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# Beauty, Soft Power, and the Politics of Womanhood During the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952

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# BEAUTY, SOFT POWER, AND THE POLITICS OF WOMANHOOD DURING THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, 1945–1952

Malia McAndrew

*This article examines the promotion of American ideals of womanhood and beauty by the military forces that occupied Japan following World War II. It analyzes an array of U.S. Occupation records, including prominent postwar Japanese women's magazines and the American propaganda and censorship records that pertain to these periodicals. While foreign military occupations are not frequently associated with dispensing fashion advice or sponsoring beauty contests, this essay will explore why the United States deemed such measures essential. As this article shows, the victors conceived of their gendered interventions as a means for developing America's vision of democracy and containing the spread of communism abroad. In addition, their labors functioned as a way to showcase the positive effect they believed their presence was having on the women of Japan.*

On July 27, 1947, the unofficial U.S. Army newspaper *Stars & Stripes* reported on an event held at the Korakuen Stadium in Tokyo that was attended by over 7,000 Japanese spectators. During World War II, *Stars & Stripes* had regularly focused its reporting on the carnage of war and, in particular, on the American fight to pulverize their Japanese enemy. Now, less than two years later, its commentary was devoted to a completely different kind of fight—one in which seventy-five bikini-clad “glamour girls” vied for the title of “Miss Nippon.” According to *Stars & Stripes*, after Ayako Goto, the contest’s winner, “brought home the bacon” that night, she was awarded 10,000 yen from the Japanese Welfare Ministry and given a bevy of fashionable merchandise from local department stores. Speculating that “like any American beauty titlist,” “the svelte Miss Goto” would now be “given [her] chance at stardom” by a prominent Japanese film studio, *Stars & Stripes* characterized her victory as that of a rags to riches tale. While this 1947 beauty contest may at first seem an odd topic for a military publication to cover, it was in fact typical of the sort of “news” that the Americans publicized about Japanese women following World War II. As Miss Nippon, Goto personified cultural ideals that the Americans consistently used to justify and sustain their postwar military occupation of Japan.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, as this article will show, promoting American ideals of womanhood and

beauty was an important part of the occupier's post-war political and economic strategy in Japan.

In recent decades scholars have examined the ways in which the exportation of American culture was used to fight the Cold War.<sup>2</sup> In *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War*, the historian Reinhold Wagnleitner argues that the years following World War II witnessed the "institutionalization of culture as a means of diplomacy." During this time, American presidents, policymakers, businessmen, and other "cultural internationalists" all championed the spread of American culture as a means of forwarding the nation's political, economic, and military interests abroad.<sup>3</sup> As an example of such efforts, the work of the historian Penny Von Eschen has shown how the American jazz musicians Louis Armstrong, Dizzy Gillespie, and Duke Ellington served as "cultural ambassadors" to foreign audiences during the Cold War.<sup>4</sup> Sponsored and financed by the U.S. Department of State, the travels of these jazz masters to places such as Cairo, Accra, and Tehran were an important part of the U.S. government's diplomatic efforts. Since such art forms as ballet and classical music had deep European roots (and Russian artists already displayed a distinct proficiency in these arts), America's cultural internationalists brought Bebop, baseball, Hollywood films, and other uniquely American cultural exports to global audiences. Such exhibitions, the cultural internationalists hoped, would stimulate a greater appreciation for the United States, add cachet to all things American sold abroad, and trumpet the American way of life as superior to that of the Soviets. America thus pursued national salesmanship alongside military preparedness in its bid to win the Cold War.<sup>5</sup>

This article examines American cultural exports aimed specifically at women. In particular, it analyzes how and why the military forces that occupied Japan following World War II promoted American ideals of beauty and womanhood. It argues that their efforts were neither happenstance nor casual. Indeed, the victors conceived of their gendered interventions as a means for developing America's vision of democracy and containing the spread of communism abroad. In addition, their labors functioned as a way to showcase the positive effect they believed their presence was having on the women of Japan. While foreign military occupations are not frequently associated with sponsoring beauty contests or dispensing fashion advice, this article will explore why the United States deemed such measures essential.

The end of World War II shifted the global balance of power. No longer brought together by a common enemy, the United States and the Soviet Union quickly turned their suspicions toward one another. Instead of fighting directly against each other on the battlefield they chose to use conflicts in third-party nations as proxies in their rapidly escalating standoff. Japan

thus became a pawn in America's postwar plan for global dominance. Although the United States had fought against its Pacific enemy with unrestrained contempt and vitriolic racial hatred during the war, following V-J Day American strategists wanted to make Japan a junior ally of the United States. They hoped to use it as a strategic launching pad for American economic, political, and military action in the Asia-Pacific region, a position that became all the more important following the Communist take-over of China in 1949 and the start of the Korean War in 1950.<sup>6</sup>

The United States thus led an Allied military occupation of Japan from September 1945 to April 1952. During this time, they set themselves to the fanciful task of Americanizing Japan with what one participant called "an almost missionary zeal."<sup>7</sup> General Douglas MacArthur and his largely American troops effectively cut Japan off from the rest of the world as they reworked its government, economy, educational system, press, and social institutions. Of equal importance to their bumptious mission, the occupiers attempted to transform the thoughts and actions of ordinary Japanese citizens. The close of World War II thus signaled the start of a cultural campaign whereby the United States sought to "educate" Japanese citizens about "freedom," "democracy," and other American cultural sensibilities.<sup>8</sup>

Women played an important role in this mission. For too long, the Americans argued, Japanese women had been "shackled" to outdated gender norms. In the "feudalistic home," they claimed, Japanese women were made into the "slaves" of men.<sup>9</sup> It was the Allied forces' job, the occupiers announced with unyielding hubris, to "eradicate feudalistic ideas concerning women" for the betterment of Japanese society.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, as early as October 1945, General Douglas MacArthur cited the "liberation of women" as the first of the five great reforms he would require of the newly reorganized Japanese state. Although a homegrown feminist movement had long existed in Japan, it was MacArthur who mandated women's suffrage, instituted family-friendly legal reforms, and thereby justified the occupier's presence, not as an opportunist exertion of postwar political power, but as a humanitarian effort.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to legal measures, refashioning Japanese women's bodies to look more like those of idealized Americans' played a crucial role in touting the "success" of the occupiers' emancipatory mission. As the *pièce de résistance* of their gendered interventionism, the occupiers consistently set up a glamorous white American role model for Japanese women and girls to emulate. This idealized female was portrayed as a beautiful, cosmopolitan, and progressive individual who took an active role, not only in the home, but in society as well. As this article will show, at first this invented icon of American femininity was employed primarily to bolster democratization efforts in Japan. As a new global drama emerged, she was

subsequently repurposed by the occupiers to protect against the spread of communism in Japan.

