

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: Standing Tall: U.S. Efforts at Democratizing Rural Japanese Women During the Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952

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During the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952, dismantling the political and cultural systems that were perceived to have led Japan to war was a primary goal. Democracy, a word that came to encompass much more than its standard definitions, was to be the replacement ideology and coupled with demilitarization. Through a survey of SCAP documents from Record Group 331 located in the National Archives, this paper examines the way in which varying concepts and meanings of democracy were promoted to rural Japanese women by U.S. Occupation forces. It also explores the ways in which Japanese farm women embraced, rejected, and/or modified the evolving ideas about democracy into their daily lives. While the impact of democracy – in all of its many guises – was not as powerful as Occupation members desired, it still had a definite effect on the way rural Japanese women thought about their society and on their daily lives.

STANDING TALL: U.S. EFFORTS AT DEMOCRATIZING RURAL JAPANESE
WOMEN DURING THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN, 1945-1952

By

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On August 15, 1945, Emperor Hirohito of Japan for the first time publicly addressed his nation and his people. The prerecorded radio address, spoken by the monarch in whose name Japan's war had been fought, referred obliquely to Japan's defeat and called for the Japanese people to "endure the unendurable and bear the unbearable."¹ Japan had lost and the Allied forces were poised to enter and occupy Japan under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, who had been named Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) by President Truman only days earlier. The United States was to play the dominant role when it came to the Occupation of Japan. Other Allied forces, in particular those of the British Commonwealth nations, did send troops to Japan, but the initial policy decisions relating to defeated Japan, both in their planning and in their enactment, were essentially American. Under the terms of the Potsdam Proclamation of July 26, 1945, Japan upon surrendering would face military occupation; its war criminals would face justice; its military would be disarmed and its economy demilitarized; those in power whom the Allies saw as having "deceived and misled" the Japanese people into war would be eliminated; the government would have to "remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people," and freedoms of speech, thought, and religion and a respect for human rights would have to be established.²

Initial planning for the postwar era was cautiously begun as early as September 1939 following the outbreak of World War II in Europe. The State Department mobilized advisory groups to consider what was to be the shape of the world after the conflicts were over and how this might affect the United States.³ More extensive debate and planning

about what was to be done in a defeated Japan had begun in Washington D.C. in September 1942 following the attack on Pearl Harbor.⁴ And as the European theater came to a close in May of 1945, attention to Japan became paramount. The twin goals of the Occupation that emerged from months of study and consideration were demilitarization and democratization, along with considerations of punishment. These objectives were intended to be “complete” and “permanent” and were to be effected by nothing less remarkable than a change in the psychology of the Japanese people.⁵ This imposed ‘re-education’ of the Japanese people was to “effect changes in certain ideologies and ways of thinking” through the use of “all possible media and channels.”⁶ The twin programs of demilitarization and democratization were begun immediately. On October 4, 1945, MacArthur issued his Civil Liberties directive, which ordered the end of legal restraints on Japanese political expression that had been in place since the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 and the release of those who had been its victims from prison. And on October 11, MacArthur condensed his distillation of his instructions plus his personal prerogatives for Japan in a public statement about required reforms given to new Prime Minister Shidehara Kijuro. The constitution was to be liberalized, schools were to be opened to more liberal education, labor unions were to be encouraged, the monopolies of the *zaibatsu* companies were to be ended through a revision of industrial controls, and women were to be enfranchised.⁷

Such ambitious reforms were generally overseen by the Civil Information and Education Section (henceforth CI&E), as well as the Government Section (GS), of SCAP (which stood both for MacArthur in his role as Commander and for his command structure as a whole), the overall organizational structure in charge of the Occupation

which was also frequently referred to as General Headquarters (GHQ) in reference to the military nature of the occupation's structure. CI&E's main function was to disseminate democratic ideals, methods, and institutions among the Japanese primarily through a wide array of media and through the educational system. The Japanese mind, according to the thinking of pre-Occupation planners on the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC), was "feudal"⁸ and characterized by 'extreme racial consciousness and an anti-foreign complex.'" What was needed to change this mindset was a "positive policy of reorientation" that would acquaint the Japanese with "approved versions of American history, culture, and ideals."⁹ Radio broadcasts, films, various forms of publications, public lectures and discussions, exhibits and presentations, and especially the schools had been seen since before the war's conclusion as viable avenues of information dispersal.¹⁰ An intense democracy media campaign was directed at the Japanese people, one that continued throughout the Occupation and grew more nuanced and focused as the months, and then the years, passed.¹¹ One somewhat unexpected target of democratization to emerge at the beginning of the Occupation was the Japanese woman.¹²

According to Susan Pharr in "The Politics of Women's Rights," the reasons for Japan becoming an unexpected forum concerning women and women's rights in the post war period are complex. However, the most obvious and widely accepted answer is that the promotion of women's rights came to be seen by the Occupation as "part of a larger effort to reform an antidemocratic family system considered by the Americans to be a root cause of the militarism and fascism that led to the war. Adjusting the status of women in the family and in society [although not dealt with extensively during SWNCC

planning] was thus a basic step toward the goal of democratizing Japanese society.”¹³ As early as October 11, 1945, General MacArthur himself expressed the importance of women to reforming the social order of Japan when he called for their enfranchisement: “that, being members of the body politics, [women] may bring to Japan a new concept of government directly subservient to the well-being of the home.”¹⁴ Democratizing women would provide a direct attack on the Japanese family structure – with its Confucian hierarchies and metaphorical replication of the nation with the Emperor as the father and all Japanese as his children – which would, it was hoped, encourage individualism and prevent a return to militarism.¹⁵

Generally speaking too, the low status of women within the Japanese family was a cause for concern among the Occupation forces. The treatment of women by Japanese men largely ran counter to American notions of chivalry and politeness - providing an opportunity for the mostly male Occupation force to play gallant rescuer¹⁶ - although sexist and patronizing attitudes and conceptions about a woman’s place were strong on both sides.¹⁷ And more importantly and as a result of said supposedly poor treatment, Japanese women, often depicted in Western media as walking demurely three paces behind men with their heads bent and their gaze averted, were seen as a ripe target for liberation through democratization. Women as a group comprised a little over half of Japan’s population and they would, so the thinking of US Occupation forces went, clearly benefit from democratic reforms providing them with more rights, opportunities, and even legal equality with men, and thusly reciprocate for their gains by actively participate in SCAP’s reformist agenda.¹⁸

The aim of this paper is to examine a particular subset of Japanese women, those who lived and farmed in the small towns and villages of Japan's rural countryside and formed a significant segment of the population. The primary focus will be on the actions taken by Occupation members and on the work conducted by the Japanese government under SCAP supervision to promote democracy among rural women, both as part of the larger body of all Japanese women and as particular targets. Due to various limitations, including the existence of only a few translated oral histories, the perspective of rural Japanese women from that time period can only be offered briefly, often coming from remarks they made to various SCAP and Japanese governmental officials when they were asked to evaluate certain programs or pieces of information.¹⁹ The bulk of the information in this paper comes from Record Group 331 (SCAP), housed in a collection of over ten thousand boxes located at the National Archives II in College Park, MD. Using these records, a secondary aim of this paper is to demonstrate the existence of a great deal of information on the Occupation's rural activities and to present said information in a way to encourage its further exploration by others. This paper is intended primarily as an introduction to democratization efforts among rural women. An in-depth examination of U.S. and Japanese attitudes and opinions, as well as motives and underlying cultural influences, is beyond the scope of this thesis. An overview of the types of activities undertaken by SCAP and its Japanese partners will be provided, and particular attention will be paid to programs that were specifically directed at rural women.

