to service industries.

Hayashi Fusao wrote a piece on 'the sociology of the short hair style' in *Kindai Seikatu,* April 1930. In this story, a woman remarks that she could not find a job because of her bobbed hair and therefore had to give up to keep it. Women who had short hair could only work in dance

halls, down-market bars or as café-waitresses) (Hayashi, 1930:121). Hence it would seem that 'modern girls, *moga*' were most likely to work in service industries (Gonda's third type of modern people) such as cafés and dance halls.

The café

The first café in Tokyo, *Printemps*, was opened by Matsuyama Shozo (松山省三) in 1911, and became a meeting places for artists and intellectuals and women's movement and socialist activists (Wada H, 2002:135-136). *The Lion* (figure 11.5) opened four months after *Printemps* (figure 11.6) and was the only large-scale café in Ginza before the major Kanto earthquake of 1923. Café waitresses in the Lion were not allowed to behave sexually or flirt with customers to earn tips, whereas café waitresses in *The Tiger*, which opened after the earthquake, offered the full (and what was to become notorious) waitress's services (Andou K, 1931:111).

This tendency become more noticeable after the new café style which originated in Osaka expanded into the Ginza. *Kuroneko* (figure 11.7), *Battkasu* and *Ginbura* were all second or third class cafés, which were famous for erotic services. Their customers were lower class salarymen (Ando K, 1931:158). Here, café waitresses and dancers provided sexual services and a sort of 'fake love' or 'imitation love' for modern boys (temporary modern people) who were most likely to be lower level salarymen.

These would-be modern boys wanted to enjoy 'modern life,' they wanted to sit and dream with their dream-women, who were café waitresses, or dance hall dancers and engage in erotic 'love-games' in order to escape from reality. Hence, they were expected to perform like modern girls (*moga-like*) by customers. In addition, the cafés interior design and lighting effect helped to generate a sleazy sexual atmosphere.[30]

[30] Ando insists that 'genuine' modern boys did not go to the erotic café, they preferred the tea-room (喫茶店) or upper class café (Ando K, 1931:146).

Dance hall

Hirabarashi Hirotaka and his wife Shizuko open the first dance hall, *Tsurumi Kagetsu Butoujyo* (鶴見花月舞踏場) in 1920. In its early days, the dance hall did not have professional dancers, women who were available to partner men, these only appeared in the late 1920s. Dancers were seen as sexual objects and given a good deal of attention by novelists and journalists.[31] The music and lighting were designed to generate a romantic atmosphere, one in which there was the *frisson* of bodily closeness, touching and sensuality. Once inside the dance hall, people entered a type of 'dream world' set apart from everyday life (Wada H, 2002: 233-234). But more than the café which had its dark secluded areas, it was a performance space in which all eyes could be on the couples on the floor (figure 11.8).

Department stores

The department store clearly had a different atmosphere to the café or dance hall. The department store was a family space in which, children and old people were found. Therefore, it lacked the sexualised and para-sexual atmosphere of the café or dance hall.[32]

However, this was not the whole story, for department stores could well be places which generated chance encounters between men and women. They were also spaces for official romance, places where respectable couples could meet, or places where the first meeting of an arranged marriage could take place. This sense of the possibility of love and romance in such an unlikely place was the subject of many satirical cartoons. One depicts the scene of a shop-girl disappointed in love for a customer, perhaps a university student, who is unaware of her interest (see figure 11.9).[33]

Compared to the café and dance hall, the department store was a relatively safe place for women in terms of sexual liaisons or temptations. Shop-girls (figure 11.10) were taught to be the picture

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[31] There were a number of novels such as *Dancer Yuri* （「踊り子・ユリ」）by Narazaki Tsutomu (楢崎勤) in *Shin Seinen* September 1930, *Spy and Dancer* （「スパイと踊り子」）by Murakami Tomoyoshi (村上知義) (Suzuki. S, 1989b：474－475).

[32] It is interesting to note Ando's remark that when people entered an Osaka café it was like entering the Shirokiya department store, for the customer yelled out 'So-and-so. I am here!' to his regular waitress (Silverberg, 1998:221).

[33] The male students of Keio University (Keio boys) were very popular with young girls in the 1920s who considered them to be modern boys.

of respectability and did not, of course, directly offered sexual services to male customers, and were also closely under the surveillance of a supervisor. At the same time it is clear that some shop-girls had expectations of a romantic interlude, love or even finding their ideal man in these spaces (see discussion in chapter 3 and 4 above).

The mass media helped to generate a stream of gossip about the modern girl and develop a strong image. Suzuki Fumitoshi (鈴木文史) insisted that there were no real modern girls in his article 'modern girls and suffrage' in *Jyosei*, March 1928 (Suzuki F, 1928:34-37). He stressed that modern girls were the media construct of lowbrow journalists, who had merely used their imagination. He was very critical of lowbrow journalism, which he held as responsible for encouraging working women to put on western clothes in the attempt to be modern and beautiful. Even so, it was very hard to find the typical 'modern girls' who were the subject of so much speculation and embellishment in magazines, novels, and gossip, in the Tokyo of the 1920s. A small number of working women did try to put on western clothes and act coquettishly as modern girls. For Suzuki there were no 'real' modern girls in Tokyo, because he couldn't find women who were interested in suffrage in 1928.[34]

Kiyosawa anticipated that it was inevitable that many victims would be generated on the road to bringing about respectable modern girls who were not just hedonistic, immoral, bold modern girls. He argued that instead of criticising them, intellectuals should attempt to understand them and guide them in the right direction. He also anticipated that future historians would discuss the emergence of modern girls to illustrate the changing relationship between the sexes (Kiyosawa, 1926: 217-218). The time of the emergence of the modern girl, then, could well be the key time to understand the changing power balance between the sexes (cf Elias, 1987).

[34] If we seek to find 'genuine' modern girls, then women such as Sasaki Fusa (ささき　ふさ) and Ohi Sachiko (大井さち子) were the ones who became famous for being 'real' modern-girls. They were rich and not working class. There is a picture of Sasaki Fusa showing her smoking and writing at her desk, looking full of confidence and the epitome of a stylish modern working woman (figure 11.11).

In article in *Taiyo* (太陽) (1927) entitled 'The defeat of modern girls' by Niizuma Itsuko （新妻伊都子） (Niizsuma Itsuko, 1927:81-82), she commented on 'the dramatic dismissal of office girls from the Ministry of Railways on 25th April 1927. Niizuma questioned why people criticise women for trying to make themselves look attractive. They were dismissed, only because they were judged to be modern girls and didn't see why this was necessary. She continued:

> Working women did not have good working conditions and put up with low wages, inequality between the sexes. Therefore they were constantly anxious about their future. It is very difficult for them to have aspirations. Hence they will begin to pursue momentary pleasures and try to get some freedom.
>
> Capitalism provides strong material temptations for them, such as nice clothes, cosmetics, accessories, as well as leisure and entertainment. They spend money to buy things to seek out exciting experiences, which was part of a consumer-based lifestyle. They forgot they were members of society, who should keep their eyes open on social issues. In the end, they just become hedonists.
>
> Some of them would become victims of materialism and capitalism. But it is inevitable for women to move on to the next stage, which is women's liberation.
> (Niizuma, 1927)

In short, she tried to justify modern girls and make readers understand that they did not have a good life and that they were victims of their social circumstances. This was the inevitable cost of progress for women in general.[35]

Kiyosawa and Niizuma thought it was inevitable to have some victims, because this was a transition time. They thought that the much criticised 'modern girls' were both victims of capitalism and conventional social ethics. Kiyosawa insisted that ordinary modern girls needed good education and guidance, whereas Niizuma argued that they needed good working

[35] Kiyosawa reported the same event, the dramatic dismissal of office girls (over 20 people) by the Ministry for Railways (Kiyosawa, 1927, *Jyosei*, 1927, 12: 97).

conditions. Kiyosawa's position was superior to modern girls, whereas Niisuma trusted more women's potential ability to turn out well by themselves, if they have good social conditions.

It is clear that the modern girl was a fascinating topic, which is illustrated by the debate about modern girls in 1925. Intellectuals , journalists and writers participated such as Nii Itaru (新居格), Chiba Kameo (千葉亀雄), Hayasaka Jirou (早坂二郎). In his remarks, Kamei (亀井) stated that the emergence of the modern girl was an inevitable social phenomenon, given the socio-cultural background of: capitalism, consumer culture, women's education, women's liberation movements, urbanization, and Americanization. Hayasaka (早坂) argued that modern girls were very different from new women, such as members of Seitosha. He pointed out that modern girls were not just limited to intellectual women, but were also found widely in other social classes, especially working women in the city. He added that it was possible to find some new articulation of women's desires at the outset of a new era, in the swarms of modern girls, which were so noticeable in the big cities. Furthermore, he argued, that they had the social mission to destroy established social values, just as they were simultaneously constructing new value for the new age.

Many commentators and intellectuals who were fascinated by modern girls in seeking to understand the meaning of women's freedom, thought the girls mistakenly interpreted immorality or the absence of morals as freedom, and hence were to be criticised. At the same time they seemed to have a positive perception of the modern girl in terms of the expectation that she embodied the germ of the independent women of the future (*Fujin no Kuni*, 1925 cited in *Gendai no Esupuri* No. 188, 1983).

Chapter 12: Conclusion

The modern girl and modernity

Hatsunosuke Hiraybayashi (1928) had taken an optimistic stance towards the modern girl, who he saw as heralding the future. The new women were not just a superficial fashion, but to be seen more as a key component in the engine of modernity, not just a product, but also a producer, which could point us towards the reform of society and lead us towards a better world.[1] Yet for those who watched the city streets and consumer culture shopping and entertainment areas for signs of a new everyday culture springing up which would lead to positive transformations of modernity, they were clearly looking on at a space which was a contested one, a space in which many other parties had an interest in. While there could be contingent events and temporary alliances which favoured the 'feminization of culture,' there were also many interests which sought to channel and resist this development.

Minami (1965, 1982, 1987) may well have been correct to depict Taisho culture as one in which democratization flourished. Along with the development of mass culture there began to be greater possibilities for women to express themselves within the new consumer spaces. At the same time, we should not overdraw the contrast between Taisho and early Showa democracy and the military and war years in the period 1930-45. We also should be aware of the conflicts and struggles which occurred within the Taisho era within various social strata. If one adopts the perspective of mass culture, it is often the case that questions of reception and the differentiation of the mass are neglected.[2] Hence the danger is when one focuses on mass

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[1] According to Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke, the emergence of the modern girl was a key element in Japanese modernization (see Hirabayashi, 1928 in Chapter 11; Sato, B, 1987; also discussion in chapter 11 above).

[2] Here we should recall Raymond Williams's (158:289) famous statement 'Masses are other people. There are in fact no masses: there are only ways of seeing people as masses' (see discussion in Featherstone, 1991: 134ff; Lee and Munro, 2001). Raymond Williams's injunction has been very influential on cultural studies in taking it away from over generalizations and higher level concepts to focus on the particularity of the historical circumstances of

consumption, that gender and other categories (race, ethnicity, generation, age, region, class) disappear (Yoshimi, 2002).

Yet, the period 1900-1930 which we have been considering and the 1920s in particular, undoubtedly was one in which the public profile of women increased. Women were more visible in social life outside the home (*gaito*). We think also of the early efforts to form a women's movement such as Seitosha on the part of Hiratsuka Raicho around 1911, or the growing militancy of factory girls which culminated in the major strikes around the time of the First World War. Although, formally banned from political activities until 1922, women found ways to raise their public profile around questions of equal treatment and women's rights. Despite the government's various thrift and everyday life reform campaigns and the residual attachment to the 'good wife, wise mother' ideal, in the 1920s women were in employment, especially in the service sector in cities such as Tokyo and therefore more visible.