Two distinct arms of the Occupation were significant in crafting and deploying this strategy. First, the Civil Information & Education Section (CI&E), which was tasked with overseeing "ideological conversion" in Japan, initiated a number of publicity campaigns aimed directly at Japanese women.<sup>12</sup> CI&E staffers bombarded Japanese magazines, newspapers, films, radio, and other media with propaganda that glamorized all things related to American womanhood, from American women's hairstyles to their relationships with their husbands. By encouraging Japanese females to look, dress, date, talk, and walk like their idealized American counterparts, the occupiers hoped they could inspire Japanese women to think, act, and even vote with American interests in mind. Working under the CI&E, Women's Army Corps officer Lieutenant Ethel Weed was charged with selling democracy directly to Japan's women. Weed's girls," as they were known, held press conferences, leadership-training institutes, and seminars for Japanese women in both rural and urban areas.<sup>13</sup> During these events, female occupiers used beauty culture as a sort of visual language to express how they believed a democratic, enfranchised, and liberated Japanese woman should look and act.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to the CI&E's offensive measures, the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) used a defensive strategy to achieve the Occupation's gendered pursuits. Its primary goal was to act as a sort of "thought police" in Japan.<sup>15</sup> Through its extensive system of bureaucratic review, CCD officials struck from the public record anything they considered even remotely anti-American. As such, under the CCD's watchful eye, gender ideals were policed and CCD staffers removed from print anything that questioned American women's aesthetic desirability. In addition, they also guarded against the promotion of alternative ideals of womanhood or beauty from entering the press such as those forwarded by the Soviets or Japanese women themselves.<sup>16</sup>

Few works explore Japan's "American interlude" through the lens of gender. While women's history has received a modicum of scholarly attention, the history of America's military occupation has, by and large, not sought to understand how such concepts as femininity and masculinity were employed by the occupiers as a tool for greater control, gender itself has less frequently been employed as a useful category of analysis.<sup>17</sup> This work explores the ways in which the occupiers used a form of gendered conquest to implement their postwar political agenda in Japan. After briefly examining the politics of women's bodies prior to the occupation, the bulk of this article focuses on the period from 1945 to 1952 when the occupation employed ideals of womanhood and beauty to promote their

postwar political and economic agenda in Japan. Taking each branch of the occupation in turn, it examines how the CI&E promoted American ideals of beauty and womanhood while the CCD simultaneously prevented alternate ideals from being widely publicized. As each section will illustrate, during the U.S. occupation of Japan, the Americans attempted not only to invade a defeated nation, but also to occupy the bodies and minds of Japanese women and girls.

### The Politics of Women's Bodies before the Occupation

Bodies have long served as important sites for the display of power. Particularly in imperial conquests, women's bodies have been used as evidence that a given group was fundamentally "civilized" or "barbaric" by nature.<sup>18</sup> In Asia, Africa, and the Americas, Western powers often portrayed those living in places they wished to control as "beastly" and "primitive" in order to naturalize their dominion over such "savages." The Japanese practiced similar body politics in their own colonial pursuits. As the art historian Kaoru Kojima has noted, Japanese artists in the early twentieth century frequently depicted Korean women wearing the traditional *chima jeogori* (shorts and shirts) as a way of denoting Koreans "exotic" nature and allegedly slow progression to modernity.<sup>19</sup>

As early as the nineteenth century, the Japanese state promoted the adoption of Western aesthetics as a means of blunting negative foreign perceptions of the Japanese. Three examples make this course of action clear. First, in 1886, the Empress made Western gowns her official attire. The state used this emblematic gesture to denote Japan's modern status and to help persuade Western diplomats to free Japan from the inequitable treaties it had been forced to sign with foreign nations.<sup>20</sup> Second, beginning in the early twentieth century, the state encouraged ordinary women to rid themselves of bodily adornments that foreigners might scoff at. In the late nineteenth century, the beauty rituals of middle-class Japanese women included covering one's face with a thick white powder, shaving off one's eyebrows, and blackening one's teeth—practices that the social anthropologist Mikiko Ashikari argues had existed in Japan for over a thousand years.<sup>21</sup> Intent on protecting the nation from Western ridicule, Japanese leaders urged women to suspend such practices.<sup>22</sup> Their efforts proved fruitful. By the 1920s, eyebrow shaving and teeth blackening had gone out of fashion and Shiseido, the nation's first Western-inspired cosmetics company, was selling yellow- and pink-toned face powders in addition to the chalk-white varieties.<sup>23</sup> Finally, as a direct result of government-led modernization and industrialization efforts in the early twentieth century, ordinary Japanese women donned Western-style uniforms when they began laboring in a host

of modern jobs, including positions as telephone operators and department-store clerks.<sup>24</sup> Thus by refashioning elite, middlebrow, and working women's physical aesthetics, the Japanese state employed female bodies to forward the interests of the body politic.

By the end of World War I, a youthful, stylish, and cosmopolitan female aesthetic had become popular in places as diverse as Japan, China, India, South Africa, Germany, France, and the United States.<sup>25</sup> This "modern girl" wore short hemlines, bobbed hair, and a painted face. As in other places, the *moga*, Japan's version of this transnational phenomena, gained notoriety through a confluence of factors that included the proliferation of cheap consumer products, the growth of the advertising industry, the popularity of Hollywood films, and the emergence of a youth culture defined in opposition to older gender norms. By the 1920s the *moga* had appeared on the cover of *Shufu no Tomo* (Housewives' Friend), the nation's leading women's magazine, and reached a near ubiquitous presence in the trend-setting fashion magazine *Sutairu* (Style).<sup>26</sup>

At the height of the *moga*'s popularity, *Shiseido Geppo* (Shiseido Monthly), an in-house Shiseido magazine, defined her as "a young woman with a modern air who dresses in a Western manner rather than a Japanese manner," further noting that she "likes new things" and "is strongly affected by the U.S. and its motion pictures." Making its business off such foreign enticements, Shiseido sold a wide array of Western-inspired services, including manicures, facials, and hair treatments to Japanese women. In 1923, it even offered beauty lectures by the U.S. hairstylist Helen Grossman on the Mimikakushi hairstyle, a look similar to the flapper's bobbed cut.<sup>27</sup>

As the historian Barbara Sato has reminded us, the modern look *was* therefore Japanese by the second quarter of the twentieth century.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, this identity helped the Japanese to define themselves vis-à-vis their Asian neighbors. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, a bevy of Western-inspired but Japanese-developed toiletries—including Club Cosmetics, Pola, Kao, and Lion brand products—were manufactured in Japan and marketed abroad. These products, including Kao's Modan (Modern) brand shampoo, suggest how Japan wished to be viewed abroad.<sup>29</sup> In Asia, these retailers operated in markets that excluded European competitors, thereby reinforcing Japanese control over the modern look. Indeed, as the historian Geoffrey Jones notes, by the late 1930s, industry leader Club Cosmetics earned nearly thirty percent of its total revenues by selling such products as its "British-style moisturizing cream" in China and Japanese-occupied Korea and Taiwan.<sup>30</sup>

Following its invasion of China in 1937 and the outbreak of global hostilities in 1939, Japan's access to resources was forestalled by the United

States and other nations siding with the Chinese. Seeing the United States as unfairly pushing its nose into internal Asian affairs, the Japanese state denounced all things American. Such government slogans as “Extravagance is the Enemy” and other government slogans chastised women who took part in beauty rituals it labeled as frivolous foreign imports. In 1938, the government outlawed cosmetics and permanent waves, identifying them as corrupting Western luxuries, and, by July 1940, further restrictions forbade the sale of perfumes over five yen.<sup>31</sup> Following its attack on Pearl Harbor, the militarist state forced beauty retailers to cease commercial operations and retool their factories for wartime production needs.<sup>32</sup> Women’s dress was similarly dictated from the top-down when military leaders denounced as unpatriotic both Western-inspired one-piece dresses and the Japanese kimono, which required large amounts of fabric to produce. In their place, the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare encouraged women to wear the *monpe*, an unstructured work garment typically worn by agricultural laborers.<sup>33</sup> Although many women disliked the *monpe*, it was seen as a sort of patriotic uniform, and women wearing anything other than this shapeless garment might be heckled on the street.<sup>34</sup> Thus in wartime Japan women’s bodies again became a critical site for the display of state power.