The situation of rural Japanese women was in some ways the same as that of women who lived in Japan's cities and larger towns. The legal limitations of the Meiji Civil

Code of 1898, for instance, applied to all women regardless of class or background.²⁰

But in many ways the circumstances were very different, and the Occupation faced significant challenges in gaining direct contact with farm women as compared with their outreach efforts among urban-dwelling housewives and factory workers. This paper will begin with a general overview of the lifestyle of rural women in the years preceding and during the war in order to establish a starting point for understanding the situation Occupation members confronted upon their arrival in Japan. It will then proceed with descriptions of the methods used by the occupiers to promote democratic ideals among farm women. Beginning with the broadest and most generalized of methods, this paper will become increasingly narrower in scope, moving from general techniques for reaching the Japanese people at large to programs directed at Japanese women generally and finally finish with methods of democratization aimed specifically at rural Japanese women. A brief assessment of the Occupation's success or failure in democratizing rural women will conclude the paper.

1.1: Historical Legacy of Pre-1945 US Research on Rural Living Conditions

In 1945, prior to the end of the war, anthropologist John Embree published *The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey* to convey to Americans - particularly those who would be military government officers in Japan that he was instructing in his role as head, from 1943-1945, of the Japanese area studies of the Civil Affairs training School in the Far East set up by the War Department at the University of Chicago - the conditions of the country it would soon occupy. With regards to rural areas, he tended to support the belief that Japanese farmers, both men and women, were largely conservative and had supported their government's war efforts.²¹ He observed that in 1941 about fifty percent

of Japan's population was engaged in either agriculture or fishing. The majority of these farmers were small operators, farming fields totaling between two and three acres, and of those farmers a quarter were tenants and slightly less than half owned only part of their land and rented the rest.²² Land reform would become another aim of the Occupation, with a more equitable distribution of limited land resources and an end to tenancy as the ultimate goals.²³ Farmers, according to Embree, tended to be regarded by other Japanese as hard-working but simple, and were not seen as having an active interest in politics.²⁴ They were "used to orders from above...[and] accepted at face value whatever comes from government sources."²⁵ However, with many members of the military coming from farming areas, the Japanese army did agitate for farmers' interest with regards to taxes and relief measures.

The pre-war government actively encouraged farmers to work hard and live frugally, and promoted agricultural improvements to rural communities.²⁶ Agricultural cooperatives had been expanded and combined by the national government, in part to limit and incorporate the activities of tenant unions that had led protests against high rents and landowners during the 1920s and in part to promote militarism and nationalism. Eventually a branch was present in every village and every farm family was a member.²⁷ Rural women also were incorporated into government-sponsored Women's Associations organized to help promote the war effort.²⁸ These groups, which were often composed around pre-existing women's groups, listened to talks about the importance of thrift, rationalization of the household, and the need for savings.²⁹ Women's Associations also were responsible for welcoming returning soldiers and seeing departing soldiers off, as well as for producing 'kit bags' or 'comfort bags' of supply and small luxury materials

that were sent to soldiers on the front. On February 2, 1942, the various women's associations were merged into the Greater Japan Women's Association,³⁰ in which membership and participation became mandatory.³¹ Feelings in rural Japan about participation in the patriotic women's associations seemed to have been mixed, with many women viewing their activities as more of a burden than anything else.³² The dissemination of government policy also came through lectures from visiting government officials. This served, according to Embree, as a means of indoctrination as well as of communication.³³ Interestingly, the Occupation's goal of democratization would reach rural areas in a somewhat similar fashion.

As for the women of Japan in general, of them Embree wrote:

From the point of view of American society, the societal position of women is low: politically they have very little voice, since they can neither vote nor be elected to government office; they are seldom educated beyond the high school level since there is little place in Japanese society for a woman highly educated in the social, biological, or physical sciences; and finally, while a divorce by mutual consent may be obtained as simply as a marriage registration, if there is a disagreement, the husband may divorce his wife at will while she can divorce him only for serious cause and with considerable legal difficulty.³⁴

Embree was in a good position to write about rural women with some authority, having lived in Japan with his wife Ella - who spoke fluent Japanese and conducted her own research among the local women and children that would be published much later - in the farming community of Suye Mura (mura can be translated as village and was used as such by Embree and in SCAP materials), located on the southernmost main island of Kyushu in Kumamoto Prefecture, from August 1935 to December 1936. His observations about women, found in both *The Japanese Nation* and in *Suye Mura: Japanese Village*, published in 1939, reveal the hard life many faced. His studies were supplemented by the works of other anthropologists who arrived during the course of the

Occupation and immediately afterwards and who discussed the living conditions of the pre-war era with those who served as informants for their studies. Writing on women, Embree explained that daughters were less desired than sons, and indeed he noted that it was often said when a firstborn child was a daughter that, "That is fortunate – now, when the son is born, there will be a nursemaid to carry him about."³⁵ Daughters could be sold, either as prostitutes or to work in factories, by their father, and Embree noted that even though laws had been established saying a girl's consent needed to be obtained for such a sale, in practice that meant nothing for a girl was in no position to refuse.³⁶ Marriages were arranged and it was generally unthinkable for a girl to refuse the husband her father chose for her. And a husband could have as many affairs as he could afford while his wife certainly could not, at least not openly, nor could she readily object to his.³⁷ The bride was usually below her husband in education and experience; her job was to stay home, bear children, and work hard, whether in the house, the fields, or an outside job.³⁸

Even on the street, particularly in towns and cities, the imbalance of power between man and woman was revealed. Husband and wife rarely walked down the street together, and, if they should happen to, the woman followed along behind her husband and carried his things. In the rare group settings where both man and wife attended, such as at funerals or weddings, men and women had segregated seating, with the women in the place of less comfort and prominence.³⁹ Loneliness added to the burden borne by women. Most were married to men who came from a community other than their own, causing them to move to an unfamiliar area while their husbands had the benefit of remaining in their home village. The new wife was forced to forget her old home and "turn all of her loyalty to the home of her husband."⁴⁰ Besides living among strangers,

the new wife was also physically isolated, staying busy within her new home with all of her newly acquired chores.⁴¹ **(See Image on the following page.)** And in her new daily life, the farm wife worked longer hours and at more tasks than her husband, kept so busy that her sleep could be cut down to an average of just five hours a night.⁴²

Within the farm family, the head of the family – the father and then eventually his eldest son and heir – had absolute authority and privilege, and his word was law. He was the first to take a bath – drawn by a woman – and the first to be served with food – prepared by a woman – and he had a special seat next to the fire pit. All of the income generated by the farm family, even from side work such as sericulture or rope making which were usually performed by women, went to him to be doled out as he saw fit. He was also able to designate any member of his household as his deputy, enabling him to send a son or daughter or even his wife in his place to attend to various forms of community maintenance such as road-repairing.⁴³ Women, on the other hand, came last in the household, especially the new wife. They bathed only after all the other men had bathed, often sharing a tub with several children, and sitting in water they had labored to bring in buckets back from the nearest well, under which firewood they or their children had collected had to be lit and kept burning.⁴⁴ Making and caring for clothing was a woman's job, and much of their time in the winter months was spent on weaving and the mending of garments.⁴⁵ When parties and various celebrations were held, the hosting farm wives were always responsible for preparations and once again were not able to partake until everyone else had been satisfied.⁴⁶ Even the kitchen itself, the realm of the woman, was relegated to a place of lesser importance.