The new city centre consumption spaces we have spoken of, employed women in greater numbers, they also catered for greater numbers of women customers. This was the stage on which the '*modan garu*' could appear and perform. The visibility of women was fed back into the media, to be discussed, analysed and embellished in women's magazines and newspapers by cultural intermediaries, artists and intellectuals. Indeed, the representations of the new modern woman in these outlets and the burgeoning cinema, could be said to not only follow the trends on the streets, but in some ways to create and dramatise them. This points to a tension between the new woman as a media or intellectual construct and the potential for women to become more conscious of their circumstances through greater participation in the new urban public life and work worlds, to the extent that they could more actively express and form their own aspirations and persona.

Hence, both the changing perception of new woman generated by intellectuals and the activities

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ordinary people and neglected outsider groups.

of women themselves, provided evidence of the emergence of signs of a more independent woman. Women were not only seen in a more positive life in the 1920s, they were also more active in the Taisho era and 1920s. More women, then, began to develop a sense of themselves as agents, who had the competences to imagine themselves acting and taking greater control over their own lives. Evidence from the everyday lives of women at the time is difficult to find, but in one sense it does not matter whether there were more independent women on the streets produced by 'the engine of modernity,' rather what was important was that some intellectuals started to believe this. That they, for a variety of reasons began to notice women in a different way through their highly sensitive antenna. Their belief that women were different, or had an inner potential to become different, their desire that women should be different, that a strong woman was more sexually, artistically, intellectually and socially more fascinating helped drive their perception. This enabled some of the fantasies to become translated into reality.

Yet, the new woman and *modan garu* were not just media inventions of intellectuals and cultural intermediaries. Something was happening on the streets (*gaito*), in the department stores and entertainment areas (*sakariba).* Ultimate points of origin are invariably difficult to find, but we can suggest that there was a heightened feedback developing between intellectuals, cultural intermediaries, and the new urban everyday consumer culture and street life. Intellectuals and cultural intermediaries were 'botanising on the asphalt,' and they did have a new literate public of not only men, but women too, who were eager to read the depictions, theorizations and explanations of the new everyday realities and images they were having to negotiate. Consequently, woman themselves began to discover their own voices and sought self-expression, the capacity to experience, and express their experiences in public (albeit through style and fashion as much as political rhetoric about equal rights) and have some space and chance to announce to the public. More woman began to gain (or sense that they should have gained) confidence, ambitions and aspirations.

Consumer culture in the 1930s and 1940s

We must be careful not to draw to strong a contrast between the 1930s and 1920s, and eliminate the continuities. The momentum of the changes to everyday life, such as the adoption of western styles of dress, the fascination with consumer goods and entertainment, the popularity of western cinema stars, did not suddenly collapse and many of the changes proved difficult to reverse. City developments continued in Tokyo, with department store also expanded their business to provide new consumption spaces. For example, Mitsukoshi opened its Ginza branch in 1930 and a branch in Takamatsu in 1931. With urban development, department stores also expanded their business and provided people more consumption space and time. The Mitsukoshi Ginza branch open in 1930 and a branch in Takamatsu in 1931. Mitsukoshi opened its own entrance to the subway in Osaka in March 1932, followed by its Tokyo underground station in April 1932. Mitsukoshi opened a hairdressing salon in 1931 targeted at stylish working women. It also had a fashion show 1935 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:115), followed by another in 1936 which featured western clothes (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:117). Elizabeth Arden American cosmetic started to be sold in the store from 1936 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:117). Electric refrigerators (marketed for 'modern wives') started to sell in 1936 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:116). A fashion show for woman and children was held in 1937 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:122).[3]

Despite these extensions of consumer culture, Mitsukoshi never failed to show its loyalty to the nation and the military. For example, Mitsukoshi staff mounted a campaign to contribute to buy a fighter aircraft for the Air Force in 1933. The aircraft was named *Aikoku* No. 77: Mitsukoshi *Gou* (Patriot No. 77 Mitukoshi) and staff and customers (more indirectly) were encouraged to make donations (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:110). Staff and customers provided donations to purchase a further aircraft in 1935, this time for the navy air service (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:115). A further campaign was directed to help the government's policy of

[3] At the same time, a campaign to ban hair permanent started in 1937.

reforming people's lifestyles. Mitsukoshi designed and featured 'Emergency Women's Clothes,' which were introduced to the public in 1937 in their exhibition of artificial fibre, 'sufu' (スフ) (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:125). Moreover, with the start of the Sino-Japanese War the same year, comfort bags for soldiers started to be displayed and sold in the store (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:124).

To some degree this could seem like the long-standing cooperation between Mitsukoshi's management and the state manifest in the way the store participated in the various campaigns for thrift and everyday life reform in the Taisho era. Yet the level of state direction was more intense, especially after the government promulgated 'The Department Stores Act' (百貨店法) in 1937, in order to control their business activities. From this date onwards, the department stores were required to seek government permission to carry out their business activities, or to expand their sales locations, or change working time and conditions etc. As a result, department store could no longer function independently in their role as advisers on new lifestyle, fashion leaders, and cultural educators. Rather they had to work as agents for disseminating government propaganda as well as contributing store space for military use. [4]

In 1937, despite the start of the Sino-Japanese saw a national mobilization, the ramifications in popular culture may not have been clear-cut. It has been argued that Japanese readers of popular culture did not think in terms of a 'here versus there,' 'us and them,' binary logic. Silverberg (1993:41) in her study of representations of Americans in the cinema fan magazine *Eiga no Tomo* refers to 'code-switching' in which readers learned to negotiate and move between a more fluid series of representations of Japanese, Western, Chinese and Korean faces, which were not seen in a fixed hierarchy.[5] Even as late as 1939 and 1940 *Eiga no Tomo* featured pictures and

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[4] Mitsukoshi held an exhibition on air defence (国民防空展覧会) in 1938 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:124). In 1940, Mitsukoshi start to sell the official national uniform in June. In August 1940, they held an exhibition of '7.7 ban,(7.7 禁令, so-called because it started on the seventh day of the seventh month)' which was a regulation to restrict producing and selling luxury goods (The 7.7 ban was promulgated by the government in July 1940) (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:128). In 1943, Mitsukoshi provided the 5th to 8th floors of their Nihonbashi head store, for the army to use as their offices (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:135).

[5] Silverberg (1993:42) provides an interesting discussion of Charlie Chaplin's visit to Japan in 1932, after the

articles on Hollywood stars such as Gary Cooper and Charles Boyer. In the same issues the Japanese people were urged to buy bonds, watch for spies and engage in new forms of dance to replace modern dance to accompany the *Kokumin Shingunka* (People's Song for the Advancing Military), whose accompanying photograph showed young and old Japanese in western dress (Silverberg, 1993: 54). It was only after March 1941, that images of Western men and women began to become less frequent, and it was not until after Pearl Harbour in December 1941, that Americans disappeared completely. The number of American movies shown had started to drop severely in 1938 and by 1940 stars whose names sounded non-Japanese had changed back to Japanese names – Deikku (Dick) Mine, for example, became Mine Tokuichi (Silverberg, 1993:60).

While some 'code-switching' may have still occurred in some sectors of social and cultural life in the 1930s and proved difficult to eradicate, there were progressive attempts on the part of those in power to implement widespread governmental campaigns, more intensified versions of the earlier reform of everyday life and thrift campaigns, along with a return to a more traditional definition of women's roles. Jennifer Robertson (2001) provides an interesting discussion of the ways in which the Miss Nippon beauty contests were de-westernized and made compatible with the new version of the good wife, wise mother doctrine in the 1930s. She also draws interesting connections between this and the upsurge of eugenics. Clearly many incompatible strands were evident in the 1930s, and although some Hollywood and western images may have continued to circulate, the new dominant narratives and images were clearly in line with the increasingly centralised definition of the national project.

At the same times as there were moves to mobilize the population and eliminate western influences, there was also renewed pressure for women to adopt traditional roles of the 'good wife, wise mother' type. Yet as in the Meiji years there was a similar contradiction between this

invasion to Manchuria of 1931 and at the time of the assassination of Prime Minister Inuki. 'Uncle Charlie's' appeal was across class boundaries and his photos and drawings appeared everywhere. Silverberg (1993:45) remarks that in the *Miyako Shinbun* 15 May 1932 a chocolate advert which featured a full length stylised figure of Chaplin with the caption 'Happiness – Charlie has arrived, Lots of Fun – this caramel!'

patriarchal rhetoric and the economic and military imperatives captured in the 'rich nation, strong army' ambitions which involved using women as a source of labour. Hence images circulated of women working and performed enthusiastically as modern wives. These were women who could take charge of making a home, and contributing to the national effort by working in a weapon's factory, or becoming a member of government-led, military-controlled women's organizations such as the Dainihon Kokubo Fujin Kai, 大日本国防婦人会, Women's National Defence Association) established in 1932, just soon after the Manchurian incident, to provide aid for soldiers and their families (see figure 12.1).

The China-Japanese War which started in 1937, increased the opportunities for women's employment and public participation. Despite the reinforcement of patriarchal attitudes under the fascist military rule, the necessities of wartime took women out of the home and increased their confidence. In this the Asian and Pacific wars, like previous wars, can be seen to have increased the confidence of women. [6]

New forms of consumption, after the Second World War

Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration on the 14th of August, 1945, which brought the war to an end on the following day, the 15th. A new constitution was to be implemented which incorporated womens's equal opportunity rights and suffrage. However, the everyday life of women did not change very much, and women were still regarded as persons who had to sacrifice their aspirations for those of the family. In a similar manner, to the post-war conditions in Europe and the United States, women who had contributed a good deal to the war effort by undertaking a wide variety of jobs, were now told they were no longer needed and to go back to

[6] Barbara Sato states that woman in war time who worked in the government-led women's organizations could not really be seen as showing any initiative (Sato, 1987:226). Yet, even woman in government-led organizations had to show some initiative to run their groups. Under these conditions, it is possible for women to retain a sense of achievement, self-respect and pride. This meant that they could gain in confidence and independence through their organizational activities.

looking after the home and their families. Governments saw the priority as getting former members of the armed forces back into civilian jobs, and the vast majority of women who had been working, were thanked for their temporary efforts and then dispatched to the home.

As a result, women were led back to the home to become 'good wives and wise mothers' again. Hence, the division of labour between sexes become the dominant family style. The rehabilitation of war led to the growth of economy. Yet despite potential job opportunities with the labour shortages in the war reconstruction drive, women's place was again seen in the home, with a brief interlude of work permitted prior to marriage.

Department stores, such as Mitsukoshi helped to create an image of the ideal home and domestic bliss through consumer goods. Using the latest domestic electric apparatus and living in an apartment block were presented as the essence of the modern lifestyle for women. Department stores encouraged housewives to be stylish, which meant to become Americanized. For example, Mitsukoshi started to sell electric washing machine in 1950. In the same year, Mitsukoshi held western clothes fashion show (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:153). In 1953, Mitsukoshi started to sell home air conditioners (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:158). In the early postwar stage, when Mitsukoshi began to sell domestic electrical goods, these were mostly imported from America. At that time, the Japanese people knew about the American style of life through American movies and contact with the families of American occupational forces. The new middle class adored the 'American dream' and domestic electrical goods and cars, were attractive components of this lifestyle. Mitsukoshi established its electrical goods section in 1946 (The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:165).[7]

Now *modan raifu* (modern life) meant a new ideal: to be a modern housewife, married to a salaryman with two children, living in a modern house filled with domestic electrical goods. The

[7] The high-growth period of the Japanese economy was from 1960 (in the wake of the boost from the Korean War) to 1973 (the oil crisis). This helped to generate a consumer boom with the diffusion of domestic electric al goods such as: washing machine, televisions and refrigerator, which were called *sanshu no jingo* (三種の神器)' and were targeted at middle class wives.

new 'stylish working woman' very much wanted to be a 'stylish modern wife.' This modern positive image of the housewife had been was created in the Taisho era (see chapter 8 above). It had been based on the reform of everyday life campaign which developed around 1917, and the new image of the wife was one of women who took the initiative to manage family life, which was based on 'cultural living' (文化生活、*bunka seikatsu)*. To be one of these new modern housewives was attractive for members of the middle class, especially working women who had to work to help their family budget and save in preparation for marriage. For them marriage signalled the end of the short phase of work and the take up of the modern housewife and mother role. Working women in the 1950s and 1960s were very similar: they also wished to be stylish, respectable woman and live out the *modan raifu* housewife ideal. In both the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the 1950s and 1960s, department stores helped to furnish the symbolic and material goods necessary for this new type of family lifestyle through providing consumer goods, cultural events, and new forms of entertainment.