On August 15, 1945, the day of Japan’s surrender, the young magazine editor Totsuka Fumiko reported throwing a “wild party” with her friends. Donning a red dress and lipstick while drinking and listening to jazz music, Fumiko chose to observe the end of war by indulging in Western luxuries banned during the long years of conflict.<sup>35</sup> Her actions that night foreshadowed yet another era of cultural change initiated from the top-down. What the militarist state had banished during the war, the Americans quickly brought back. And so it was that women’s bodies again became a canvas for the objectives of the state—albeit this time for the benefit of a regime whose capital lay some ten thousand kilometers across the Pacific Ocean.

### CI&E efforts and the Occupation’s Offensive Campaign

Following V-J Day, the U.S. military quickly reassigned troops to the task of spreading republican ideology in Japan. Efforts at reform hovered at their peak during the first year and a half of the Occupation, when the victors forcefully promoted what John Dower has called “a democratic revolution from above.”<sup>36</sup> As a part of this oxymoronic plan for social change, the Americans attempted to induce democracy through the bureaucratic apparatuses of MacArthur’s neo-colonial military dictatorship. Thus, while the United States “taught” the Japanese how to be “free,” it simultaneously used martial law, coercion, and manipulation to enforce its will in Japan.

In addition to overt censorship, which will be covered in the following section, the occupiers regularly planted articles, photographs, and other items in the Japanese press. Fashion magazines illustrate the extent to which this pro-American propaganda machine operated.<sup>37</sup> Previously banned by the wartime government, the fashion magazine *Sutairu* (Style) was able to resume operations in January 1946 with the help of the occupiers. By July 1949, the publication was producing over 310,000 copies a month.<sup>38</sup> In a country where resources remained scarce and most periodicals went to press using black and white ink on low-grade pulp, *Sutairu* was able to publish full-color cover illustrations of glamorous white women on its cover month after month. Vividly displaying Japan's changed visual landscape, *Sutairu*'s covers reflect the American-led cultural turn. In 1946, its March cover featured a smiling redhead tucking a flower behind her ear, May's cover girl sported curly brown locks that bounced atop her Western-style blouse, and August's image was that of a seductive blonde, with bright blue eyes, bold red lipstick, and painted fingernails.<sup>39</sup> With the help of the occupiers, renderings of idealized white women saturated Japan's visual landscape between 1945 and 1952.

Inside its pages, *Sutairu* similarly encouraged Japanese women to idolize their American role models. Its articles instructed readers on how to use rouge, how to walk elegantly, how to make beauty treatments, and how to choose a spouse—all in the same manner purportedly employed by American women. Japanese women were thus encouraged to shape their bodies and their lives in accordance with American directives. In July 1946, for example, *Sutairu* promised readers they could have a more lovely physique—one more similar to that of American women—if they followed a Western diet and stopped eating rice, which the publication argued made Japanese women fat.<sup>40</sup> Taking such rhetoric to its most extreme ends, *Sutairu* even educated readers about plastic surgery. In August 1949, for instance, it published the article "How to Make a Beautiful Face" in which the physician Uchida Takanori explained cosmetic procedures that could remove fat deposits from underneath Japanese women's eyelid skin to give her a double-eyelid effect more similar to the look of Western women.

It was not just *Sutairu* but an entire cadre of fashion magazines, including *Sutairu To Dezain* (Style, Fashion, and Design), *Sutairu Bukku* (Style Book), *Fujin Gahou* (Women's Pictorial), and *Fujin Asahi* (Women's Morning Sun), that idealized white American women. Month after month, these publications printed photographs of American beauties modeling evening gowns, lounging on the beach in bikinis, and otherwise enjoying stylish and fashionable lives. In June 1946, *Sutairu To Dezain* published a full-length photograph of the American movie star Bette Davis sprawled across a lawn, cheerily playing with her puppy.<sup>41</sup> As one of American cinema's most successful film

actresses, Davis was presented to the Japanese reader as affluent, carefree, and happy. The reality of life for ordinary Japanese women could not have stood in starker contrast.

Life in post-surrender Japan was grim. In addition to caring for the wounded, the ill, the young, and the old, many Japanese women faced the momentous task of simply surviving another day. Disease and crime ran rampant, homelessness was commonplace, feeding oneself a daily struggle, and the prospects of economic recovery dim.<sup>42</sup> If ordinary women had any appetite for the ostentatious pulchritude on parade in fashion magazines, they consumed it against the lived backdrop of exhaustion and despair.

The impracticality of their message did not, however, deter the Americans. Even before V-J Day American intelligence identified Japanese women's magazines as an ideal place for spreading U.S. propaganda.<sup>43</sup> As one CI&E report stated, Japan was "a reading nation" with high literacy rates and an extensive prewar publishing industry. The readership of women's magazines, furthermore, included "not only women eager to read about the "democratic way," but also young men who consider women's magazines a source of good literature and true Japanese culture."<sup>44</sup> Due to "the clamor of the Japanese for reading material as well as the practically universal interest in the present and future position of Japanese women," the report thus identified women's magazines as a superlative venue for propagating American ideals in Japan.<sup>45</sup>

Ruling indirectly, the occupiers worked through the established channels of Japanese society to route their message. Their choice to use popular periodicals as a venue for visual propaganda helped to usher in what the sociologist Emiko Ochiai has called a "golden age" for women's magazines. Despite American support, not all women's magazines thrived during the Occupation.<sup>46</sup> For example, *Shufu no Tomo* (Housewives' Friend), which had been Japan's leading women's magazine for decades, suffered a precipitous decline after the American takeover. In addition to finding it dull, CI&E analysts argued the publication was too "concerned with the domestic affairs" of "unsophisticated housewives" to serve as a conduit for the American message. Picking the postwar winners and losers, the occupiers thus chose which organs of Japanese society to aid with money and resources and which to let fade away.<sup>47</sup>