Image 1: Farm Woman Making Rough Mats and Baskets for the Transport of Charcoal, 1949

(Source: John W. Bennett. *Doing Photography and Social Research in the Allied Occupation of Japan, 1948-1951: A Personal and Professional Memoir*. Courtesy of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at the University of Ohio Libraries,

<http://nextweb.lib.ohio-state.edu/sites/rarebooks/japan/images/full/12/19.jpg> 15 April 2010)

Typically bearing a dirt floor, the kitchen was not an integral part of the farm house but was tacked onto the back, its roof more of a lean-to that incorporated into the main house roof.⁴⁷

In addition to having a lowly status when compared to men, the new bride also experienced the possible tyranny of her mother-in-law, who now gained her own position of authority by ranking above the young wife. As experienced by one new wife:

As daughter-in-law, I was the last person to eat and the one who ate the least tasty food. My mother-in-law did all the cooking. She also served the food. She ordered me around like a maid...In those days a woman learned that her virtue lay in her self-sacrifice. You learned to do what your parents said. My father always taught me through the example of his own life that if both sides assert themselves, you can't get along in the family. One side must yield – the one that comes in from outside.⁴⁸

In disagreements between wife and mother-in-law, the husband was supposed to take the part of his mother. Indeed, in quarrels, the wife generally lost. She was expected to give in to her husband but she was at least occasionally permitted to have her perspective known.⁴⁹ Embree believed, despite the many constraints and hardships they faced, that rural women actually had life better than their urban counterparts. He seemed to think that they were less restrained in their speech and actions, and he noted that married rural women often drank and smoked together with the men of their households.⁵⁰ Too, he noted that older women – the mothers-in-law – did not face the same pressures as young ones. As he said, “The older a woman becomes, the more she takes the liberties so long withheld from her of talking back to a man, of doing less work, and of ordering young people to do it. With the years she becomes as bold and ribald in her talk as any man.”⁵¹ However, his views do not seem to be shared by Japanese women themselves, nor do the few opportunities of liberty in contrast to the long hours of work they endured seem to jibe with his beliefs. Indeed, the old Japanese saying that women obey their husbands

when young and their children when elderly, held more than just a grain of truth for modern farm women.⁵² Faced with rural women who had limited education, no time to themselves, and a culture that decreed their obedience and curtailed their activity, the earliest - and an enduring - difficulty faced by the Occupation in spreading democratization to farmers' wives was simply in reaching them.

According to Embree's observations in his 1945 book, the standard of living for Japanese farmers was moderately high. He noted that "practically every house is equipped with electric light in place of oil lamps."⁵³ Transportation had been improved by the introduction of bicycles and by rural bus lines and so there was greater contact with surrounding areas and nearby towns and cities.⁵⁴ However, Embree's assessment dealt only with what he had known of Japan before America's fire-bombing campaigns had flattened its cities, leaving the countryside largely physically untouched but marked by an increase in population due to urban flight to escape the devastation, and the long years of war had drained the whole of the country of its resources and destroyed its infrastructure. Additionally, he had been rather too optimistic in his belief about the extent of rural Japan's electrification. Many villages and hamlets had never had electricity and those that were electrified experienced interruptions and even failures in service as manpower and necessary parts were drawn away by the war effort. Roads also could not be adequately maintained and vehicles were pressed into governmental service.⁵⁵ And yet farming communities were not entirely cut off. Newspapers and magazines, which had been much enjoyed by even the illiterate women of *Suye Mura*,⁵⁶ were still distributed, and lecturers and traveling performers still made their rounds, albeit with much reduced frequency. And nearly every village had at least one radio, often

found at the local school or village office. It was through this medium that Emperor Hirohito had reached his beleaguered nation in August of 1945, and radio was also the means by which Occupation forces first reached out en masse to Japan's rural population to begin their mandated tasks of democratization and demilitarization.

Chapter 2: Democratization Efforts Through Mass Media

Reaching the Japanese people, with their large population spread out across the four main islands, was an early obstacle for the Occupation. It was impossible for there to be individualized contact between Americans and Japanese on a large scale although local contacts were made, mostly via the troops and civilian experts sent out to the various prefectures as part of Military Government, later renamed Civil Affairs, teams. In order to communicate the commands, intentions, and desires of the Occupation on a widespread scale, a plethora of media sources were engaged. These included radio, various forms of printed material, films, lectures, and special information centers among others. Radio, needing the least amount of resources to be co-opted, since it required merely an Occupation assumption of control or oversight of existing stations, was of first priority.

2.1: Radio

As early as 1944, American planners for the postwar occupation had singled out radio as an ideal means of communication. It was the fastest method available, for a start, and it could equally reach young children and illiterate old men and women in remote rural areas. Radio, according to State Department plans, would be used for: “1) dissemination of essential news and instruction ‘at fixed hours’ under close military government supervision, 2) minimum civil censorship of subversive or dangerous ideas, and 3) recision of laws or ordinances which restricted freedom of expression.”⁵⁷ Additionally, radio ownership in Japan was seen as being relatively high, with an estimated six to seven million sets used daily and collective listening commonplace so that a majority of the population could be reached through the medium.⁵⁸

Established within CI&E once the Occupation was underway, the Radio Branch, in conjunction with many Japanese producers, script writers, and technical workers, “embraced programming for democracy, or affirmative propaganda, with great enthusiasm and idealism. It inspired and indeed created many new programs to popularize the concept, practices, and institutions of democracy.” Political education was an essential role played by the Radio Branch, particularly in the run-up to the Diet elections of 1946 when many other forms of media were just beginning to be put into service, and as a continuing function of the Occupation’s reorientation agenda.⁵⁹ Radio was seen as a particularly useful tool when it came to illustrating how democratic civic principles were applied as well as serving as an informational device that could “create popular acceptance of democracy as contrasted to other forms of government.”⁶⁰ In fact, it was estimated in March 1946 that individual household radios were tuned in for an average of at least five hours a day, giving the Radio Branch plenty of opportunity to educate listeners.⁶¹

Radio’s reach was successfully increased over the course of the Occupation, with an estimated fifty-five percent of Japanese homes having at least one radio receiver by February 1951.⁶² The Broadcasting Corporation of Japan, as the modern Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK) was known to Occupation authorities, had by 1948 a total of 104 broadcast stations that provided basic coverage for all of Japan, meaning radio owners even in remote areas would be able to receive a decent broadcast signal.⁶³ Private radio stations were not permitted and so the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan – and by extension, SCAP – had a monopoly on what was broadcast. For women, this meant that programming aimed specifically at them could not be co-opted by other family members

in favor of something else because nothing else existed. Radio programming encompassed the realms of information, education, and entertainment. Many programs that originated for a singular purpose soon evolved to include all three elements.

One of the earliest programs launched under SCAP was *Fujin no jikan* [The Women's Hour], which first aired on October 1, 1945. Broadcast daily from 1-2 pm, it is questionable how much of an effect the program had on farm women, who, even if they had access to a radio, could reasonably have been expected to have been busy in the fields or engaged in various other tasks. Still, *Fujin no jikan*, which from the start treated Japanese women as citizens and was designed "to elevate women's political, social, and cultural level," was likely to have reached at least some women in rural Japan. With the National Diet elections of April 1946 looming, and, with them, Japanese women's first opportunity to vote, the initial material of the program focused on why women should vote, as well as presenting the positions and platforms of the various parties and political candidates. Given that sixty-five percent of all eligible women voted in the 1946 Diet elections, *Fujin no jikan* must have been heard by and influenced at least a portion of rural female voters along with other elements of CI&E's pre-election media blitz.⁶⁴ Later programming for *Fujin no jikan* included such topics as the new constitution and the revised Civil Code as well as developing more entertainment-oriented features, such as plays, music, and letters from listeners. Additionally, in a segment combining education with entertainment, an imaginary social club drama was developed with CI&E input to help teach women how to conduct a club democratically.⁶⁵ And by 1948, perhaps realizing that the original broadcast time was not conducive to reaching a great many women except urban housewives, a segment collecting the highlights of *Fujin no jikan*

was being broadcast on Fridays at 10 pm.⁶⁶ Programming specifically for women and also for rural areas was considered so important that on January 6, 1949, the NHK program department was reorganized to include both a Women's Division and a Farm Division. The Women's Division was responsible at that time for six programs equaling a total of twelve broadcast hours a week.⁶⁷

Other radio programs that were of interest to but not particularly targeting women were also developed for democratization purposes. Two were radio serials, a soap opera format that was popular in the United States and proved equally enjoyable to the Japanese. Both serials had entertainment as their primary objective but were also designed to provide a format for a more subtle form of disseminating democracy. One was *Good Neighbors*, initially a thirty minute program airing on Tuesdays at 7:30 pm before later being moved to daytime. *Good Neighbors* revolved around four typical Japanese families who confronted problems of the day and resolved them by democratic means. *Bell Hill* was a fifteen minute drama that aired twice a week in the late afternoons. It focused on the ongoing problem of orphans and abandoned children, as well as other juvenile issues through the focus of a farm owned by a returned soldier and converted into a haven for homeless children.⁶⁸ *The March of Time* aired on Wednesdays from 8 to 8:30 pm. It was based upon the U.S. documentary program of the same name, and each episode dealt with a singular issue of current importance. *The Family Hour* aired on Saturdays in the same time slot and focused on subjects that applied to both individual family members and the family as a group – often dealing with the many family status changes brought about by the new Civil Code. It was followed by *The*

People's Radio School on Saturdays from 9 to 9:30 pm. This program focused on adult education and aired subjects for study in thirteen week periods.