Hirabayashi (1928) had anticipated that women would be released from heavy domestic work by the new electric appliances and this would enable women to be more independent, as they would have more free time, and would be able to go out to work to make money. These new conditions would make it possible for women to become economically independent. However, the majority of women seemed to prefer to stay home and be modern wives, and this was the cultural ideal which was accorded the most prestige.

If to be a stylish wife was surely the mainstream for woman, there was, however, a side stream. In 1911, Seitosha's member insisted on women's independence and resisted the conventional *ie* system. Likewise, in the early 1970s, 'woman's lib' (the women's liberation movement) held out the promise of a life free from the conventional sexual division of labour (Saito M, 2000:227). Both Seishosha's members and the women's liberation movement activists were intellectuals. However, the '70s feminists attracted a wider range of women and gained more media publicity than Seitosha. Yet in the 1970s, although many more working women now had higher academic qualifications and had ambitions to develop a professional carrier as, they

rarely had the opportunity as employers did not want women with a professional attitude and long term career aspirations. Women who graduated from good universities and gained jobs in some of the top companies, began to become disappointed with their lack of career prospects, even though they were seen as 'successful stylish modern wives.'

It has been argued that since the Meiji 20s (1887-), 'The Age of Woman' (*onna no jidai*, 女の時代)' has appeared and disappeared several times (see Miki, 1989:13). For example, when the women's magazine, *Jyosei* (女性) was started in 1922, the first page of the first issue had the headline 'The Age of the Woman,' (figure 12.2) and was accompanied by the following quotation from Jean Finot:

> The Twentieth century will be the century of woman, as the eighteenth and the nineteenth were especially those of the "Right of Man." - We shall thus witness the most magnificent social transformation that has been realized since the fall of the Roman Empire.[8]

In the 1970s we can find a further revival of 'the Age of Woman.' As women again become public issue and attracted a great deal of public attention and criticism, the market strategy of department store shifted and they began to use images of the new woman in their publicity (especially advertisements). Seibu, one of the leading members of the retailing industry, emerged as the most innovative department stores and retailers of the 1970s and 1980s.

Seibu developed and created their own style of advertisements, based on 'image strategy' (Ueno, 1998:184). The use of an 'image strategy' to highlight corporate identity, corporate image/brand was not new – as we discussed above Mitsukoshi had adopted this strategy since the 1900s in develop itself as a 'brand', along with the associated 'Mitsukoshi taste'. Seibu's image strategy expanded to use not only the existing mass media, such as newspapers, and magazines, television commercials, but also by directly using the city itself as a medium of representation. In addition, Seibu shifted their main target to coincide with the new consumer's background, to

[8] The quotation was written by English in the original.

take into account gender, generation and life-stage. In terms of the development of marketing, Parco's advertisement can be seen most influential and advanced of the 1970 and 1980s.[9]

In the 1970s Parco and Seibu department stores targeted the generation born between 1945 and 1950 as their main market. Although women in this generation began to be concerned with women's new lifestyles influenced by the woman's liberation movement. This materialised in the 'new family,' which was presented as a nuclear family, composed of the business man (salaryman) and his non-working wife and not a 'working couple'(Ueno, 1991 :90). The new generation man in this relationship was not a conventional man: he had a capacity to understand women's new needs, desires and aspirations. He did was not hesitate to engage in domestic work, such as cooking, cleaning, and child-care, because the policy of the new family was based on greater equality between the sexes. We find image of the new family in Seibu's advertisements in 1975 (figure 12.3).

In the late 1970s, the main market shifted from the generation who was family oriented, to the generation who was born in 1955-1960, who were mainly single working women. Seibu department store began an advertising campaign 'The Age of Women' (*Onna no Jidai*) (Ueno, 1991:69). Parco's publicity department had also targeted single working women since the 1970s. This campaign drew on talented women's copy writers and ideas people, such as Yamaguchi Harumi (山口はるみ), Ishioka Eiko (石岡瑛子), (the latter created the highly influential 'The Age of Woman' campaign) (Ueno, 1991:091). Around the same time, 'Parco Part I' opened in Shibuya in 1973 (Yoshimi, 1987:288), followed by 'Parco Part II' in 1975, 'Parco Part III' in 1981 and '*Kuatoro bai* Parco' (クアトロ・バイ・パルコ) in 1988. Furthermore, Tokyu Hands opened in 1978. Tokyo's Shibuya had not previously been subject to intense redevelopment, nor had it been a particularly popular area for young people.

[9] Parco, a property developing company was also part of the Saizon enterprise group. Parco's conception was to offer huge spaces in buildings to rent to a variety of retail outlets such as the fashion industry, especially famous fashion brands. Hence, Parco can be described as a 'collective brands shop'. The first Parco open at Ikebukoro in 1969, which was the first collective consuming spaces building (Sezon no Katsudou, 1991:20). It housed a theatre, restaurant, fashion boutiques, galleries, bookshops in same building.

As a result of the development of these new consumer spaces in Shibuya, the landscape changed completely and it became the most fashionable spot in Tokyo for young people, especially those most sensitive to style and the latest fashions. Hence, for the cultural intermediaries and marketing experts who had created the new Shibuya, they had produced a new 'honey-pot.' They could look down at the streets below them which were filling up with fashionable young people attracted to the new scene and scrutinize them as the main data source for new trends in fashion and fashionable lifestyles. Single working women and university girl students who would become 'career women' (professionals), were focused on as a main market by Parco and other retailers (figure 12.4).

In a similar way to their predecessors, the women students and working women in the 1910s and 1920s, the new 1970s and 1980s generation of young women attracted a good deal of public attention, much of it critical. Yet, the single working woman and new women in the 1980s were more cultivated in terms of self-expression and much better informed about the consumer goods, places, styles and images and more skilled in assembling the various materials into lifestyle packages and 'looks,' which could then be performed on various stages in the city.

Parco and the Saison Group intended to offer new merchandise and styles in the 1970s and 1980s strongly linked to advertising campaigns. They created a new image for the Seibu Saison Group, one which not only based on the selling of commodities along with 'images', but also based on a stronger conception of the material and symbolic staging of the various acts of purchase and consumption of goods and images. Hence sites such as Shibuya, became developed as 'attractors,' centres of consumer culture, but also centres of information on fashion/trend and culture, centres of innovation.[10]

[10] It must note that Saizon group developed not only consumer retail places, but also entertainments places, such as theatres and galleries. Indeed the whole city district was 'up for grabs' for the marketers, image and design people. It was almost like a Disneyland green field site. Parco re-named streets, added street furnishings and created artistic wall advertisements in Shibuya in order to change and cityscape. It took on a film set, theme park quality, perfectly dramatised for performers who were young people. This was especially the case in the early stage of the project, 1973-1976, when it focused on female university students, single and married working women (Across, アクロ

Shibuya, then, became a very attractive place for young people to 'hang around,' to stroll, look at the crowds, perhaps witness 'a happening' (Yoshimi, 1987:294). Yoshimi mentions that we can see a similarity between the Ginza in the 1920s and Shibuya in the 1970s. 'Both were city sites, where young people who tend to prefer the 'modern' or contemporary ('now') urban lifestyles come to perform 'the self' (Yoshimi, 1997:296). Parco and the Saison Group insisted that they planned to create a stage, which had capacity to generated increased possibilities 'to look' and 'be looked at' for people who come to Shibuya, especially, Koen Dori (公園通り, Park Street) (*Across*, April, 1983, cited in Ueno, 1991:101). Hence Shibuya generated powerful pulling power for those young people who had a high sensitivity to being fashionable, especially young woman. This was accomplished by not only turning the street into a stage and revamping the image and material fabric of the Shibuya district of the city (recreating the image of the city along with the development of cityscape), but also through a strong additional media effort. The latter involved a mass of literature and images of Shibuya which were provided in catalogue magazines、 about new goods and shops, along with information magazines, which discussed the latest entertainment as well as goods, fashions and styles, plus 'what's on,' and 'what's new' pages (Yoshimi, 1987:306).[11]

Like, the *moga and mobo* in the 1920s who enjoyed *ginbura* (strolling the Ginza) read magazines such as *Modan Nippon* (e.g. column, 'the letter from Tokyo,' May 1930) and *Kindai Seikatsu* (e.g. the column 'the landscape of Tokyo,' June 1929; 'the landscape of railway tracks in Tokyo,' August 1929), fashion sensitive stylish young people in the 1970s and '80s had their own information magazines, such as *Pia*, and *Shiti ro-do* (City Road), along with fashion magazines, such as *Anan, Nonno, Olive, JJ, Moa* (more) and *Hanako,* as well as the popular young man's magazine *Popai.* Such magazines provided useful information and images on the

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ス April, 1983).

[11] For more detail see Yoshimi (1987:289-308). Yoshimi examined and analysed why and in what way Saison group and Parco created the 'stage' for young people to perform and to express themselves (see also Ueno, 1991). For more details of the concept, strategy, and practices of the Saison Group and Parco in the 1970s and the 1980s see the marketing information magazine, *Akurosu,* which was first published by Parco in 1977.

latest urban trends, therefore, they became essential resources for modern girls, modern boys and sophisticated young people, out to enjoy the city.[12]

During the development of Parco and the Saison Group's image strategy in Shibuya, woman was singled out as the main market. At the same time, women were also seen as key performers for 'the city stage.' The main aim of the first phase (1973-1976) was the creating of an attractive cultural environment through enhancing the 'look' and image of 'Kouen Dori' (公園通り, Park Street in Shibuya, which become the main street). Women's assertiveness and self-expression became main themes. Hence, women took on a double role in the city: on the one hand they were part of the cast, background players, part of the stage setting; on the other hand, they were the main performers on the stage. At the same time, they were of course, the main market as consumers.

The various 'manuals for urban life' (the information and fashion magazines) along with the performance stage (re-developed Shibuya) were completed by the late 1980s. When Parco opened in Ikebukuro in 1969, the concept of the development of department store had been based on 'creating a city within the department store' (department store transformed into a city under one roof) (Tatsuki, 1991:438). Hence the classic concept of department store, 'everything under the one roof' still existed. Yet, when Parco started in Shibuya in 1973, the concept became transformed into 'creating the whole city as a department store' (the city transformed into department store with the roof off).

Woman in the new 'Age of Women' (*Onna no Jidai*) began to actively construct the staging themselves, rather than passively performing as woman being looked at. Women's independence, individuality, and subjectivity were highlighted in Parco's advertisements and then materialized by Parco in their redevelopment of Shibuya as a fashionable stage.

[12] Popular women's magazines in 1970s and 1980s were: *Anan* and *Nonon* started in 1970, *JJ* in 1975, *Moa* (More) in 1977, *Olive* in 1982, and *Hanako* in 1988. Popular information magazines were: *Pia* in 1972, and *Shiti Rodo* (City Road) in 1975.

Although, department stores in the period 1900-1930s were often strongly influenced by the actions of the government and political circumstances, especially evident in war time, in terms of the classic concept of the department store, the socio-cultural function of the department store had not changed dramatically up to 1970s. If we looked back to the history of Mitsukoshi, we have been traced in the early chapter of this thesis, they had already started to create spectacular spaces, provided cultural education, and entertainment along with information about new lifestyles.

Hence, the department store's infrastructure had proved to be durable and had successfully survived new eras, down to the 1990s. They constantly transformed themselves to create and provide new space for performance. In the same way as we find with Disneyland, we can see that department stores have been 'disneyfied' (Bryman, 1995) in order to provide new enticing environments with which to materialize women's practices. Women can gain a sense of self-expression not just through the experience of purchase or consumption (experiencing consumption), but also through performing on the streets (consuming experiences). Through performing on the city streets, women could enjoy a greater and more spontaneous bodily sensuality, through seeing, feeling, smelling and listening.