As a part of this process, CI&E officials regularly assembled Japanese writers, editors, and publishers at their headquarters in Tokyo for "conferences" in which military personnel outlined exactly what they wanted publicized in the Japanese media. Beginning in mid-1946, on the second Thursday of each month, Lieutenant Ethel Weed and her associates led press conferences for women's magazines. At these gatherings, Weed, a public-relations specialist before the war, lectured attendees on such topics as "how

to teach democracy," how to explain "parliamentary law procedures," and how to help the formation of "democratic organizations."<sup>48</sup> Dr. Lulu Holmes, a CI&E civilian employee and education specialist, similarly led sessions intended to boost coverage of female civic engagement and the education of Japanese girls. In October 1946, she encouraged the press to valorize sophisticated and cosmopolitan women who took an active role in local, national, and international affairs. Such a woman, she implicitly suggested, should be Japan's new postwar definition of what it meant to be a "good wife and wise mother."<sup>49</sup> In this way, while top military brass set grandiose goals that included the "democratization" of women, Holmes, Weed, and other lower-level staffers had to figure out how to sell these American initiatives at the ground level. "I was told by the head of our section that my job was whatever I could make it, that there were no foreordained plans," Holmes recalled in a 1966 oral interview.<sup>50</sup> Women's magazine conferences were therefore one of the many devices female occupiers created to implement MacArthur's ambitious cultural engineering scheme in Japan.

While the postwar press had little choice but to go along with the wishes of MacArthur's subordinates, Japanese publishers, authors, and editors did not uncritically reproduce the American line. One notable exchange evidencing this relationship took place at a January 1948 conference devoted to "new fashion trends in the United States." At this talk, Dorothy Edgers, Chief of the Consumer Branch of the Occupation's Textile Division, spoke to representatives from thirty-eight magazines about America's latest fashion trend, the "New Look." In her lengthy remarks Edgers described the "New Look" in prodigious detail, from its buttons and buckles to its shoulder pads, hemlines, and hosiery (the latter of which, she told her audience, was currently being worn in a shade best described as "gun metal"). Not once, however, did Edgers mention that the New Look had come to the United States by way of the French fashion designer Christian Dior. Instead, she spoke of it as yet another aspect of American culture for Japanese women to mimic.<sup>51</sup> While ideas always traveled from the United States to Japan in the occupier's story of cultural exchange, attendees at this January 1948 conference complicated that narrative.

"Looking at your hair style, I presume it's the New Look, but the combs appear to be Japanese. Are they?" one participant asked.

"Who does your hair?" a second queried.

A third more directly probed, "Hasn't the New Look quite a bit of the Oriental look?"

Edgers responded politely but briefly to these inquiries. "I do my own hair," she said, further clarifying: "Yes, they're Japanese combs. When I went to America, I decided to wear the combs and see if I could get by with it." Despite these admissions, Edgers remained steadfast in her meta-narrative

about the New Look (and, to a lesser degree, her own new look). "I don't think it is an Oriental look. It so happens that, with the hair styles so plain, it's bound to seem familiar to the Japanese—as though it originated here," she asserted.<sup>52</sup>

Susie Miyashita, an attendee at the above-mentioned talk about the "New Look" and an employee of the Tokyo office of the United Press, put her objections in print. While criticism of the Occupation was banned inside Japan, Miyashita penned a critique of the press conference that was picked up by American newspapers.<sup>53</sup> In the article, Miyashita reiterated that Edgers had taught the group nothing because "the new look is not on the way in Japan. It's here." Taking several of Edgers's fashion tips in turn she then explained why they made no sense in the Japanese context. For example, while Edgers said the easiest way to achieve the New Look was to "lower the hemline of your dress," Miyashita responded that kimono lengths were already very long. She further called the Occupation's efforts a "curious" and "futile" project because, in her estimation, the New Look aesthetics arrived in Japan long before the Americans.<sup>54</sup> Thus, while the occupiers were able to saturate the Japanese press with American ideals of beauty and womanhood, they were never able to achieve uncontested ideological supremacy.

Press conferences were not the only means by which female occupiers attempted to fulfill America's brash mission of cultural reorientation. "Weed's girls" also held conferences, seminars, and leadership-training institutes in urban and rural areas. During these events, attendees performed skits meant to teach them about American ideals of womanhood.<sup>55</sup> The skit *An Awakening Home*—which was written by the Japanese schoolteacher Tomekichi Nakayama, acquisitioned by the WAC officer Mary King, and performed by the members of the Hishikari Women's Association—clearly demonstrates the connections the occupiers made between the body and the body politic.<sup>56</sup> In this highly dramatized parody a young bride asks her mother-in-law for permission to attend a women's meeting at the local beauty shop. Symbolizing the old guard of Japanese society, the mother-in-law is a retrogressive figure who prides herself in the subservience she once gave to her deceased husband. By contrast, the daughter-in-law is portrayed as a modern wife, influenced by both Western aesthetics and democratic political ideals. As such, she is excited to participate in civic affairs while getting her hair done in a permanent wave. As the drama unfolds, the mother-in-law forbids her daughter-in-law to attend the event, contending that beauty shops were places where young "girls who thrust their noses into everything" go to get their "hair bobbed" and have the strange words "democracy, freedom, or sex equality on their lips." Upon her son's return home, the mother requests that he not "indulge" his wife,

who remains insistent. Taking his mother's side, the son forces his wife to put on a *monpe* (the work pantaloons popularized during the war) and go to labor in their fields. "Come on, no dallying. You fool!" he carelessly scolds his wife as the first scene ends.<sup>57</sup>

The body politics at play in *An Awakening Home* point to the ways in which bodies represented a critical site for the exertion of power in postwar Japan. While the permanent wave reigned as a symbol of liberated womanhood in Japan, the *monpe* marked women's bodies as outdated. Changed bodies were thus a symbol of changed politics, and therefore a primary goal of the Occupation. As such, although Mary King found the Japanese-authored skit somewhat "unrefined," she nonetheless secured permission from Tomekichi Nakayama to reproduce it for whatever "educational" purposes the occupiers deemed fit.

Similar themes can be found in the *Husband and Wife* skit, which the occupiers used at their Leadership Training institute in Kumamoto. In this drama a young wife is described as putting on makeup in front of the bathroom mirror when her husband, who has just returned from a long business trip, greets her. The husband begs his wife to skip her Women's Association meeting that night in order to spend time with him instead. "We have been too busy to go out together for the one year, six months, twenty-two days, and five hours since we married," he laments before suggesting they enjoy a nice dinner together. Undeterred by her husband's romantic overtures, the wife restates her alternative plans, informing her spouse: "I have finished eating...I put yours on the shelf... So, please eat it alone. And...if you don't mind, please wash the dishes." Seeing that his wife, the president of the Women's Association, was determined to leave him alone, the man turns cold and directive. At the scene's end, he forcefully commands his wife: "Now, I order you not to go!" Ending the formal script at this point, discussion leaders at the Kumamoto Institute would then ask participants to work out their own ending to the story.<sup>58</sup> Skits like these were intended to prepare Japanese women for pushback they might receive while taking an active role in Japan's American-directed postwar civic society. *The Awakening Home* and *Husband and Wife* skits thus encouraged women to pursue cultural and political activities valued by the occupiers, even when members of their family, particularly men, got upset.