Of perhaps some interest to rural women, or at least more likely to be heard in their communities, were the *New Farm Village* and *Local Farm Show* programs. *New Farm Village* aired on Mondays from 8 to 8:30 pm and was repeated on Wednesdays from 10 to 10:30 pm. The program focused on presenting information important to farmers and on a question-and-answer segment. Emphasis was often placed on new legal developments, such as land reform and agricultural cooperatives, as well as on crop production and collection. The *Local Farm Show* aired on Thursdays at 9 pm for fifteen minutes. It was developed on a local station basis rather than being national, and so its programming varied in terms of the information and entertainment provided. The *Local Farm Show* was often used like an audio bulletin board to make announcements relevant to the local farming community of upcoming events and activities, including those specifically pertaining to farm women.⁶⁹ Overall, radio programming and broadcast reach in Japan was seen by CI&E as having been generally effective as one of their primary modes of political education. Of the radio format in particular, it was noted that women had become more approachable to broadcasters over the course of the Occupation and more apt to voice their opinions frankly on a wide variety of subjects, although the extent to which this change reached the countryside is unknown.⁷⁰

2.2: Publications

Various forms of printed media were also heavily utilized by SCAP to reach the countryside as well as the rest of Japan and constitute the most general and widely utilized source of democracy promotion. Under the oversight of CI&E, coordinated

political-information education campaigns for adults ran constantly to cover a variety of specific projects as well as the general topic of democratization. Such campaigns were designed to change what were often seen by SCAP as passive Japanese attitudes towards innovations, such as the new constitution and their new role as citizens in a democratized government, as well as to reverse persistent age-old concepts about authority, social hierarchies, and the place of women.⁷¹ Such programs also tended to target specific groups like as youth associations and women's organizations.⁷² Later programs were also intended to combat the information programs of the Japanese Communist Party, which SCAP came to see as a threat as the United States entered deeper into the emerging Cold War.⁷³

Publications - which proliferated after the war as censorship was modified and placed under Occupation control – definitely reached rural areas. Embree had noted that in the 1930s, newspapers in *Suye Mura* were subscribed to by about one household in ten.⁷⁴ However, by 1948, at least in largely rural Miyagi Prefecture on the northeastern coast of the main island of Honshu, newspaper circulation had reached approximately one per every five people, enough for one per household.⁷⁵ A survey of rural registered voters in Niigata Prefecture in February 1950 revealed similar figures, with eighty percent of those interviewed having a subscription to at least one newspaper.⁷⁶ Magazine subscriptions, while not as high as in urban areas, also reached the countryside. The most popular rural magazine was *Ie no Hikari* [Light of the Home], which had been widely read through the 1920s and 1930s and remains in publication even today, and was directed at women.⁷⁷ Other magazines, which as a publishing medium were primarily read by women, also reached the countryside albeit with much smaller circulation numbers than in urban

areas.⁷⁸ Women's magazines were also notable for consistently printing home and social education articles, often averaging several instances per issue. Along with *Ie no Hikari*, the three other most popular women's magazines to carry political education articles were *Fujin no Tomo* [Women's Companion], *Shufu no Tomo* [Housewives' Companion], and *Fujin Club* [Women's Club].⁷⁹ One might question, however, the functional literacy levels of many farm wives, particularly older ones, as well as the amount of free time to be spent on reading. At least in the winter months, particularly in areas of poor weather, rural women did have some time available to devote to self-cultivation and magazines.

2.3: Group-Oriented Activities And Information Centers

Beyond the radio and print materials, which were often shared communally but could equally be absorbed in isolation, CI&E designed and sponsored a variety of more group-oriented activities for political education. Similar to the lecturers who had come to rural areas to promote new laws and initiatives during the war, both Japanese and American speakers – almost always accompanied by a translator as most Occupation members spoke little or no Japanese - traveled the countryside during the Occupation. Their focus, however, was on the promotion of democracy rather than the pro-militarization and ultranationalism efforts that had marked such similar talks in the past. They brought with them charts, posters, or other exhibit-style images to help explain their talks and provide an opportunity for those who may not have time to attend the whole meeting to at least get the gist of the lecture by briefly studying the pictographic representations.⁸⁰ Traveling Japanese theater troupes and *kamishibai* [paper lantern]⁸¹ presenters also made the rounds of distant villages, often presenting material that had been prepared by or under the guidance of CI&E.

Although unlikely to have had much rural reach, CI&E also opened Information Centers in seventeen major cities. The Information Centers were fairly widely advertised and were open to everyone. They housed all sorts of pamphlets, books, and brochures on democracy and America that could be taken or borrowed for personal use. Information Centers also sponsored exhibits, examples of which included “New Government and Women’s Tasks” and “Home and Society;” they were also responsible for showing films and other media presentations. According to a 1949 report, the percentage of female visitors to the centers was around twenty-two percent.⁸² A craze for square-dancing, in which Japanese men and women were introduced to the supposedly novel concept of dancing together, was also introduced in 1946 as an indirect and very inexpensive form of democratization. It proved very popular in both urban and rural areas.⁸³ Citizens’ Public Halls were also ordered to be constructed; SCAP’s intention was that they be opened in every city, town, and village in Japan so that people could assemble and have access to all sorts of democratic materials. Of course such a wide-reaching goal was difficult to achieve in a physically and economically devastated Japan, but eventually a fair number of such buildings were constructed.⁸⁴ They proved to be an excellent environment for yet another medium, that of motion pictures which, despite the difficulties posed by access to electricity, did come to be shown in even the remotest countryside.

2.4: Film

Once again turning to Embree, as he was one of the few American scholars to have published about rural life in Japan during the pre-war time period, the anthropologist noted that movie theaters were very rare in small towns and rural villages, with films

being shown from time to time generally in any convenient building, usually the school, or even outdoors. In Suye Mura, movies were shown perhaps two or three times in the summer, and occasionally a theater owner from the nearby town of Menda would also show films in the evening. Sometimes, the local people would travel to Menda to see a show, but they were mostly young people.⁸⁵ Embree's wife Ella observed that for the Suye Mura women, the "most thrilling contact with the outside world came through the motion pictures shown occasionally at the school or out of doors in a vacant lot."⁸⁶

Despite the limitations imposed by access to electricity and an appropriate venue faced by many rural towns, from the beginning CI&E, and MacArthur himself, saw films as an excellent way to reach Japanese audiences. The novelty factor of movies guaranteed a high turnout, even for films with a purely educational purpose. Many of the films shown were adaptations of American productions that had been vetted by the Educational Film Unit of the Motion Picture and Theatrical Branch of CI&E. Additionally, Japanese film companies were ordered to produce their own educational films, and occasionally other sections of SCAP would ask for a film to be made. Newsreels were also subject to CI&E oversight and censorship and were encouraged to include timely political education-related materials.⁸⁷ Ultimately, four big Japanese companies – Daiei, Toho, Shochiku, and Nihon Manga Eiga – were contracted to produce political education films for SCAP and for various Japanese ministries under CI&E guidance.⁸⁸

To help promote the further use of films, in October 1948 CI&E released 1150 Natco sound movie projectors and 675 stereopticon projectors for use across all the prefectures of Japan. To ensure that rural audiences actually could view films, CI&E and the local Japanese government had to get the projectors to them. This was often accomplished via

what were termed “news cars.” (See **Images on the following page.**) News cars were actually sturdy trucks that were usually owned by a prefectural government or a governmental organization. Generally equipped with a generator along with projectors, films, a variety of print media, and accompanied by lecturers, news cars were used to bring movies as well as other forms of entertainment and education to a rural audience from as early as 1946. News cars quickly proved to be one of the most efficient and cost-effective means of reaching rural areas, and they were used in increasing numbers through the end of the Occupation.⁸⁹ Such efforts to reach rural audiences were not unappreciated. A male village official in rural Fukushima Prefecture wrote in his review of a film: “Our village is surrounded by the mountains and there is no entertainment except for some magazines, newspapers, and radio. Some villagers go to watch movies a few times a year, but most of us had never seen movies before. The excitement of the farmers who watched color films was beyond description.”⁹⁰

Several types of films were produced under CI&E guidance. One variety was purely educational and included films like *How to Hold a Meeting* from Toho Company in the summer of 1948 which explained the democratic way for meetings to be conducted. Another kind was in the format of ‘edu-tainment,’ films in which the educational content was coated in the veneer of a purely entertaining story. This kind included the likes of *Renai tokkyu* [Love Express] from Shochiku during the same period. *Renai tokkyu* told the story of conflict between old and new ideas in a rural Japanese town and indirectly demonstrated democracy at work as well as its benefits. Japanese historical figures who were thought to have embodied the new ideals of democratization also became the basis for ‘edu-tainment.’