Hence the artificial spaces provided by Parco and the Seibu Saison Group, were not cognitive spaces, but based on thinking through the appeal of various modes of sensation and embodied sensuality in the urban environment. In this sense, perhaps they had read Walter Benjamin's (1999) *Passagenwerk* (The Arcades Project) and produced environments designed to summon up the full range of urban sensations, including the half-remembered allegories and fragmentary sensations, which would seem to be essential features of the new modern urban life in the era of mass reproduction and consumption. Parco could not only revamp a district of the city, but raid the archive, the vast database and cultural repository which advertisers love to contemplate when they are searching for new ideas. Out of this they could produce new environments which drew on suggestive associations and cameos of other times and places. Environments which

would be attractive stage sets, which drew in women eager to perform, or 'just look,' or 'taste the air' of the new moment.

Ueno Chizuko (1998:196) has talked of 'the end of the department store,' drawing attention to the ways Seibu moved from selling merchandize to selling images. She adopts a quasi-Hegelian vernacular, when she states that 'if department stores are a product of a particular period of history – and so, inevitably, of a particular culture – then history itself must bring them to the end of their original mission at some point or other' (Ueno, 1998:197). In the long term, we must agree that all things must end, yet today, it seems a little premature to proclaim the death of the department store and the emergence of the era of the 'post-department store.'[13] It can be argued that as long as department stores continuously transform themselves to provide new consumption spaces along with new ideas about lifestyles, and as long as women who have ambitions and desire to perform and present themselves in stylish ways, then, they still have some possibility to survive in the future.

[13] The term, department store in Japanese literally means 'one hundred item store' (*hyakkaten*), in which everything is under one roof. It describes the traditional business style found in retailers such as Mitsukoshi, Takashimaya, Isetan, and Matsuzakaya. Since the Seibu Saison Group started to develop Shibuya, they reacted by embarking on new forms of merchandising, which restructured the 'one hundred item store' to the '70 item store' or even '50 item store'. They started with a 70 item store in 1976 (Ueno, 1991:65). This project let Seibu Saison Group to set up a number of specialty stores, such as 'LoFt [sic],' which housed a variety of goods from kitchenware, stationery to DIY goods, which is similar to 'Tokyu Hands.' LoFt was set up in Shibuya in 1987 and 'Seed,' which housed top fashion designer's boutiques, opened in 1986. It could be said that when Seibu started its '70 item store,' the traditional definition of the Japanese department store had come to an end. Yet, the term, 'department' in English literally mean 'section', which could well be a good term to describe the various contemporary Japanese consumption spaces, such as the integrally designed consumer space in the vicinity of Koen Dori in Shibuya.

Appendix: A Note on Methods and Sources

The thesis has been based upon a variety of research methods. The major focus has been upon historical sources such as: department store archive material (especially the Mitsukoshi archive) along with women's magazines, department store magazines, cinema magazines, newspapers, photograph collections and statistical data. In addition there were a number of interviews conducted with people in the retail sector and women who had lived through the 1920s who could provide personal biographical information.

Department store archival material and interviews

A number of archives and institutions were visited. These include the Mitsukoshi archive, the Mitsukoshi management promotion section, the general affairs; the Takashimaya archive and the Takashimaya, the public information section; the Saison Research Institute (all Tokyo). A number of discussions took place with Mitsukoshi archive staff on these visits, which took place in January 1998 to April 2002. Unfortunately the archive was not organized too well and a good deal of the material had not been adequately classified or stored. The Bon Marché department store in Paris was also visited in September 2001. Selfridge's and Harrods department stores in London were visited on a number of occasions between 1997 and 2001.

Magazines and newspapers

A number of Japanese magazines were examined, largely in the Meiji, Taisho and early Showa eras (1900-1930). These include the various department store magazines of

Mitsukoshi: *Jikou, Mitukoshi Taimusu, Mitukoshi, Mitukoshi Katarogu.* A number of general magazines were examined, which included: *Chuo Kouron, Sehin Seinen, Modan Nippon, Kindai Seitkatsu, Kinema Jyunpou.* The main women's magazines looked at included : *Jyogaku Sekai, Jyogaku Zasshi, Shufu no Tomo, Yuai Fujin, Fujin no Tomo, Josei, Josei Kaizo, and Taiyo.* The English magazine *Draper's Record* was also examined for the period 1887-1909.

The magazines and newspapers were in collections at the National Diet Library, Tokyo University Library, Ochanomizu Women's University, Bunka Women's University, Tokyo Metropolitan Library, the National Film Centre in The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art, Edo Tokyo Museum. They were all examined in the period 1997-2002.

Interviews with women about their experiences

Two interviews with women (both in their 90s) were carried out. The first woman, who was a socialist, was born in 1905. Interview was hold at her house on 15th of April, 2001. The interview was semi-structured and focused on the socialist movement in the period 1920-1930. She had joined a socialist group and became an activist in 1922. The interview was semi-structured interview and tape-recorded and later transcribed. An aide-memoire was used, but the interview was allowed to run freely. Although she was 95 years old, but she was still able to answer and talk incredibly clearly and vividly. She identifies herself as a socialist and was still very proud of her actions.

The second interview was with a working woman (born 1911), who spent time as a beautician at Shiseido. The interview was carried out on 8th of January 2001. The aim of the interview was to discover information on working women's lifestyles along with a sense of the impact of American culture in the period 1930-1960. This lady was the first whole body beautician in Shiseido. Before becoming a beautician, she had been a masseur, working in GHQ (American General Headquarters, the occupation forces headquarters) family in 1940s. She had many opportunities to come across American styles and lifestyles through her American customers. She also had many famous baseball players and film stars as her

customers.

Interviews with department store managers

Interviews with the Seibu department store manager and members of the public relations section were held at the Seibu department store on 5th April, 1999. The interviews focus on the transitional marketing strategy of the group and the shift in publicity from 1970 to 1990s. In terms of their company identity as cultural producers and providers, they played an important role in producing new form of advertisements, which helped promulgate new lifestyles along with new aesthetic values. For example, when faced by the bursting of the 'bubble economy' in Japan in 1990s, they began to transform again their company identity.

The Shibuya cultural scene in the 1970s and '80s

To analyse the 'disneyfication' of Shibuya and youth culture in 1970-1980s, I also drew on my personal experiences, as a member of the generation of new female consumers who regularly visited this exciting urban scene at the time. In addition, I interviewed an advertising 'creative' designer who worked in Shibuya at the time. He provided excellent and very helpful information on the construction of the new sense of aestheticization and pleasurable sensual experiences. Like me, he himself was one of the young people who enjoyed the new Shibuya of the 1980s.

An interview was also carried out with promotion and design director of the Hakuhodo advertising agency on 18th December 2000.

Global knowledge flows

Where possible the emphasis has been to see the developments referred to in the thesis in relation to wider global influences and focus on sources in other countries which have had an impact on Japan, both in terms of cultural flows of information, images, ideas and people at the time. Here we think of the various Meiji reformers visits to the United States and Europe and the literature and ideas they brought back. Mitsukoshi's managers (and those of

other stores) were also aware that information about department store construction, organization, retailing practices were circulating globally and they made regular visits and closely observed developments abroad. The cinema too was an important resource, not only as a leisure pastime, but also for careful observation of new western fashion, body language and 'the look,' with a good deal of the most influential image flows coming from Hollywood and the United States.

The flows of intellectual ideas about the new women, mass culture, everyday life and new leisure practices, given that intellectuals, artists and academics were regularly travelling to culture centres in the West, were also important. With an expanding literate public in the Taisho era, these various cultural specialists also had an increasing cultural intermediary role as they passed on their views on cultural living, the movies, the new urban life, the modern girl to the public via newspapers and magazines and radio. Some of these ideas were picked up and circulated back to the public and caught hold of the public imagination (e.g. 'red love,' the *moga*, 'the Marx boy.'

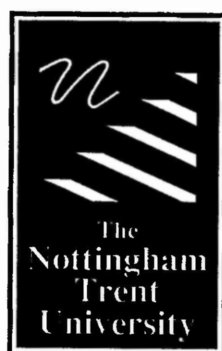
In addition to the power balance differential which permitted the West to control the infrastructure of flows[1] and manipulate the supply regimes, there was a genuine interest in Western things on the part of intellectuals, social reformers and other groups in Japan, who were intent on knowing about the latest modern practices and their implications. In general, it is hard to disagree with the remarks of Sakai Naoki (2001) that the dominant global tendency has been for centrifugal flows of knowledge, involving what 'theory,' being sent out from the Western centre, with other secondary flows of knowledge, known as 'raw data' (potentially technically useful or exotic knowledge) coming from the periphery. Yet we also need to consider the mediation of the flows, the role of cultural intermediaries and cultural entrepreneurs who gathered up, packaged and brokered the new theories for non-Western audiences.

We should also be aware of the structural imbalance not only in the flows which took place at the time, but in the subsequent scholarship on consumer culture, the new woman and the period 1900-1930, which forms the bulk of the available explanatory and narrative literature

[1] The term flows came into prominence with Appadurai's (1990) discussion of the disjunctive flows of money, ideas, technology, goods, images and people in the current phase of globalization.

on the topics. Many of the sources here are from the United States, and to a much lesser extent Britain and other European countries (France, Germany). Our knowledge of other countries, such as Argentina, China or India which could provide relevant comparative material, is very limited. Not only through language access, but through what academics and intellectuals in English speaking western countries deem to be relevant and worthy of translation. Many of the things which flows through the global sorting house, pass through the judgement of this set of gatekeepers. A judgement which is compounded by the fact that many academics in countries like Japan learn English and absorb and inculcate with it a body of theory and intellectual tastes, which act as an international currency, and has high cultural capital value when they are in turn imported into Japan, either directly or in translation. There are many studies of Japanese history and culture from Japanese Studies experts in the United States, who occupy a privileged position in terms of well-funded centres and research grants, and are able to form a critical mass, to set agendas and fund them and direct with them a body of implicit and explicit theoretical assumptions about Japan.

Of course, from the Weberian perspective of 'relevance for value,' this is no bad thing. Weber held that an anarchist studying the law would ask interesting questions deriving from his or her value position, which could illuminate the object of study in new and interesting ways. Something which would add to our overall understanding of the problem question. Yet Weber himself said in respect of his famous study of *The Protest and Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* that his research question was guided by value relevant ideas in his own biographical and national context. The assumption being that these questions were highly relevant, intrinsically valuable to understanding the development of German and capitalism. We also need to consider the corollary in the Japanese context – not to search for a Japanese Protestant ethic, something which a number of American sociologists have tried to do, and which could well be based upon a series of flawed theoretical and methodological assumptions. Rather, to investigate some of the immanent cultural motifs within Japanese development, which crystallized in both the everyday lives of ordinary people as well as intellectuals, and try to understand the ways in which they were formed. This study has also sought to be a small step on the way to address these questions, too.