Encouraging female civic engagement was an important part of the occupier's mission. While the home was not irrelevant, in the occupier's configuration of ideal womanhood the public sphere was seen as an extension of the home.<sup>59</sup> As one CI&E press liaison wrote to Ethel Weed in 1948, "We try to sell them [Japanese mothers and wives] on the idea that the housewife must look outside of the home, as political and economic problems affect the home."<sup>60</sup> It was thus an odd turn of history that at the same

time the occupiers were pushing an enfranchised and civically engaged female ideal in Japan, officials in the United States simultaneously advised women, who had (wo)manned the home front during World War II, to step back and return to a life that centered on the family and other domestic concerns.<sup>61</sup> Certainly, neither in the U.S. context nor in the Japanese situation did ordinary women allow political leaders to completely define the parameters of their lives. That the United States promoted neo-liberal ideals of republican motherhood in Japan while simultaneously telling American women to return to “traditional” gender roles is nonetheless striking.<sup>62</sup>

Equally paradoxical—and equally significant—is the fact that while the United States sent such women as Ethel Weed, Lulu Holmes, and Mary Edgers to Japan as ambassadors of liberated womanhood, it was often their Japanese counterparts who were most engaged in feminist activism before the war. For example, among Weed’s most valuable collaborators was Shidzue Katô, an international birth control activist and contemporary of Margaret Sanger.<sup>63</sup> While the thirty-nine-year-old Weed arrived in Japan with just six months of language training, Katô had lectured and published internationally on women’s rights for decades. Not only did she assist Weed in the creation of leadership conferences and democratic women’s clubs in Japan, she was a leader herself. Indeed, as a result of the first postwar election in which women were able to vote, Kato was one of thirty-nine women elected to serve in the Japanese Diet.<sup>64</sup> It was also most likely Katô who introduced Weed to the prominent American women’s historian Mary Ritter Beard, so that the latter could give Weed advice. While Beard and Weed carried on a close correspondence for years, Beard minced no words, criticizing the very task Weed had been sent to fulfill. “We are very backward in the U.S. as to the enlightenment about the ‘nature’ and history of women,” she wrote to Weed in March 1947. “We have not done enough in our democracy in this matter to help the democratic way of life in other lands.”<sup>65</sup>

### CCD efforts and the Occupation’s Defensive Campaign

The CI&E often worked in coordination with the Occupation’s Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD). While the CI&E inserted American female role models into the Japanese press, the CCD made certain nothing negative about the United States or its citizens went to print. From 1945 to 1949, CCD censors enforced a strict press code in Japan, a task that necessitated the employment of over 6,000 Japanese nationals that translated everything from newspapers and political leaflets to women’s magazines and children’s books.<sup>66</sup> Records from the 13,000 periodicals CCD censors reviewed show they interpreted their pro-American mandate broadly. The magazine

*Shufu To Seikatsu* (Housewife and Life), for example, came under scrutiny for attempting to print the following lines in a December 1946 article titled "The Course to Beauty": "Young women in Japan are now busy imitating American styles, but from the point of view of natural features and taste in this country, Japanese women cannot be satisfied with the taste of such primary colors as used by the American people. Japanese history has shown that beyond such tastes of the Americans, they are sure to reach a higher grade of beauty than the Americans. I am confident on this matter."<sup>67</sup> After reading this article in Japanese and translating it into English, a CCD reviewer identified as "S. Nakajima" labeled the piece a possible violation and referred it to his superiors. The resulting CCD infraction report forbade publication of "The Course to Beauty," branding it as "propaganda." That same month, *New York Times* journalist Burton Crane, who had been stationed in Tokyo, was given access to CCD records, including press infraction reports. As Crane wrote for the *New York Times* one of the "strangest deletions" he found "was in a story about a contest sponsored by the Tokyo Beauty Shop Operators Union," which CCD censors struck because it announced that "the union plan[ed] to challenge American hairdressers to a [permanent wave] contest on the stage of the Ernie Pyle Theatre next spring."<sup>68</sup> As the above examples show, even suggesting Japanese women might have better fashion taste or hairstyling ability than their American counterparts was off limits.

Under a similarly strict interpretation of the press code, CCD censors barred discussion of mingling between American GIs and Japanese women. In July 1946, two fraternization-related items were deleted from the magazine *Funjin Shunju* (Ladies' Journal). The first item clearly alluded to prostitution by describing "Japanese girls who haunt the dark streets of Narunouchi and whisperingly call to GIs in broken English."<sup>69</sup> The second offered a subtler critique of American GIs and their Japanese paramours, who were often afforded greater ease of travel than other Japanese citizens. Deletions from this article included lines that stated: "The cars were too much crowded to get on, while the white striped military car appeared empty. In it Japanese girls with their painted lips rode hanging on the shoulders of GI's. Nearby were standing war-wounded men in white hospital dress." [sic]<sup>70</sup> Even the favored publication *Sutairu* (Style) was censored for alluding to fraternization. In a 1947 article, one *Sutairu* author questioned the motives of women that tended bar for the Americans.<sup>71</sup> While she noted that the job's financial rewards were large—citing a friend who made twice as much money tending bar for GIs—the author remained unimpressed with this line of employment. "To work in such a place as a bar is the first step to corruption," she wrote, continuing that "any person [who] thinks of becoming a bar waitress may have a predisposition to become a pan-pan

girl." The term "pan-pan girl" was a disparaging nickname given to Japanese women who offered sex to American soldiers on an amateur basis. As such the reference quickly drew the attention of CCD censors who purged the above lines from *Sutairu*.<sup>72</sup>

The use of Japanese women by American men for entertainment and sexual pleasure was a point of serious friction between the occupiers and the occupied. While the Americans liked to tout the ways in which they "liberated" Japanese women from Japanese men, it has been estimated that U.S. soldiers spent at least ninety million dollars on prostitution during the Occupation.<sup>73</sup> This figure is especially striking when considering that the average sexual encounter cost less than half a pack of cigarettes. The historian Michiko Takeuchi estimates that up to 80,000 Japanese citizens worked in the sex trade between 1945 and 1952, few of who had been professional prostitutes before the war. Indeed, streams of homeless young women (and some men) had no other option for survival.<sup>74</sup> Servicing anywhere from fifteen to sixty GIs a day, most prostituted themselves for food or consumer goods that might make them sexier to their GI customer base.<sup>75</sup> One GI recalled in a 1947 journal entry: "I remember the whores' uniform well because it was so fetching. The girls wore dirndl skirts, then a minor rage in the States, with limp cotton tops and lots of wooden jewelry, bracelets and necklaces and the like, all machine tooled and painted a cherry red. The hair was piled up or else frizzed in the popular "cannibal" fashion of the day. On the feet were platform shoes with cork soles, and silk stockings were often painted on—using very strong tea—with a perfectly drawn seam on the back of each leg. The proper present was a pair of real silk stockings, straight from the PX. But equally welcome was food from the Commissary: cocktail sausages, canned stew, Ritz crackers, and, for the truly adventurous, Kraft Velveeta."<sup>76</sup> In stark contrast to the idealized make believe touted in women's magazines, this eyewitness account illuminates an especially dark side of America's neo-imperial conquest. In Japan, sex was traded for food, and women adopted American fashions, not to live out the American dream, but in order to eat. As a further consequence of the hegemonic relationship between occupier and occupied, many GIs came to regard Japanese women as expendable playthings that could be easily bought and just as easily discarded. As another soldier wrote to his best friend back home, "My chief problem is to stay off the 10¢ Canadian Club—and the 15¢ women."<sup>77</sup>