Image 2: Miyagi News Car Exterior
(Source: National Archives II, Record Group 331, Box 2644)



Image 3: Miyagi News Car Interior
(Source: National Archives II, Record Group 331, Box 2644)

For example, *Waga koi wa moenu* [My Burning Love/ My Love Has Been Burning], released in 1949 and also from Shochiku, was a melodrama based on the autobiography of Hirayama Eiko, a pioneering advocate of women's rights and suffrage during the 'freedom and people's rights movement' in Meiji Japan.⁹¹ Other 'edu-tainment' films could depict women in roles that they were not normally seen. The film *Josei no shori* [Woman's Victory] told the story of a female lawyer who successfully defends another woman who was the victim of circumstance. She goes up against a feudalistic-minded male prosecutor who also happens to be her brother-in-law and scores a victory not just for the woman she is defending but for all the women in Japan.⁹²

Regarding the depiction of women in Japanese films, the Occupation censors were always on the alert for chances to eliminate feudalistic characterizations. American censors considered the depiction of arranged marriages and the meeting of prospective marriage partners through *miai* to be feudalistic because it seemed to lower the importance of the individual versus the family. Period films were expected to criticize feudal values from a modern perspective and CI&E censors wanted such films to show the inequities of the traditional marriage system.⁹³ The depiction of the physical abuse of women was also taboo as were much more subtle signs of 'feudalism' such as scenes where wives are shown walking deferentially behind their husbands. Somewhat ironically, the censors often could not tolerate depictions of Japanese women being stronger than men, such as in the case of Shochiku Studios' proposed satire, *Dansei kaihou* [Liberation of Men], in which housewives manipulated and bossed their husbands.⁹⁴

American films that had been produced purely for entertainment but were seen as having educational value were also brought over and shown to the Japanese, sometimes with only an accompanying translator rather than subtitles or overdubbing. One such film was *The Farmer's Daughter*, released in the United States in March 1947. Directed by H.C. Potter and starring Loretta Young and Joseph Cotton, the plot followed a Swedish-American farm girl as she moves from the farm to the big city for school, gets into some trouble and has to become a domestic worker for a congressman, falls in love, and along the way gets involved in politics.⁹⁵ It was considered to be a purely romantic film stateside but because it also depicted democracy in action and, most significantly, a female actively participating in politics and running for public office, it was seen as appropriate for the edification of Japanese audiences.⁹⁶ By the end of 1948, CI&E estimates placed the weekly average of documentary film viewing at 2.5 million persons.⁹⁷ Films, with their appeal as a rare form of entertainment, would prove to be a particularly successful avenue for reaching rural women. Indeed, the prospect of a film viewing was more able to draw farm women from their fields and homes than any other of SCAP's numerous methods for spreading information about democracy.

Chapter 3: Promoting The New Democratic Japan

This chapter focuses on two early events of the Occupation and their impact on women. The first section covers the election of April 1946. A recounting of the many ways in which SCAP urged Japanese women to recognize and exercise their new suffrage rights and participate in democracy will demonstrate just how concerned Occupation officials were with engaging Japanese women in the political process. The second part is concerned with SCAP's efforts at popularizing the new Japanese constitution and explaining its provisions to women, who gained many rights under its terms. These two concerns – the 1946 election and the enactment of the new constitution –were covered broadly by SCAP, which was more interested in promoting them to Japanese women at large than in focusing on rural women specifically.

3.1: The April 1946 Election

One of the earliest major democratization campaigns from CI&E was also the first to particularly target women. The national elections of April 1946 marked the first time Japanese women were able to exercise their right to vote. The right of suffrage had been granted by the Japanese government in December 1945, and it was just four months later that Japanese women were to cast their ballots.⁹⁸ SCAP made a concerted effort to reach and educate women about the upcoming elections despite still being in the process of establishing the various subsections of itself, including the Women's Bureau of CI&E, and determining duties. Expectations on the part of SCAP for women's participation were fairly high despite pre-surrender Occupation plans having largely neglected the status of Japanese women as citizens. To quote Lt. Ethel Weed⁹⁹, the head of the Women's Affairs section of CI&E:

I came to Japan on November 1, 1945. The general election was scheduled to be held in January. At that time I was rather indifferent to the matter and my expectations as to the outcome of it were not great. Of late, however, I have become more and more interested in the part the Japanese women, particularly in large cities, might play in the coming general election...Japanese women have a wonderful opportunity to make advances politically and to contribute to the democratization of their country by playing their part in the coming general election...In order to succeed in the coming general election, the Japanese women must comprehend circumstances behind office, farm, and home life and realize how closely daily life is related to political elections.¹⁰⁰

Such expectations were influenced in part by the fact that the number of female voters exceeded those of male voters by 2.7 million and also that elections had been postponed so that time could be taken to educate Japanese women about democracy and to try and influence Japanese men to understand the importance of women exercising the franchise.¹⁰¹

In a later report from General Courtney Whitney, head of the Government Section, to General MacArthur on the April 1946 elections, the political education campaign was analyzed and results were announced with some satisfaction. According to the document, analysis of the Japanese press prior to the election revealed a remarkably intensive publicity campaign designed to encourage election participation and to inform the people, especially newly enfranchised women, about important political issues. The effectiveness of the campaign was thought to be attested to by the turnout of 72.2 percent of eligible voters, amounting to more than 27 million persons. Additionally, the attendance of women was of particular note, especially the confident manner projected by many at the polls. Thirteen million women, about 66 percent of eligible female voters, participated in the election, defying pre-election predictions that ranged from the truly dismal estimate of leading suffragist Ichikawa Fusae of ten percent to the newspaper

projections which generally forecast between thirty and sixty percent participation. Too, of seventy-nine women candidates, thirty-eight were elected, the highest number to this day.¹⁰² Participation levels of 66 percent meant that at least some rural women had voted, indicating to SCAP, which conducted overviews of polling numbers by prefecture, that their political education campaign was not only reaching into at least some portions of the countryside but also proving to be effective.