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Women and Consumption: the Rise of the Department Store and the 'New Woman' in Japan 1900-1930

Volume 2

Tomoko Tamari

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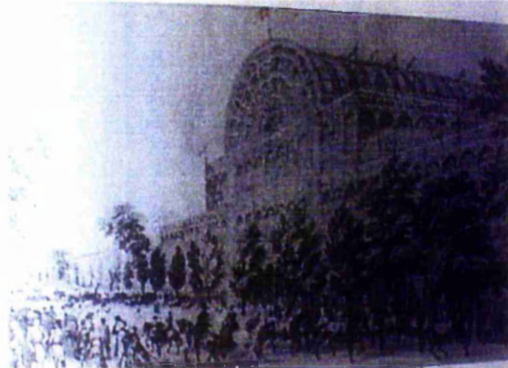
Figures

Figure 2.1 The First London International Exposition in 1851 (Crystal Place)



(The great exhibition of 1851 cited in Shiina, 1989:28)

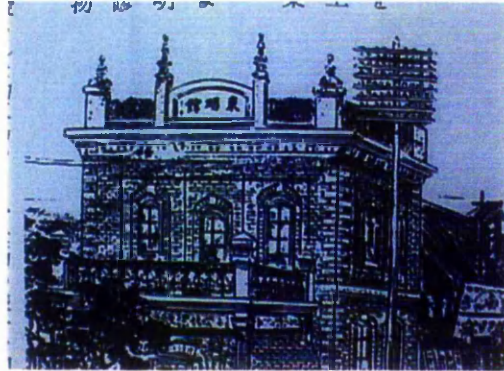
Figure 2.2 Members of Takenouchi mission

(Note: Senior officials of the Takenouchi mission to Europe in 1862. From left to right: Matsudaira Yasunao, Takenouchi Yasunori, Kyogoku Tkaaki, Shibara Takenaka)
(Andrew Cobbing, 1998)

Figure 2.3 Kankoba, Teikoku Hakuhinkan, c.1897

(*Tokyo shashin cho* (東京写真帳) (Hatsuda, 1993:)

Figure 2.4 Kankoba, Toumeikan, 1892



(*Tokyo shashin cho* (東京写真帳) (Hatsuda, 1993:49)

Figure 2.5 Bon Marché in 1863, 1873 and 1910

(Note: The frontispiece of the 1911 agenda. At the top: Aristide and Marguerite Boucicaut. Below: view of the store in 1863, 1873 and 1910). (Miller, 1981)

Figure 2.6 Bon Marché Today (1)

(author's photo)

Figure 2.7 Bon Marché Today (2)

(author's photograph)

Figure 2.8 Arcade in Paris

(author's photograph)

Figure 2.9 Arcade in Paris

(author's photograph)

Figure 2.10 Mitsukoshi sports day 1

(*Mitsukoshi*, December 1911)

<<Figure 2.11>> Mitsukoshi sports day 2

(*Mitsukoshi*, December 1911)

Figure 2.12 Saleswomen's day-trip in 1933

(Kageyama Kouyou, shouwa no onna, 1965)

Figure 2.13 The first rail terminal department store. Hankyu department store, 1929

(*The 25 years History of Hankyu Department Store*; Hida, 1998:350)

Figure 2.14 Roof garden in Mitsukoshi

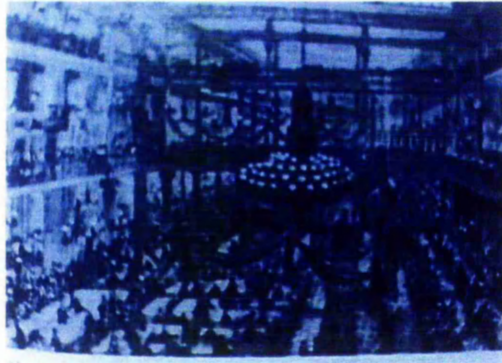
(Hatsuda, 1993:126)

Figure 2.15 Japanese women's make up (1873)

(Note: Firmin-Girard (1838-1921). Using numerous Japanese garniture as motifs.
The idea for the composition was taken from the famous artist *Kunisada*'s (国貞) picture 'Cosmetics'
(one of a series of *Murasaki Shikibu Kai awase,* 紫式部源氏貝合).

Chapter 3:

Figure 3.1 Interior of the Bon Marché, 1886

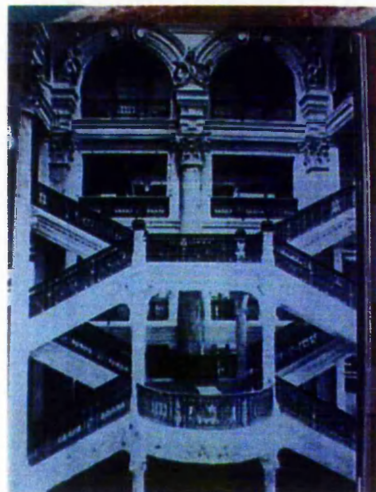


(Miller, 1981)

Figure 3.2 Mitsukoshi headquarters in Nihonbashi 1914

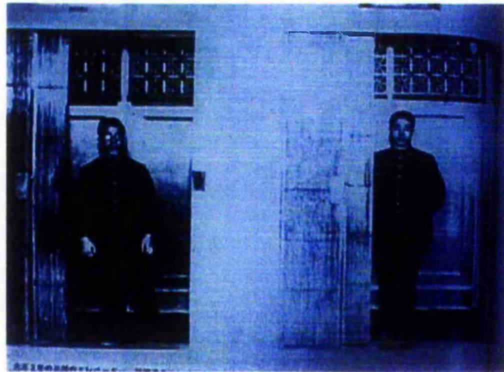
(The history of Mitsukoshi, 三越のあゆみ、1954)

Figure 3.3 Mitsukoshi headquarters in Nihonbashi 1914



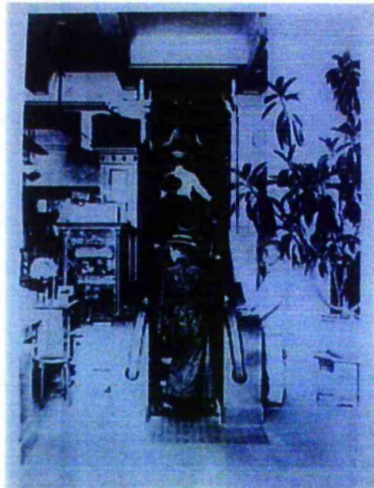
(*The History of Mitsukoshi*, 三越のあゆみ、1954)

Figure 3.4 Mitsukoshi elevator



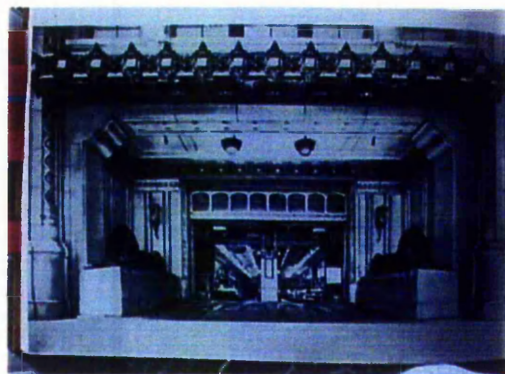
(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:65)

Figure 3.5 Mitsukoshi escalators



(The Record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:65)

Figure 3.6 Mitsukoshi lions



(The history of Mitsukoshi, 三越のあゆみ)

Figure 3.7 Mitsukoshi headquarters' ceiling

(*Kenchiku zasshi* in April 1915; Hatsuda, 1993:104)

Figure 3.8 Mitsukoshi tower and the roof garden

(Note: There is an observation platform inside the tower) (The history of Mitsukoshi, 1954).

Figure 3.9 Poster of Selfridge's

(Bowlby, 1985: 21 'Just Looking')

Figure 3.10 Poster of Mitsukoshi

(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:55)

Figure 3.11 Mitukoshi veil

(*Jikou,* May, 1908)

Figure 3.12 Selfridge's Poster

(Selfridge's advertisement, 1909) (Selfridges archive, cited in Nava, 1996:54)

Chapter 4:
Figure 4.1 Fukuzawa Yukichi with an American Girl in San Francisco

(Miyoshi, M. 1979)

Figure 4.2 Echigoya, ukiyo-e

(The history of Mitsukoshi, 1929)

Figure 4.3 Takahashi Yoshio

(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990)

Figure 4.4 Hibi Ousuke

(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990)

Figure 4.5 Ryukokai

(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990)

Figure 4.6 Display in 1908

(The history of Mitsukoshi, 1954:np)

Figure 4.7 Show window circa 1906

(The history of Mitsukoshi, 1954:np)

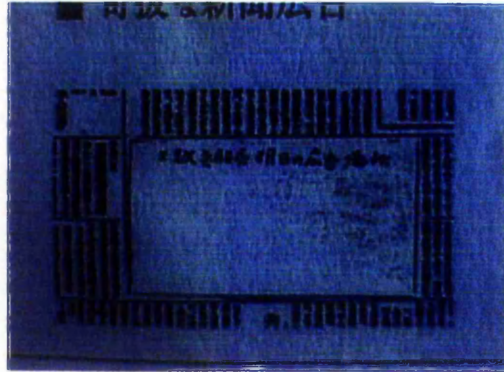
Figure 4.8 Sugiura Hisui's 1914 Mitsukoshi poster 1

(Note: Beautiful Japanese woman relaxing in Mitsukoshi's sitting room)
(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990)

Figure 4.9 Sugiura Hisui's 1914 Mitsukoshi poster 2

(Note: The new building opening poster, 1914) (The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:64)

Figure 4.10 Newspaper advertisement 19th December, 1906



(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:47)

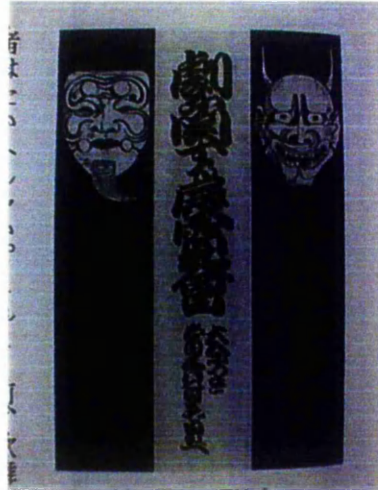
Figure 4.11 Imperial Theatre Programme   c 1913

(Mieiji Taisho Kurashi no Monogatari, 明治・大正くらしの物語り, 1979)

Figure 4.12 English tailor, Alexander Michel

(Mitukoshi Taimusu, October, 1913:7)

Figure 4.13 Theatre exhibition



(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:67)

Figure 4.14 Travel exhibition

(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:67)

Figure 4.15 Genroku dance

(The history of Mitsukoshi, 1954)

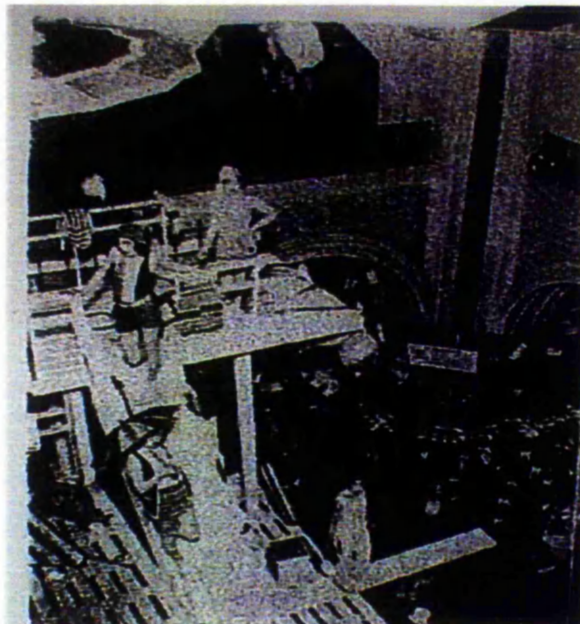
Figure 4.16 Style of dress: Western clothes or Japanese clothes (kimono)

(Kon, Yoshida , 1986)

Chapter 5:
<<Figure 5.1>> Gasorin garu

『女性自身』(1978)6月号

<<Figure 5.2>> Manekin garu



戦間期主要都市社会調査報告書『女性編』大1期（8）婦人職業戦線の展望（東京市役所　昭和6年（1931）

Chapter 6:

<<Figure 6.1>> Ginza café waitresses

(Saito Minako, 2000)

<<Figure 6.2>> Saleswomen in kimono

(Meiji Taisho Kurashi no Monogatari, 1979)