The unequal and exploitative nature of the sexual exchange between the victor and the vanquished directly contradicted U.S. claims that they were liberating Japanese women. As Michiko Takeuchi has argued, the abolition of state-sponsored prostitution in Japan was in part a reaction to Soviet criticisms. Indeed, the Soviet Lieutenant-General Kuzuma Derevyanko

and Russian journalists decried the rampant human trafficking in Japan as evidence of flaws in America's capitalist-imperialist system of rule.<sup>78</sup> While the Americans argued they brought freedom to Japanese women, the Soviet Union complicated this narrative by highlighting the ways in which the post-war sex market instead enslaved them.<sup>79</sup>

In part due to Soviet criticism and America's growing Cold War fears, the Occupation underwent what historians have called the "reverse course" in 1947. Instead of promoting the demilitarization and democratization of Japan, which was the occupier's original goal, eradicating the "communist threat" became its primary mission. As such, during the reverse course, press regulations concerning communism stiffened considerably, a trend widely reflected in women's magazines.

The magazine *Hataraku Fujin* (Working Women) regularly published articles on fashion, cooking, and celebrity life. However, unlike other women's magazines, which the Occupation vigorously supported, *Hataraku Fujin* was placed on the CCD's "special treatment list" where it was subjected to frequent deletions. As its title subtly suggests, *Hataraku Fujin* was inspired by Communist ideologies that contradicted the occupier's agenda. Questioning the roles that American women actually played in the home, a December 1945 article in *Hataraku Fujin* was censored for stating that husbands treated their wives cruelly in the United States. CCD censors struck lines that bluntly characterized the American housewife as a person who "did not enjoy more respect than a prostitute," claiming that marriage in the United States functioned as "only a means to satisfy a man's desires."<sup>80</sup>

As an additional part of their reverse course, CCD censors forbade positive descriptions of Soviet women from appearing in the media. The January–February 1947 edition of *Hataraku Fujin* was thereby subjected to fourteen deletions and the complete suppression of a twelve-page work of fiction entitled "Mother," an abridged version of Soviet author Maxim Gorky's novel by the same name.<sup>81</sup> According to the American Communist author Howard Fast, who was not involved in the Occupation, Gorky's novel revolved around one woman's "motherly concern for her son," a love that was later transformed into a "a motherly concern for all the people." As Fast noted in 1947, the mother's life was intended to show readers "the living process by which an ordinary person becomes, step by step, a fighter for justice."<sup>82</sup>

Members of the Occupation read the piece quite differently. One official characterized it as "typical propaganda" that "heralds the revolution" and "praises the proletariat."<sup>83</sup> Further disparaging it, the official claimed "Mother" was nothing more than the story of an impoverished drunk's widow. Following several exchanges between the CCD and CI&E, both agreed that "Mother" should not be circulated in Japan. After learning

that the publisher, Dai Nippon Insatsu K. K., had already printed the January–February 1947 issue of *Hataraku Fujin* under the false assumption that permission would soon be granted, Occupation officials sprang into action, issuing infraction write-ups that contained an unusual amount of passion. One CCD memo recommended that “the publisher be asked if he has sufficient stock of printing paper to enable him to reprint the twelve-page section for all 20,000 copies...in a way that is not noticeable to the readers.” If this was not possible, the memo stated, “The publisher will just have this issue of his magazine in his warehouse for a good long time!”<sup>84</sup> The suppression of this article, as well as the deletion of other materials that only vaguely addressed Soviet life, shows the unyielding fear that paralyzed American foreign relations with the Soviet Union during the early Cold War period.

As the Occupation came to a close the victors began to herald their “success” in Japan. Dawn Bentata, an Army wife and fashion editor for the *Nippon Times* who had advised Japanese women on Western beauty culture during the Occupation, echoed such sentiments. In July 1951, she triumphantly announced: “The average Japanese woman today looks more than 200 percent better than she did three years ago. By looks I mean grooming, clothing and smartness.”<sup>85</sup> To be sure, the looks of many were improved by this time, but this was more likely the consequence of the economic boom that accompanied the start of the Korean War than a product of the beauty advice given by women such as Bentata. As Japan’s press code was gradually removed, domestic writers penned articles that directly contradicted the Occupation’s propaganda machine. The writer Setsuo Uenoda was among the first Japanese women to publish a response to foreign fashion “experts” such as Bentata. Also writing for the *Nippon Times* in September 1951, she maintained that: “Much has been said regarding the way Japanese girls wear their foreign-style dresses. Foreign critics have been quite outspoken, some of them scathing even, in their comments...here comes a Hollywood dress designer and says in effect: ‘Look at yourself in a mirror. The design and color contrast of your dress are so scandalously inartistic that I have to discount the world-wide reputation of Japan as a land of artists.’”<sup>86</sup> Uenoda scoffed at foreign fashion critics whom she saw as interlopers disconnected from reality. Reminding outsiders of the economic context from which Japan had just emerged, she stated that the only reason Japanese women wore one-piece Western-style dresses was because ordinary people could not purchase enough fabric to produce a kimono in the aftermath of the war’s destruction. In a 1952 article, she again responded to foreign fashion critics who claimed the kimono was “dead.” In her piece, “Kimono Is Sure to Make a Brilliant Come-back,” Setsuo Uenoda wrote: “The foreign critic is perfectly justified in making this comment, but at the same time it must be remembered that Japanese women had to quit wearing kimonos for the

time being under the pressure of economic necessity and not because they detested it. They love the kimono dearly because they know they are at their best in it...As such, this apparel is very dear to their hearts. It is true that the Western-style one-piece dress has come to Japan to stay for good, but I am absolutely confident that [the] kimono, with all its charm and fascination and historical background of centuries, is destined to make a brilliant comeback as a necessary luxury."<sup>87</sup>

Following America's exit from Japan, several of Uenoda's predictions came true. When the Occupation officially ended in 1952, women's magazines were especially uniform in their backlash against Western styles. Indeed, Emiko Ochai has noted that while it was the norm for Japanese cover girls to have permed hair and short skirts during the Occupation, this look all but disappeared in 1952 (and did not reappear until the 1970s).<sup>88</sup> Despite this phenomenon, other cultural barometers showed a more moderated and continuous presence for American ideals of beauty in Japan. For example, Shiseido, which, was forced by Japan's wartime government to halt the manufacture of cosmetics, resumed commercial operations during the 1950s, in part due to the sale of popular face powders "with pink undertones, reminiscent of Caucasian skin."<sup>89</sup> As the above examples suggest, the long-term effects of MacArthur's postwar campaign were neither a complete triumph nor insignificant. Rather, they are evidence of the syncretism and cultural hybridity ordinary people have long used to navigate their identities during periods of foreign conquest.