3.2: Introducing the New Japanese Constitution

CI&E followed up its 1946 election campaign, which had relied heavily on radio broadcasts and the Japanese press, with a new major campaign that utilized every form of media SCAP had at its disposal. The campaign itself dealt with introducing the new Japanese constitution to the people. Among the first clear suggestions to the Japanese government that its constitution would need at least minimal reform in the eyes of the Occupation came from General MacArthur's meeting with Prince Konoe Fumimaro, a three-time Japanese Prime Minister, and at that time minister without portfolio in the Higashikuni cabinet, on October 14, 1945. At this meeting, at least according to the Japanese Foreign Ministry's record as well as that of MacArthur's political advisor George Atcheson's later dispatch to U.S. Secretary of State James Byrnes, MacArthur told Konoe that the Japanese constitution must be revised.¹⁰³ More widely, his broad statements – condensed from the guidance on reform provided by the SWNCC – about overall reform made on October 11, 1945, to new Prime Minister Shidehara Kijūrō and made public on October 13, also suggested a need for, at a minimum, constitutional revision in order to accommodate the proposed reforms, although such a move was not actually one of the five 'great reforms' enumerated by MacArthur.¹⁰⁴ The SCAP view, at

least as articulated by Atcheson, was that revision of the constitution was necessary to guarantee civil liberties and to make the entire Japanese Diet an elected and representative institution, rather than just the Lower House, as well as to reduce the powers of the emperor and the military.¹⁰⁵ A certain amount of confusion held sway in the immediate aftermath of MacArthur's talk with Shidehara, as Konoe, no longer a government minister, was also acting to revise the constitution. To circumvent Konoe, on October 25, 1945, Shidehara established the Cabinet Committee to Study Constitutional Problems under the leadership of State Minister Matsumoto Jōji.¹⁰⁶

Unofficial Japanese groups and individuals as well as newly established or re-established political parties also took up the problem of constitutional revision and began writing their own draft proposals for a new constitution.¹⁰⁷ Newspapers were full of talk about constitutional revision and published parts or complete drafts of various proposed constitutions. On February 1, 1946, the *Mainichi Shinbun* published on its front page the full text of a constitutional draft that it purported was from the official Cabinet Committee to Study Constitutional Problems. This was quickly refuted by Matsumoto but was in fact more or less the truth. The draft published by the *Mainichi Shinbun* was immediately met with much criticism by both SCAP and the Japanese public because of its conservative bias.¹⁰⁸ SCAP had been somewhat observing this process, and on its own had concluded that it had the authority to prepare its own model draft of the Japanese constitution if it was done before the Far Eastern Commission made its own policy decision for constitutional revision.¹⁰⁹ On February 3, 1946, MacArthur ordered the Government Section of SCAP to draft a constitution to serve as a model for the Japanese government's committee. Within that order were three provisions that he said

must be included, including the need for Japan to renounce war.¹¹⁰ Within the span of six days, the SCAP constitutional committee, under the chairmanship of Colonel Charles Kades, which included four female members, wrote an entire constitutional draft based in part on consultation with the text of various world constitutions and with reference to Japan's existing Meiji Constitution.¹¹¹ The SCAP model constitution was composed of ninety-two articles, of which thirty-one pertained to human rights. Provisions for women's rights were incorporated thanks to Beate Sirota, a twenty-two year-old woman who served on the subcommittee on human rights. Article 23 of the final SCAP draft declared that both sexes had legal and social equality and that family life was to be based upon mutual consent and cooperation rather than male domination. She also tried to include social welfare provisions but those were eliminated in SCAP's final draft.¹¹² That final draft, which came as a surprise to the Japanese, was presented to Matsumoto and Foreign Minister Yoshida Shigeru on February 13, 1946.¹¹³

Despite the concerns of many of the Japanese Cabinet committee members over various provisions of the SCAP draft, it was reluctantly accepted on February 22, 1946, and on February 26, 1946, the Japanese committee drafted its own new constitutional proposal by merely amending the SCAP draft, with the main revision consisting of a provision for an elected bicameral Diet.¹¹⁴ The proposed constitution also benefited from the support of Emperor Hirohito, who legitimated the process of constitutional revision through an imperial rescript supporting it issued in March 1946.¹¹⁵ The proposed new Japanese constitution was debated in the newly elected Lower House of the Japanese Diet during the summer months of 1946 and then was promulgated by the Emperor on November 3, 1946. It officially came into effect on May 3, 1947, and it not

only turned the Imperial family into little more than a figurehead with no real governmental powers [not even as head of state], but also included articles renouncing Japan's right to wage war, committing it fully to the demilitarization goals of the Occupation, and provided women with equal status to men.¹¹⁶ From the published proposals first seen in February 1946 until the constitution officially came into effect on May 3, 1947, and even beyond, CI&E undertook an intense campaign in collaboration with both the Japanese government and public organizations to explain the terms of the new constitution to the Japanese people and expound on the benefits of its democratic ideals. This campaign took many forms and significant efforts were made to reach each and every Japanese household, including those in rural areas.¹¹⁷

Popularizing the new constitution was a task assumed by SCAP, the Japanese government, by Japanese democratic groups, and by the media. Newspapers and magazines were the earliest sources of public information on the new constitution. With the encouragement of SCAP, the media frequently discussed the elements of the proposed new constitution and closely followed the debates in the Diet during the summer of 1946. Many newspapers also published part or all of the text of the new constitution, along with interpretive articles and editorials.¹¹⁸ Radio programs were also continued throughout 1946, and it seems reasonable to conclude that rural women with radio access were able to hear at least some of the numerous broadcasts relating to the constitution. Indeed, between the first of September and the first of December 1946, a total of fifty-three separate programs on the new constitution were broadcast, many airing multiple times. *The Women's Hour* program alone often devoted fifteen minute segments to a variety of female speakers focusing on what the new constitution would mean to

women.¹¹⁹ Following the promulgation of the constitution on November 3, 1946, the Prime Minister's office established a 'Constitution Month Committee' which worked in conjunction with the Constitution Popularization Association. The Constitution Popularization Association was formed in the Diet among members of both houses as well as including some outside 'expert' members on December 1, 1946, and was headed by Hitoshi Ashida and Tokujiro Kanamori.¹²⁰ SCAP urged these two groups to continue promoting the constitution to the Japanese people.¹²¹

In the winter and spring of 1947, CI&E increased even further the amount of media attention given to the new constitution ahead of its effective date, May 3, 1947. The Japanese government also increased its campaigns. According to CI&E documents related specifically to the publicizing of the newly promulgated and official constitution, the intensive constitution campaign was designed to bring to the Japanese people "a knowledge and appreciation and an understanding" of the new constitution. One document notes that General MacArthur, identified specifically as the Supreme Commander, wanted if at all possible for a copy of the constitution to be given to every registered voter prior to the upcoming elections. Furthermore, plans for instruction on the constitution in elementary schools were being developed along with concurrent plans for adult classes on the constitution and on democracy which were to be held on a weekly basis.¹²² Artist Francis Blakemore was working for SCAP in CI&E's Exhibits Unit under Don Brown in early 1947. She and her staff were assigned to create a colorful series of posters called "What the Constitution Means to You as an Individual." (**See Image on following page.**) The cartoon posters were published in newspapers following a presentation by Alfred Hussey of SCAP's Government section at a news conference in