<<Figure 6.3 >> Bus girl (*basu garu*) 1924

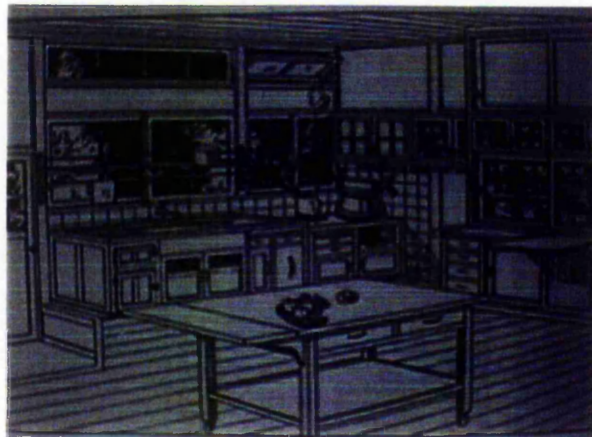
(写真近代女性史、写真近代日本史第 1巻, １９５３)

<<Figure 6.4 >> Kanto map

<<Figure 6.5>> Women's promotion

(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990)

<<Figure 6.6>> Cultural kitchen



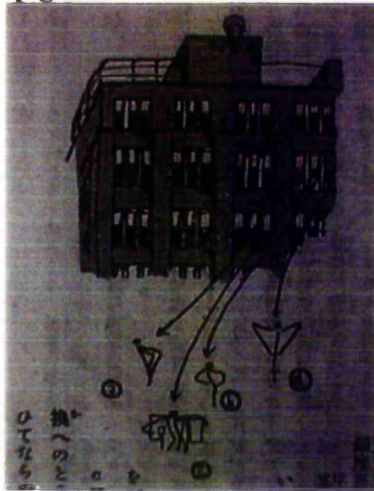
(Kosuge, 1998:191)

<<Figure 6.7>> Shop-girl and university student

(大正、昭和の風俗 60 年 主婦の友社, 1977)

It is entitled '*departo musume*' (department store girl). The girl is disappointed with her university student customer who wants to buy a present for his girlfriend. As a saleswoman, she must advise and help him to choose something nice; yet she fancies him and always looks forward to his visit, and suffers because he is unaware of her and just ignores her.

<<Figure 6.8>> Peeped at shop girls



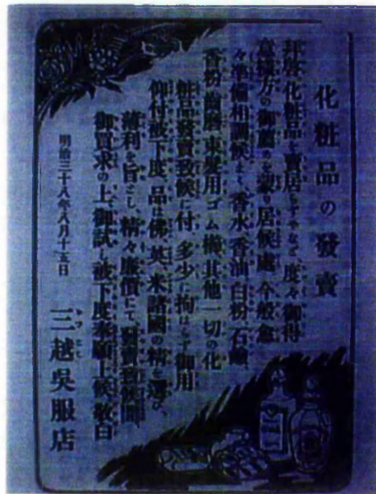
(*Modan Nippon*, October 1930:61)

The cartoon shows four saleswomen changing their clothes. Somebody is peeping at them through the window.

<<Figure 6.9>> Eudermine

『美と知のミーム、資生堂』資生堂

<<Figure 6.10>> The first cosmetic advertisement in *Jikou*



(*Jikou* August 1905)

Chapter 7:
<<Figure 7.1>> Gibson girl

(Ellen Wiley Todd, 1992)

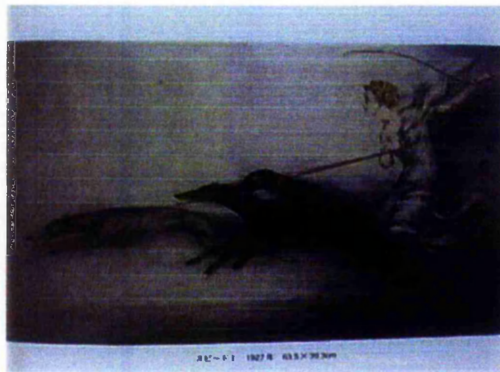
<<Figure 7.2>> Clara Bow

(*Photoplay* Fan Magazine)

<<Figure 7.3>> Clara Bow 'It Girl'

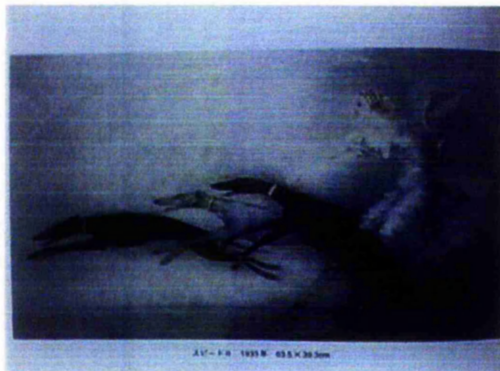
Eleanor Glyn selects Clara as the 'It Girl' (1926).
(David Stenn, 1988)

<<Figure 7.4>> Louis Icart 'Speed' 1927



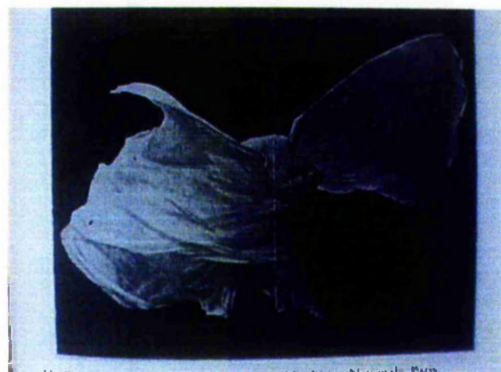
(Shimada, 1988)

<<Figure 7.5>> Louis Icart 'Speed' 1933



(Shimada, 1988)

<<Figure 7.6>> Loie Fuller

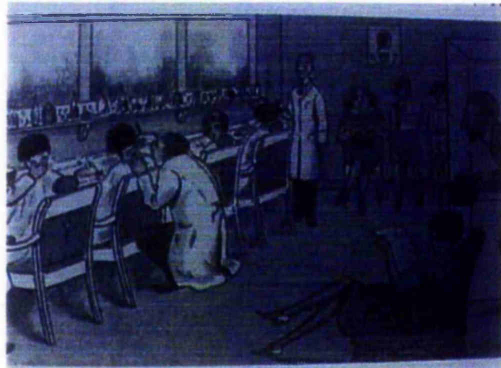


Fuller in costume for "Lys du Nil." Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris
(Rhonda K. Garelick, 1998)

<<Figure 7.7>> Flapper fashion

(Valerie Mendes & Amy De La Haye, 1999)
Dressed for a special daytime occasion, *c.* 1926, these fashionable young women wear cloche hats and decorated, drop-waisted dress with matching coats. The long strings of beads were ubiquitous in this period.

<<Figure 7.8>> Modern girls in barbershop



(Reproduced from *Blækspruttten*, 1925, B. Søland, 2000)
Because ladies' hairdressers generally refused to cut women's hair, young women had to patronize barbershops in order to acquire the new stylish look. As suggested by this 1925 cartoon, many men found this a disturbing intrusion into traditionally male space

<<Figure 7.9>> Japanese flapper type woman 1

(The Craft Gallery, The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo)
By Sugiura Hisui, Poster of Opening of the First Underground in the Orient between Asakusa and Ueno, 1927

<<Figure 7.10>> Japanese flapper type woman 2

(The Craft Callery, The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo)
By Sugiura Hisui, Poster of Ginza Mitsukoshi Opening on April 10th 1930

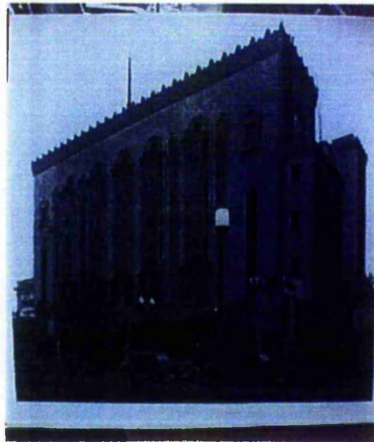
<<Figure 7.11>> Chinese modern girls

(Miss Yang Aili on the cover of Liangyu no. 4, May 1926 cited in Ou-Fan Lee, Leo, 1999)

<<Figure 7.12>> Danish flapper

(B. Søland, 2000)
Edith Jørgensen after having been elected the first Miss Denmark in 1926, Reproduced from *Vore Damer*, 1926)

<<Figure 7.13>> Architecture of cinema



(Source : The 40 years history of Nikkatsu(日活 40 年史))

<<Figure 7.14>> Colleen Moore

(*Kinema Jyunpou, Movie Times*, 11 March 1926, No.221)

<<Figure 7.15>> Colleen Moore

(*Kinema Jyunpou, Movie Times*, 1st February, 1926, No.217)

<<Figure 7.16>> Clara Bow

(*Kinema Jyunpou, Movie Times* , 21 April 1926, No.225)

<<Figure 7.17>> Mary Pickford,

(*Kinema Jyunpou, Movie Times*, 11 May 1926, No. 227)

<<Figure 7.18>> Kurishima Sumiko in *Gubijinsou*

(鈴木　勤編 日本歴史シリーズ　「大正デモクラシー」,1968)

<<Figure 7.19>> *The Women who is Touching My Leg*

(The 40 years history of Nikkatsu, 1952)

<<Figure 7.20>> *Five Women around Him* 1

(The 40 years history of Nikkatsu, 1952)

<<Figure 7.21>> *Five Women around Him* 2

(The collection of film stars (2), 1929)

<<Figure 7.22>> Irie Takako

Nikkatsu koushinn kyoku, undouhenn (1929)directed by Uchida Tom
(The collection of film stars (4), 1929, Heibonsha)

<<Figure 7.23>> Natsukawa Shizue

This photo is Natsukawa's mannequin dummy, which was displayed in the show window of a department store in Osaka
(The collection of film stars (2), 1929)

<<Figure 7.24>> *Living Doll (Ikeru Ningyou)*

Tendency film: *Living Doll* (1929) starring Irie Takako.
(Nikkatsu 40 Year's History)

<<Figure 7.25>> Miss Japan

(*Film Centre*, special issue: Director Uchida Tomu, (1992) (*Taiyou, 1984:44)*

Chapter 8:
<<Figure 8.1>> The covers of *Jhogaku zattshi.*

(*Jhogaku zattshi,* March 1888)

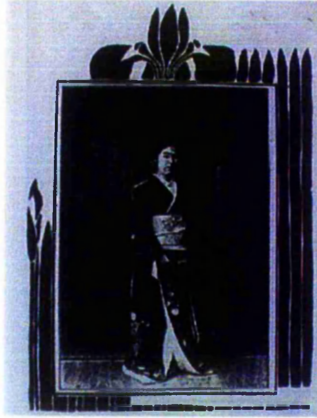
<<Figure 8.2>> The cover of *Fujin Sekai*

(*Fujin Sekai,* July 1923)

<<Figure 8.3>> upper class sisters

(*Jikou,* April, 1908)

<<Figure 8.4>> Upper class daughter



(*Jikou*, May, 1908)

<<Figure 8.5>> schoolgirls with tennis racket

(family photo, c.1910)

<<Figure 8.6>> The upper class photograph for women's magazine

(family photo, 1923)

It looks like upper class people with western clothes, it had a note on the reverse side of the photograph, saying that somebody sent it to *Fujokai* (婦女界) (The date is approximately in 1923.