## Conclusion

As the historian Thomas Zeiler has noted, the study of gender and the study of foreign relations are theoretically linked in that have both concerned themselves with how power functions, and by what means it is transmitted through and between societies.<sup>90</sup> During its occupation of Japan, the United States used ideals of womanhood and beauty to argue that the American way of life was superior to that of both its former Pacific enemy and its new Cold War foe. Thus, alongside the "big brother" role the Americans frequently assumed when relating to people they wished to control, the Japanese were given a big sister to emulate. After World War II, fashion trends, hairstyling techniques, and marriage advice were transported alongside guns and ammunition to convert a foreign enemy into a familiar friend. In this way, transforming women's bodies served as evidence of America's civilizing mission in Japan, and ideals of womanhood and beauty were, therefore, not inconsequential. They were, instead, an important part of America's plan to push its political and economic interests upon the Japanese.<sup>91</sup>

This would not be the last time the United States employed such methods. Indeed, while occupations are popularly thought of as masculine by nature, female bodies have remained on the front lines of battle. As the former U.S. Secretary of State and Presidential candidate Hillary Clinton has repeatedly stated, "the rights and roles of women and girls is the unfinished business of the twentieth century."<sup>92</sup> While writing this article, the United States has been engaged in a thirteen-year occupation of Afghanistan, in which the politics of women's bodies have again come to the fore. To many in the United States, the light-blue *burqa* worn by Afghani women is the seminal symbol of the Taliban's oppressive rule, while images of young uncovered females attending school have been touted as among the occupying forces' greatest achievements.<sup>93</sup> The outcome of America's engagement in Afghanistan is not yet known, but the history of Japan's "American interlude" can offer our contemporary situation a unique historical perspective. Just as in Japan, America's military and political leadership continues to justify the presence of American troops in Afghanistan and elsewhere by claiming that they liberate foreign women from sexist, male-dominated cultural traditions. It is now our turn, as students of the past and citizens of the present, to decide if this rationale is any more convincing today than it was during the U.S. Occupation of Japan.

#### NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>"Gifu Taxi-Dancer Wins Japan Glamour Contest," *Stars & Stripes*, Pacific Edition (Tokyo, Japan), July 27, 1947, 4.

<sup>2</sup>Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890–1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Walter Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture and the Cold War, 1945–1961* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); Richard M. Fried, *The Russians Are Coming! The Russians Are Coming! Pageantry and Patriotism in Cold-War America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999); Scott Lucas, *Freedom's War: The U.S. Crusade Against the Soviet Union 1945–56* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1999); Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May, eds., (Hanover, NH: University of New England Press, 2000); and Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

<sup>3</sup>Reinhold Wagnleitner, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 46.

<sup>4</sup>Penny Von Eschen, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).

<sup>5</sup>Tony Shaw, "The Politics of Cold War Culture" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 95, no. 4 (2001): 59-76, 59.

<sup>6</sup>Ronald Spector, *In the Ruins of Empire: The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia* (New York: Random House, 2007).

<sup>7</sup>Reminiscences of Esther Crane (March 1961), 31, Columbia Center for Oral History Collection (hereafter CCOHC).

<sup>8</sup>Eiji Takemae, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy* (New York: Continuum, 2002); John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

<sup>9</sup>This description comes from "educational" materials the Occupation used with Japanese women. Tomekichi Nakayama, , Miscellaneous Folder, Box 5249, RG 331: Women's Affairs and Activities, Allied Operational & Occupation Headquarters, World War II Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. National Archives at College Park, MD (hereafter RG 331, NACP).

<sup>10</sup>"Program of the Bloc Conference," Home Demonstrations Folder, Box 5247, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>11</sup>Koikari, 173.

<sup>12</sup>Takemae, 395.

<sup>13</sup>Takemae, 129.

<sup>14</sup>For a greater discussion of beauty culture as a female language see Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998).

<sup>15</sup>Dower, 409.

<sup>16</sup>Civil Censorship Detachment Records, Press, Pictorial, and Broadcast, Division I: Press and Publications Sub-Section. Gordon W. Prange Collection, 4200 Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park, MD.

<sup>17</sup>Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis," 91, no. 5 (Dec. 1986): 1053-1075. An exception to this trend is the work of Mire Koikari; see (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).

<sup>18</sup>For a discussion of bodies in colonial contexts, see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some Could Suckle Over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 53, no. 1 (Jan. 1997): 167-192; Kaoru Kojima, "Japanese Images of Asian Women in 'Traditional' Clothes in the Age of Empire," in *Visualizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia*, ed. Aida Yuen Wong (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 101-112; and Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West* (London: Phaidon, 2005).

<sup>19</sup>Kojima, 103–104.

<sup>20</sup>Sally Hastings, "The Empress' New Clothes and Japanese Women, 1868–1912," *The Historian* 55, no. 4 (1993): 675, Academic Search Complete EBSCOhost, Accessed 20 July 2014.

<sup>21</sup>Mikiko Ashikari, "The Memory of the Women's White Faces: Japaneseness and the Ideal Image of Women," 15, no. 1 (2003): 57–79, quotation on 64.

<sup>22</sup>Barbara Molony, "Gender, Citizenship and Dress in Modernizing Japan," in *The Politics of Dress in Asia and the Americas*, ed. Mina Rocas and Louise Edwards (Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), 81–100, 89.

<sup>23</sup>*The Shiseido Story: A History of Shiseido: 1872–1972* (Shiseido Co., Ltd. Public Relations Department, 2003), 18.

<sup>24</sup>Molony, 89.

<sup>25</sup>*The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*, ed. Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

<sup>26</sup>Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 256.

<sup>27</sup>*Shiseido Story*, 23–25.

<sup>28</sup>Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>29</sup>Geoffrey Jones, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>30</sup>Jones, 62; 134.

<sup>31</sup>Jacqueline Atkins, "Extravagance is the Enemy," in *Wearing Propaganda: Textiles on the Home Front in Japan, Britain and the United States, 1931–1945*, ed. Jacqueline Atkins (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 163.

<sup>32</sup>50.

<sup>33</sup>Ashikari, 70.

<sup>34</sup>Atkins, 166; Molony, 96.

<sup>35</sup>Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 53.

<sup>36</sup>Dower, 64.

<sup>37</sup>The CI&E collected massive press files that contained U.S., British, and Australian articles it made available for re-publication in the Japanese press. RG 331, NACP.

<sup>38</sup>"Special Report: Magazines for Women," prepared by the Press and Publications Research Unit, 8 April 1946, Press and Magazine Relations folder, Box 5250, RG 331, NACP. (Hereafter, "Magazines for Women").

<sup>39</sup>*Sutairu* (March 1946); *Sutairu* (May 1946); *Sutairu* (August 1946).

<sup>40</sup>*Sutairu* (July 1946).