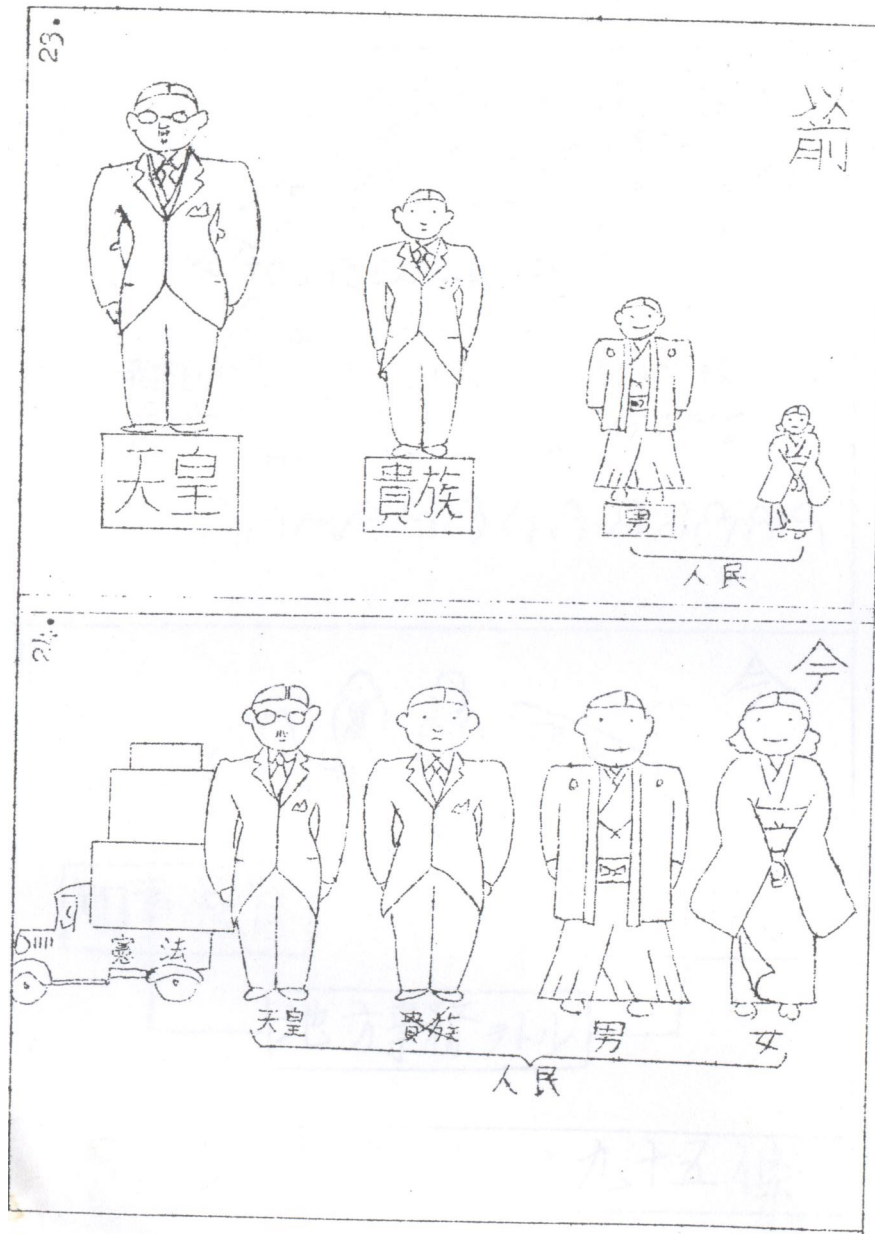


Image 4: Poster from “What the Constitution Means To You as an Individual” Series by Francis Blakemore/CI&E Exhibits unit in spring 1947, showing class and gender equality (Source: National Archives II, RG 331, Box 5241)

March 1947 to discuss the new constitution and democracy in Japan, and proved effective in their use of before and after images. The cartoons would also be reproduced on film strips for use in Japanese theaters, schools, and public halls.¹²³ The simple, effective posters also helped contribute to the basic design of some of the images that would appear later in the spring of 1947 in the publication *Atarashii kempō, akarui seikatsu* [New Constitution, Bright Life].¹²⁴

Radio programming was also to continue, including the informational segments that had already been held for the past year and expanding to include round table discussions and question and answer segments from letters sent in by the general population. Emphasis was to be placed in particular on the basic equality of all individuals under the law and within family life, especially the new status of women in relation to their husbands, fathers, and mothers-in-law, as well as on freedom of discussion and on free participation in, and the responsibility for, government.¹²⁵ The Constitution Popularization Association also proposed making films to commemorate the new constitution and three were ultimately made. Daiei Studio, which specialized in period films, took up the constitutional theme of civil rights while Shochiku Studio, known for its melodramas and films about women, addressed the theme of equality. Toho Studio, which focused more on contemporary subjects, covered the renunciation of war.¹²⁶ The first film, *Jouen* [Flames of Passion], by Shochiku was released on April 29, 1947, and told the story of a couple who had gotten married for the sake of their families and were considering a divorce but “became awakened to genuine human affection.”¹²⁷ *Soushi gekijou* [Political Theater] was released on May 6, 1947, by Daiei Studio and was a biography of Sadanori Sudoh who had produced political theatrical pieces promoting the

‘freedom and people’s rights movement in the 1880s.’¹²⁸ The final film was not released until July 10, 1947, due to labor union issues at Toho Studio. *Sensou to heiwa* [Between War and Peace] portrayed images of both war and peacetime and, despite being heavily censored by SCAP, was the most commercially successful of the three constitution films.¹²⁹

Working under CI&E direction, the Education Division noted that through March of 1947 it had been responsible for developing not only new textbooks for the schools but also the production of four film strips and nine different sets of pictorial charts that had made the rounds of the schools and been shown to adults as well as children. Additionally, the Education division had directed the Ministry of Education to provide small subsidies to every town and rural village in Japan for the purpose of holding lectures and education courses on the new constitution for adults.¹³⁰ And in a final flurry of intensity, a commemoration week for the new constitution was held from April 29 to May 5, 1947, continuing all of the types of activities and media campaigns mentioned above. The celebration was to culminate on May 3, 1947, with the printing and delivery of some twenty million copies – supposedly enough for every household in Japan - of a small booklet entitled *Atarashii kempō, akarui seikatsu*. The booklet, published by the Japanese Constitution Popularization Association and distributed across the country from its prefectural offices, included a series of simple cartoon drawings illustrating some of the new articles of the constitution as well as the full text of the new constitution itself.¹³¹

MacArthur and SCAP were not able to get a copy into the hands of every registered voter, but they came perhaps as close as possible in spite of the paper shortage by getting one to every household. Without any statistical data it is impossible to know just how

much of an effect the political information campaigns on the 1946 elections and on the new constitution had on rural women. However, one suspects that it was nearly impossible to not have had at least some familiarity with the new constitution and its contents in Japan by May 1947, even in the most remote part of Japan. Thanks to the inclusion of simple images to illustrate key constitutional concepts, even illiteracy was not a barrier to understanding the basic precepts and new rights and responsibilities. The sheer amount of effort put into publicizing it on the part of SCAP, the Japanese government and various Japanese groups meant that information about, images of, and discussions pertaining to the new constitution were ubiquitous. Even if a rural household somehow escaped receiving a copy of *Atarashii kempō*, *akarui seikatsu* or hearing about the constitution on radio broadcasts, there were posters that were to be hung on every community message board, inserts and articles in every newspaper and magazine; and every school child was inundated with lessons about the constitution and urged to go home and share his or her learning with his or her parents. Rural women surely were aware that the constitution had been changed and that, as a result, they were now to be considered legally equal with men even if social status change was slow to occur.

The heavy emphasis which SCAP, and in particular CI&E, placed on the new Japanese constitution did subside somewhat after May 1947, but it did not end. Anniversary celebrations were conducted every year of the Occupation, and May was designated as Constitution Month to commemorate the new ‘MacArthur’ or ‘Peace’ constitution and to remind the Japanese people of their new rights and responsibilities as citizens of a democracy.¹³² The information campaigns never reached the same fever pitch as they had in the spring of 1947, but a great deal of material was prepared and

distributed nonetheless. Pamphlets and leaflets were handed out, not just in cities but also in rural areas courtesy of traveling news cars and lecturers.¹³³ Posters and radio broadcasts also continued to reach across the country and schools and local governments conducted discussions and sponsored lectures and the showing of films and *kamishibai* on the new constitution.¹³⁴ The *kamishibai* was particularly useful for conveying what the new constitution meant to rural women. One image and its accompanying text presented quite clearly the way in which Japanese women were now granted full legal equality to men under the terms of the constitution:

As I mentioned above, woman was considered more lowly than man in Japan. This idea is a great mistake. There is no reason why woman should be discriminated against, as man and woman are equal as human beings. Under the old Constitution, wife had to obey the opinions of her husband about all affairs and a girl had to marry the boy whom her parents chose, even if she didn't like him, and only man could participate in public affairs, such as elections and so forth. By the new Constitution, man and woman become completely equal and marriage is done under the mutual consent of man and woman, and there is no difference between man and woman about property or the inheritance of it, and woman can participate in public affairs like man.¹³⁵

As a direct result of the new constitution and its terms, CI&E followed its constitution campaign with one on the newly revised Civil Code, starting the project in earnest in May 1947 after the new constitution went into effect. Thanks to the Civil Code's direct impact on women and her own part in developing its revision, Lt. Weed, the Women's Information Officer in CI&E and head of the Women's Affairs program, was closely involved in the new media campaign, coauthoring newspaper articles about its importance.¹³⁶ The input of her circle of female Japanese advisors, known somewhat patronizingly as 'Weed's Girls' was also of great importance in revising the Civil Code.¹³⁷ The intense focus on the new constitution and then on the revised Civil Code also helped contribute to the development of both independent and government-affiliated

Japanese organizations devoted to bringing general political education to the people of Japan.