<<Figure 8.7>>A daughter of the upper class, Kosugi Fumiko

(*Fujin Sekai*, August, 1928)

<<Figure 8.8>> Nashimotonomiya Itsuko （梨本宮伊都子）

(*Fujin Gahou*, 70th anniversary special issue, 1976)

<<Figure 8.9>> International marriage, couples

(*Fujin Sekai*, August, 1923)

<<Figure 8.10>> New designed Kitchen

(*Mitsukoshi*, February, 1925:32)

<<Figure 8.11>> Ready-made Kitchen Table 調理代第 1 号

(*Shufu no Tomo*, October 1913 cited in Kosuge, 1998:183)

Chapter 9

<<Figure 9.1>> 'Appropriate to the Name of Culture' [Cultural House]

(E.K. Tipton and J. Clark (eds),2000)

<<Figure 9.2>> Culture house

(E.K. Tipton and J. Clark (eds) ,2000)

<<Figure 9.3>> 'What is Cultural Life?' cartoon postcard circa 1922

Wife: 'Goodbye. You mustn't leave the house while I'm out. If I have visitors, be sure to receive them politely.'
Husband: 'Come home early.' Wife: 'Social duties won't allow it. I'll come home when I please.'
(E.K. Tipton and J. Clark (eds), 2000)

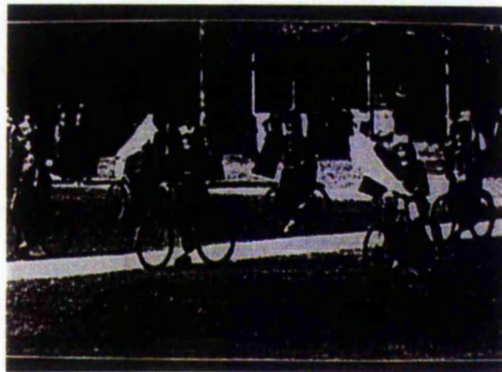
<<Figure 9.4>> Mixed bathing, Public Bath at Shimoda.

(Miyoshi Masao, 1994)
This illustration appeared in the first edition of Hawks's *Narrative of the Expedition*.
After a shocked reaction, it was withdrawn from the later editions.

<<Figure 9.5>> Women wearing western clothes in Rokumeikan era, 1883-

(婦人画報創刊７０周年記念、ファッションと風俗の７０年, 1975)

<<Figure 9.6>> Japan women's university, Athletic meetings 1



(Japan Women's University bicycle ride 1903 日本女子大学運動会,自転車マーチ)

<<Figure 9.7>> Japan Women's University, Athletic meetings 2

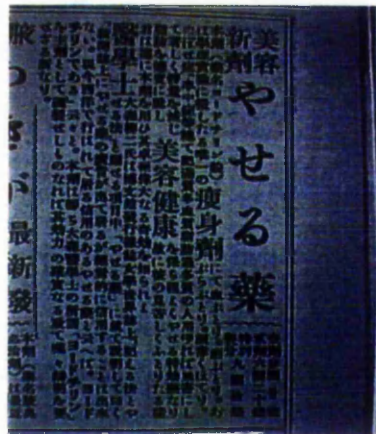
(Japan Women's University 日本女子大学運動会, dance in 1904)

(別冊歴史読本、明治大正を生きた１５人の女達 1980)

<<Figure 9.8>> Tokyo Women's Normal School's athletic meeting (now called Ochanomizu Women's University)

(*Fujin Gahou*, September, 1922)

<<Figure 9.9>> Advertisement for pills for losing weight



(*Jyogaku Sekai*, March, 1918)

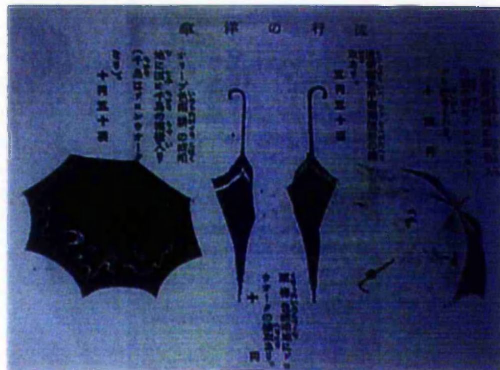
<<Figure 9.10>> Advertisement for a large high bridged nose

(*Jyogaku Sekai*, March, 1918)

<<Figure 9.11>> Victoria menstruation belt advertisement with modern woman

(*Fujin Sekai*, July, 1923)

<<Figure 9.12>> western designed parasols



(*Jikou*, May 1908:37)

<<Figure 9.13>> gloves

(*Mitsukoshi Taimusu,* January, 1909:39)

<<Figure 9.14>> handkerchiefs

(*Mtsukoshi Taimusu,* July 1912:np)

<<Figure 9.15>> lace-up boots

(*Mitsukoshi Taimusu,* September, 1911)

<<Figure 9.16>> women in kimono wear western underwear

(Note: This is a drawing of women who put on western underwear under kimono. For Japanese women it was not easy to put on western clothes, but much easier to wear western underwear under kimono, because underwear were invisible. 「大阪パック」1912 年 11 月 15 日'斯くの如きものをして所謂新しき女と云う')

(*Oka Pakku*, November, 1912 cited in Hashizume, 1996:125)

<<Figure 9.17>> Modern girl in summer

(*Mitsukoshi*, **August 1926)**

<< Figure 9.18>> Western summer clothes

(Kageyama, 1965:20)

<<Figure 9.19>> Sokuhatsu

(*Fujin Sekai* February, 1921)

<<Figure 9.20>> Nihon Gami

(Kawamura, １９９３)

<<Figure 9.21>> Nude painting and Japanese people

Caricature drawing by Bigo
(中山和子、江種満子、藤森清編著, 1998)

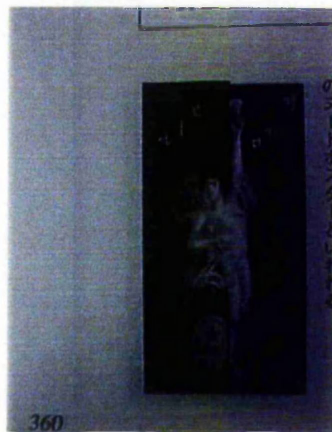
<<Figure 9.22>> Bathing suits

(*Mitsukoshi*、 July 1926)

<<Figure 9.23>> Santory port wine

(*Asahi Newpaper*,1922)

<<Figure 9.24>> Poster of Sapporo Beer



The first nude poster of Sapporo Beer)
(The chronological table of history of family 2000)

<<Figure 9. 25>> Shinbashi geisha in the *Genroku* style in 1907 (for posters and fliers)

(The record of Mitsukoshi, 1990:49)

<<Figure 9.26>> Okada Saburo's posters in 1908

(Mitskoshi no ayumi, the history of Mitsukoshi, 1954)

<<Figure 9. 27>> Montaged photograph of Japanese beautiful women

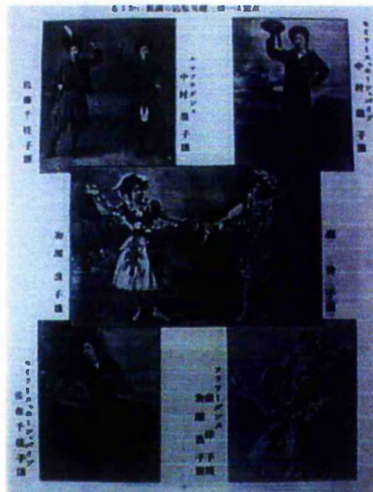
(*Mitsukoshi Times*, in 1910)

The same year, Mitsukoshi started to sell picture postcards of beautiful oriental women.

<<Figure 9. 28>> Postcards of beautiful oriental women

(*Mitsukoshi Times*, in 1910

<<Figure 9.29>> The Imperial Theatre's arts school students



(*Mitsukoshi taimusu*, June 1910)

<<Figure 9.30>> Alice and the latest designed western hats

(*Mitsukoshi*, March, 1925: 13)

<<Figure 9. 31>> Alice and child models

(*Mitsukoshi*, July, 1925)

<<Figure 9.32>> Remont and western clothes which was designed by her

(Note: She is modelling her own clothes)

(*Mitsukoshi*, February, 1929)

Figure 9.33 Odet Manigrie

(*Mitsukoshi*, June, 1930)

<<Figure 9.34>> Koguchi Michiko's hairstyle

(*Mitsukoshi*, July, 1927)

<<Figure 9.35>> Koguchi Michiko's hairstyle

(*Mitsukoshi*, November, 1927)

<Figure 9.36>> Dancer, Ishi Konami in western clothes by Odet

(Mitsukoshi, September, 1930)

<<Figure 9.37>> Film actress Tanaka Kinuyo

(*Mitsukoshi*, August, 1930:7)

<<Figure 9.38>> Film actress Takita Shizue

(*Mitsukoshi*, March, 1931)

<<Figure 9.39>> Mizutani Yaeko

(Mitsukoshi 1926)

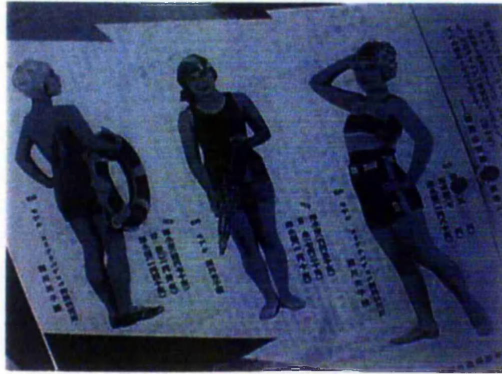
<<Figure 9.40>> Takita Shizue

(*Mitsukoshi*, December 1927)

<<Figure 9.41>> Mitsukoshi mannequins

(*Mitsukoshi*, November, 1928)

<<Figure 9.42>>Dancer Segawa Mitsuko in bathing suit



(*Mitsukoshi*, July, 1930)

<<Figure 9.43>>Misunoe Takiko in bathing suit

(*Mitsukoshi*, June, 1931)

<<Figure 9.44>> Mizunoe Takiko in Odet's western clothes

(*Mitsukoshi*, October, 1930)

<<Figure 9.45>>Mizunoe Takiko

(*Anan* and *Brutus* joint issue 'the age of mobo and moga, Tokyo in the 1920s')

<<Figure 9.46>> Shochiku opera's members

(*Mitsukoshi*, January 1931)

<<Figure 9.47>> Shochiku opera's members

(*Mitsukoshi*, September 1931)

<<Figure 9.48>> models in bathing suits

(*Mitsukoshi*, June, 1931)

<<Figure 9.49>> Model in masculine pose

(*Mitsukoshi*, August, 1931)

<<Figure 9.50>> Modern girl smoking a cigarette

It was drawn by Hara Asao (原　阿佐緒))

(*Mitsukoshi,* March, 1926)

<<Figure 9.51>> Modern girls with parasol

(*Mitsukoshi*, May, 1927)

Chapter 10:

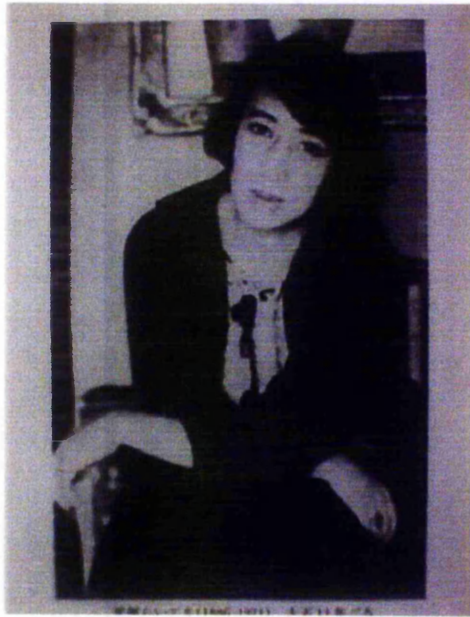
<<Figure 10.1>> Flapper or *moga* type of women (1)

Takahata Kasho, 'Camellia', image on writing pad cover, 1926
(Kasho Museum)

<<Figure 10.2>> Flapper or *moga* type of women (2)

(*Mitsukoshi*, February 1925)

<<Figure 10.3>> Hiratsuka Raicho in western clothes and short hair in 1923.