<sup>41</sup>*Sutairu* (June 1946); *Sutairu To Dezain* (Style, Fashion, and Design).

<sup>42</sup>Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 227.

<sup>43</sup>"Report of the Current Status of Magazine Publication in Japan" December 1, 1945, Press & Magazines Relations Folder, Box, 5250, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>44</sup>"Magazines for Women," April 8, 1946, Press & Magazines Relations Folder, Box, 5250, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>45</sup>*CI&E Operation Manual: Plans for Fiscal Year 1952*, 130, Box 5248, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>46</sup>Emiko Ochiai, "Decent Housewives and Sensual White Women: Representations of Women in Postwar Japanese Magazines," *Japan Review* 9 (1997): 151–169, quotation on 152.

<sup>47</sup>"Magazines for Women," NACP.

<sup>48</sup>Magazine Conferences Notes, "Club Organizations," July 2, 1946; "Parliamentary Law Procedures," July 23, 1946; "Democratic Club Organizations," August 8, 1946, Folder 15, Box 5262, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>49</sup>Summary of Magazine Conference, "What Interests and Responsibilities Should Japanese Wives and Mothers Have Outside the Home?" October 24, 1946, Folder 15, Box 5262, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>50</sup>*Reminiscences of Lulu Holmes* (August 12, 1966), 8, CCOHC.

<sup>51</sup>Summary of Magazine Conference, "New Fashion Trends in the United States," January 13, 1948, Conference Attendance Report, 1948 Folder, Box 5261, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup>Susie Miyashita, "'New Look' Is Not on Way to Japan—It has Arrived," *North Tonawanda Evening News* (Tonawanda, NY), February 6, 1948, 8.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>55</sup>Carmen Johnson, *Wave Rings in the Water: My Years with the Women of Postwar Japan* (Alexandria, VA: Charles River Press, 1996). Johnson's memoir recalls such skits to be a powerful means by which she engendered grass roots support for Occupation initiatives among Japanese women.

<sup>56</sup>*An Awakening Home*, 1.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup>*Husband and Wife Skit*: Kumamoto Institute for Leadership Training, Leadership Training Courses Folder, Box 5246, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>59</sup>Mire Koikari, "'The World Is Our Campus': Michigan State University and Cold-War Home Economics in US-Occupied Okinawa, 1945–1972," *Gender & History* 24, no. 1 (April 2012): 74–92.

<sup>60</sup>Unsigned letter to Lt. Ethel Weed, GHQ, March 31, 1948, File, Press & Magazine Relations, Magazine Folder, Box 5250, RG 331, NACP.

<sup>61</sup>Sara Evans, *Born For Liberty: A History of Women in America*. (The Free Press, New York: 1997); Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking, 2000).

<sup>62</sup>Susan Pharr, "The Politics of Women's Rights," in , eds. Robert Ward and Sakamoto Yoshikazu (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987); Susan Pharr, "A Radical US Experiment: Women's Rights and the Occupation of Japan," in , ed. L. H. Redford (Norfolk, VA: General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1977). Pharr notes that members of the Occupation disagreed on the extent to which Japanese women should be politicized, with female members of the Occupation often being more liberal in this regard than their male superiors.

<sup>63</sup>For other prominent Japanese feminists see Takemae, 329.

<sup>64</sup>Helen Hopper, (New York: Pearson, 2004).

<sup>65</sup>Mary Ritter Beard, New Milford Connecticut, to Ethel Weed, GHQ, March 30, 1947. As printed in , ed. Nancy Cott (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991): 288.

<sup>66</sup>Dower, 407.

<sup>67</sup>Nakijima, Infraction Report, "The Course to Beauty," *Shufu To Seikatsu*, December 7, 1946, Prange Collection. Marlene Mayo, Eiko Sakaguchi, and Amy Wasserstrom graciously assisted the author in locating this and several other items in the Prange Collection.

<sup>68</sup>Burton Crane, "Occupation Cost is Secret in Japan: Censors Also Bar From Press Many Items 'Likely to Disturb the Public Tranquility,'" *The New York Times*, January 12, 1947, as reprinted in *Political Censorship*, ed. Justin Goldstein (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2001).

<sup>69</sup>S. Nakemura, Infraction Report, *Funjin Shunju*, July 1946, 30. Prange Collection.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>71</sup>1947 Infraction Report for *Sutairu*, Prange Collection.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid, 1.

<sup>73</sup>Michiko Takeuchi, "'Pan-Pan Girls' Performing and Resisting Neocolonialism(s) in the Pacific Theater: U.S. Military Prostitution in Occupied Japan, 1945–1952," in , eds. Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 78–108, quotation on 89.

<sup>74</sup>Takeuchi, 82; Dower, 132.

<sup>75</sup>Takeuchi, 87.

<sup>76</sup>Donald Richie, "From Japan Journals, 1947," 13, no. 1 (April 2001): 109–115, quotation, 113–114.

<sup>77</sup>Captain Laurence Critchell, Natural Resources Section, GHQ SCAP, Tokyo, August 10, 1949, to Charles Desvernine. Letter in possession of the author.

<sup>78</sup>Takeuchi, 94.

<sup>79</sup>For more on Soviet cultural propaganda see, Baruch Hazan, *Soviet Impregnational Propaganda* (Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis Publishers, 1982). Dmitry Shlapentokh and Vladimir Shlapentokh, *Soviet Cinematography, 1918–1991: Ideological Conflict and Social Reality* (New York: A. de Gruyter, 1993); and Peter Kenez, *Cinema and Soviet Society 1917–1953* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>80</sup>*Hataraku Fujin* (December 1945).

<sup>81</sup>*Hataraku Fujin* (January–February 1947).

<sup>82</sup>Howard Fast, "Introduction" in *Mother*, Maxim Gorky (Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press, 1947), vvii.

<sup>83</sup>"Memorandum for Records" signed by "RRZ," March 10, 1947, Prange Collection.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>"Fashion Expert Highly Praises Improved Looks of Women Here" *Nippon Times*, (Tokyo, Japan), July 28, 1951, 5.

<sup>86</sup>Setsuo Uenoda, "Kimono vs. Yofuku," *Nippon Times* (Tokyo, Japan), September 13, 1951.

<sup>87</sup>Setsuo Uenoda, "Kimono Is Sure to Make a Brilliant Come-back," *Japan, Yesterday and Today* (reprint, 1952, Tokyo: Tokyo News Service, 1960), 52–59, quotation on 59.

<sup>88</sup>Ochai, 152.

<sup>89</sup>*Shiseido Story*, 67.

<sup>90</sup>Thomas Zeiler, "The Diplomatic History Bandwagon: A State of the Field," 95, no. 4 (March 2009): 1053–1073.

<sup>91</sup>Luce, H. R., "The American Century," reprinted in , ed. M. J. Hogan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>92</sup>As quoted in ,DVD, directed by Maro Chermayeff (New York: Show of Force, 2012).

<sup>93</sup>For a discussion of veiling and unveiling in the contemporary world, see Leila Ahmed, *A Quiet Revolution: The Veil's Resurgence, from the Middle East to America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

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