(Kobayashi et al, 1987)

<<Figure 10.4>> Meiji Emperor in Traditional dress

(*Taiyo*, June 1927)

<<Figure 10.5>> Meiji Emperor in military uniform 1

(Carol Gluck, 1985)

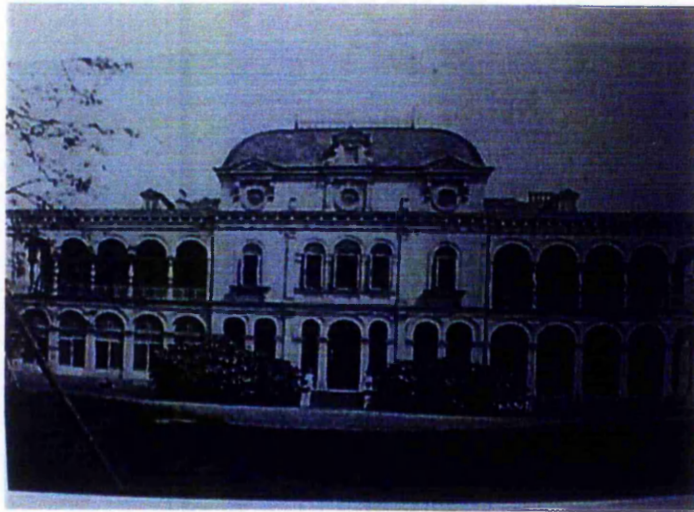
<<Figure 10.6>> Meiji Emperor in military uniform 2

(Donald Keene, 2002)

<<Figure 10.7>> Takenouchi Mission in 1862 London international exposition

(*Illustrated London News* in London Museum).

<<Figure 10.8>> Rokumeikan



(Donald Keene, 2002)

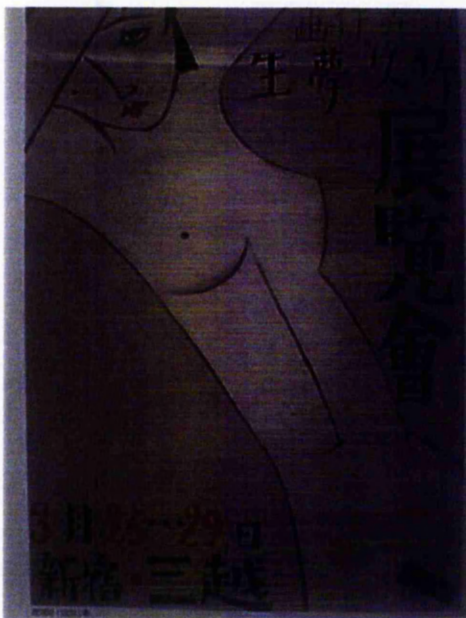
<<Figure 10.9>> Empress Haruko surrounded by children

Empress Haruko teaching girls at the Peeresses' School to sing the song she composed. Printed by Toyohara Kunichika (1887). The Empress wore Western dress from this time on. (Courtesy of the Kanagawa Museum).
(Donald Keene , 2002)

<<Figure 10.10>> Empress Haruko in bustle style dress at the Hospital

The visit of Empress Haruko to the hospital in Hiroshima where men wounded in the Sino-Japanese War are being treated. Printed by Kobayashi Kiyochika (1895). The bandaged patient at the left crouches in awe, and a nurse nearby kneels. (Courtesy of the Kanagawa Museum).
(Donald Keene., 2002)

<<Figure 10.11>> Poster of Yumeji's exhibition in Mitsukoshi 1931



(*Mitsukoshi*, November 1927)

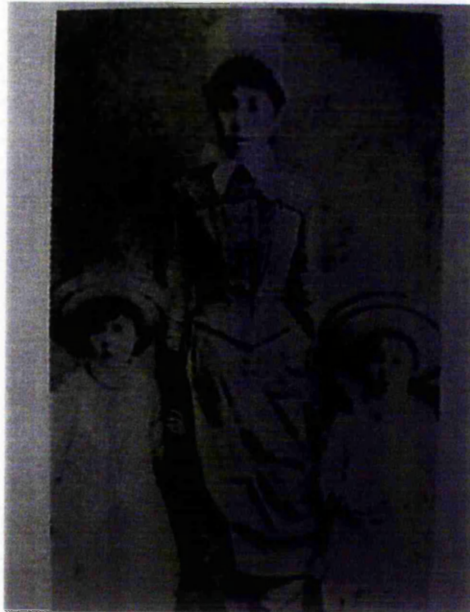
<<Figure 10.12>> Yamauchi speech in 1919

(Yamauchi, 1975)

<<Figure 10.13>> Seitosha's members

(Suzuki, 1989a:37)

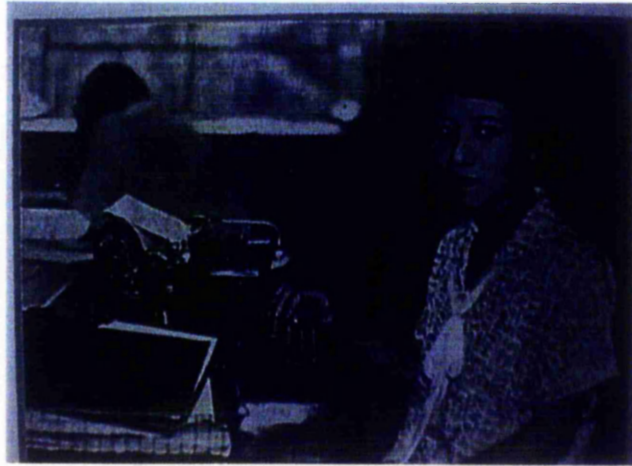
<<Figure 10.14>> Hiratsuka with her mother and older sister (1888)



(Horiba, 1988:11)

Chapter 11:

<<Figure 11.1>> Working woman, typist

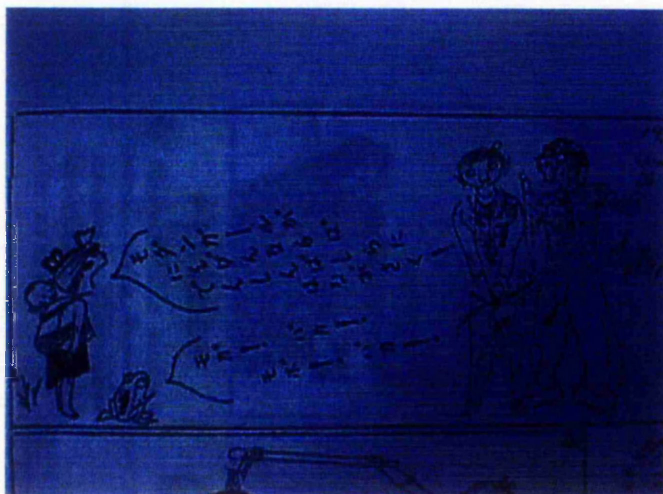


(*Fujin Gurafu,* September, 1926)

<<Figure 11.2>> Cover of *Shin Seinen*

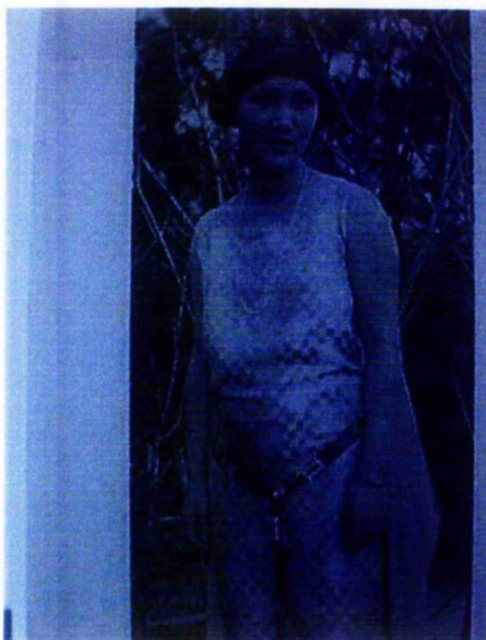
(*Shin Seinen* in 1931)

<<Figure 11.3>> ***Mogako to moboro***



(Hiza Ryousaku, October, 1928 cited in *Shufu no Tomo, 1977)*
The little girl and a frog are jeering at the moga and shouting 'You're stupid: if you amount to any use then that telegraph pole will come out into flower.'

<<Figure 11.4>> Hayama Michiko

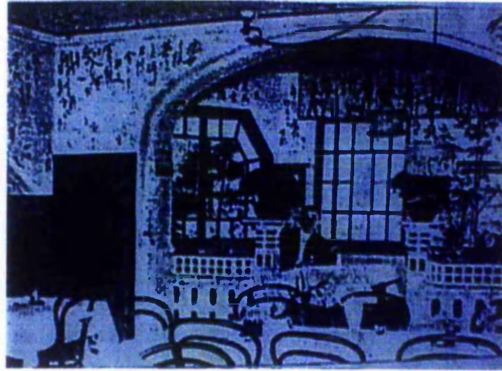


(Saito , Y, 1999:61)

<<Figure 11.5>> Lion

(*Fujin Gahou*, 1976)

<<Figure 11.6>> Printemps



(*Fujin Gahou*, 1976)

<<Figure 11.7>> Kuroneko

(Wada, H, 1999)

<<Figure 11.8>> Dance Hall (last night before closure in 1940)

(Kageyama, 1965)

<<Figure 11.9>> Shop girls

(Kageyama, 1965)

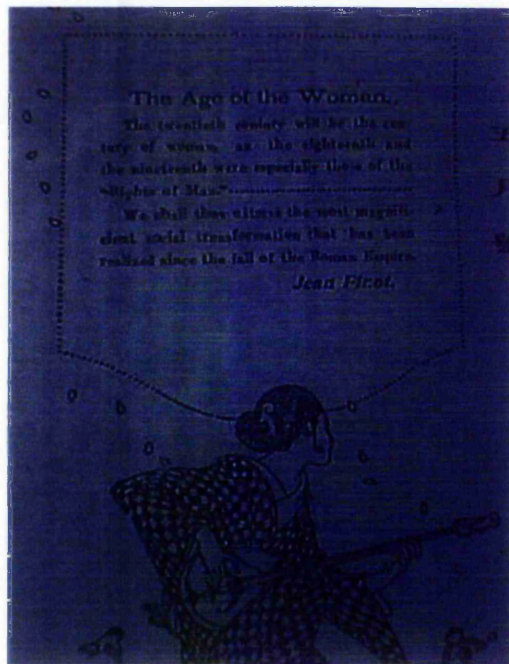
<<Figure 11.10>> Sasaki Fusa

(*An An* and *Brutus* joint issue, September, 1983)

<<Figure 12.1>> Members of National Defence Women's Association

(Suzuki, 1989b:184)

<<Figure 12.2>> The Age of Woman in the first issue of *Jyosei* in 1922



The Age of the Woman.

The twentieth century will be the century of woman, as the eighteenth and the nineteenth were especially those of the "Rights of Man."

We shall thus witness the most magnificent social transformation that has been realized since the fall of the Roman Empire.

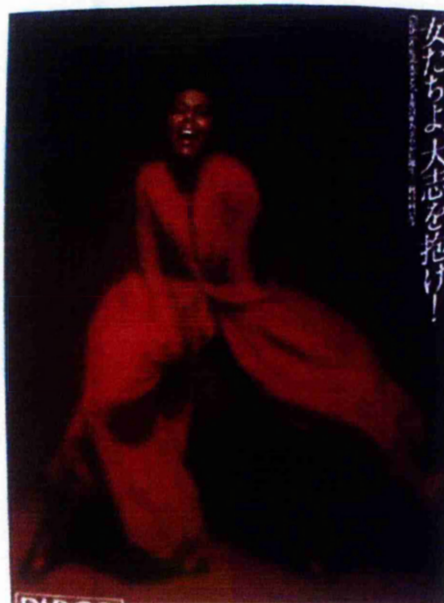
Jean Finot.

(*Jyosei*, May, 1922)

<<Figure 12.3>> Seibu department store in Ikebukuro opening poster in 1975

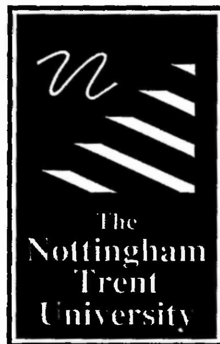
(Saison, 1991)

<<Figure 12.4>> Sapporo Parco Opening Campaign posters



the caption says 'women be ambitious.'

(Saison, 1991)



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