Chapter 4: The League for Democratic Political Education

One of the most prolific of the Japanese organizations devoted to spreading political and democratic information to the Japanese people was the League for Democratic Political Education (LDPE), also known in English as the Democratic Political Education League. The LDPE originated in the Diet in August 1947, perhaps coming from the earlier Constitution Popularization Association, and existed until its demise on March 30, 1949.¹³⁸ Composed of Diet members of all parties and supposed to be a non-partisan, quasi-independent organization, the LDPE was a government-sponsored organization and as such received government funding. It was the loss of such money in the national budget that contributed directly to its disbandment. Although even from the outset doubts about the LDPE arose in both SCAP and Japanese circles, the organization was able to work closely with CI&E on many issues of political education and did have some positive effects.¹³⁹ In particular, the group excelled in producing large quantities of material for nationwide distribution thanks to its access to government funds, with the result that still more informational material was theoretically able to stretch into the countryside.

Among the earliest projects undertaken by the LDPE was education pertaining to the new constitution and its related civil liberties and the new Civil Code. A series of civil liberties posters entitled “I am a Japanese Citizen. What are my rights?” was designed featuring photographic images of various Japanese individuals and accompanied by text specific to the image. One in particular was of a young Japanese woman. Her accompanying text read: “I am a girl twenty years old. 1)If I wish, I may continue my education, in accordance with my capacities and inclinations. 2)I have the right to marry

whomever I choose, whenever I choose. 3)I am free to seek election to any public office and may hold any official post for which I am qualified.”¹⁴⁰ (See Image on following page.) The LDPE was able to eventually nationally distribute the civil liberties series in several forms, including 100,000 paper and 50,000 cardboard wall charts, between 20,000 and 100,000 poster sets which went to schools, public institutions, and individual communities, as a *kamishibai* production, and as five hundred sets of film-slides that went to motion picture theaters and to prefectural film libraries to be shared out to schools and news cars.¹⁴¹ If only through the sheer amount of material alone, the LDPE’s campaign presumably had some reach into rural areas and was thus experienced by farm women.

4.1: Electoral Education By The LDPE

The League for Democratic Political Education also involved itself in electoral education. In 1948, acknowledging the 9,733 Japanese villages and towns without theaters of their own and embracing the news car format as a means to reach rural areas, the LDPE developed a mobile street show for use leading up to the January 1949 local elections. This particular focus on the countryside is notable as concerns had arisen about the large percentage of abstention in rural districts in the 1947 elections as compared to turnout in April 1946. Despite the increased incidence of women elected to local government positions from 1947, the decrease of Diet women¹⁴² and more particularly of female voter abstention remained causes for concern.¹⁴³ A brief survey on the matter revealed a variety of reasons, but the primary causes given for female abstention were illiteracy, which was certainly true of many older rural female voters, and absence from home on election day.¹⁴⁴ In order to combat and reverse



Image 5: 'I am a Japanese citizen. What are my rights?' Poster Card
(Source: National Archives II, Record Group 331, Box 5242)

what was hoped not to become a trend, a series of twelve poster-sized cartoon images about the importance of voting was created and forty-six copies, one for each prefecture, were made. Included in the cartoons and of specific relevance to women were images comparing the abstention ratio of male and female voters, the ratio of party membership by sex, and a reminder for registered voters to vote freely and without fear. The final cartoon was a series of images that illustrated actual voting on ballots as a kind of instructional feature. Plans were also made for the inclusion of *kamishibai* and perhaps some documentary films and portable projectors in the mobile street show units that took the poster presentation out into rural areas.¹⁴⁵

Specific campaigns launched at women voters were also initiated by the LDPE. As part of its information plan to get women to vote, the LDPE made primary appeals to Japanese women on the basis that the elections had direct bearing on their welfare. Singling out food, housing, commodity supplies and prices, available employment and working conditions, educational opportunities, and health and welfare as topics of specific relevance to women voters that would also have the potential to be effected by the outcome of elections, women were urged through a variety of media formats to vote.¹⁴⁶ The LDPE also urged women's organizations to focus attention on matters of women's suffrage and the voting process and to hold discussions about candidates and political party platforms.¹⁴⁷ Radio programming courtesy of the LDPE as well as a pamphlet entitled, "The People and the Election," three different related *kamishibai* programs, and a slide show were also prepared and distributed directly to local SCAP military government teams, saving CI&E some time and resources. All of the aforementioned materials could effectively be used in rural as well as urban areas.¹⁴⁸

4.2: The LDPE And ‘Edu-tainment’

More generally, the LDPE was fairly creative, perhaps because of its access to government funds, in promoting political education. It sponsored a variety of contests related to democracy and political education. The winners of such events typically also involved women’s rights and status as well as relating to rural reform. For example, two notable contributions singled out by the LDPE in its story contest were “Black-Haired Poet,” an accounting of the life of Yosano Akiko, a famous poet who spoke out against the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 in “Brother, Do Not Go To War,” fought for women’s emancipation, and asserted the freedom of love; and “New Earth,” the story of a large land owner who undergoes a revolution of his own after the land reform thanks to his awakening by his progressive son and daughter.¹⁴⁹ Its *kamishibai* also covered a wide range of topics.¹⁵⁰ Dramas, both in terms of plays and radio scripts, were also sponsored by the LDPE along with the production of a variety of types of newspaper articles and editorials and traveling exhibitions devoted to an array of topics. The League made significant attempts to reach rural areas with these programs and even developed productions and lecture series specifically designed for democratizing rural communities and dealing with women’s problems.¹⁵¹

Films were another particularly active arena for the LDPE. The LDPE produced and purchased a broad range of films, generally providing CI&E with a list of proposed purchases and film scripts to be evaluated for educational merit first. The films were then sent out with prefectural news cars, loaned to individual local groups or governments for temporary use, or aired at LDPE-sponsored shows. Given the expense of producing or purchasing films, the LDPE’s efforts in this area were much appreciated by local

Japanese governments and other democratic groups. Among the films purchased or recommended by the League were *Boku no otosan* [My Father], which promoted the value of individual rights within a family; *Jiro monogatari* [The Tale of Jiro], which was the story of a boy in a rural family resisting the feudalistic atmosphere that came from his grandfather; *Hanasaku kazoku* [Blossoming Family], about a female family head who was awakened to her previously feudalistic ways by her children; and *A Woman to Judge a Man*, from the Tokyo Motion Picture Company that was awarded a prize in the LDPE film contest.¹⁵² The LDPE also purchased a film produced by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry entitled *Otome no inori* [Maiden's Prayer]. The film discussed land reform and changing family relations in the countryside, and it was able to reach a wider audience thanks to the LDPE's endorsement.¹⁵³ Additionally, the League sponsored the showing of the American film, *The Farmer's Daughter*, and promoted its use by various other political education organizations and by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.¹⁵⁴ Films, as noted earlier, were particularly popular among rural audiences who had previously had limited opportunities to view them. By actively promoting, purchasing, and showing films, and especially by bringing them to rural audiences, the LDPE was able successfully to reach farm women in the large numbers that its other media campaigns were perhaps not able to meet and to reach its goal of political education.

4.3: The LDPE and Women

Finally, perhaps at the urging of some of the female Diet member participants, the League for Democratic Political Education became specifically involved in the general political education of women and in providing information related to women's changing status in occupied Japan. Besides targeting women's organizations for advertising

relating to upcoming LDPE-sponsored educational programs, the LDPE also organized events and programs specifically for and relating to women's concerns and legal status. Lecture series - the contents of which were always vetted and often altered by CI&E - featuring a women presenter speaking to village women's associations or at local schools proved to be a cheap and effective format through which the LDPE could reach female audiences across Japan. Among their earliest lecture programs was one called "Women and the New Civil Code." The contents of the approximately ten minute-long talk included references to the equality provided by the 1947 constitution and new Civil Code. It provided concrete examples of differences, such as inheritance laws that had previously designated the eldest son as heir but was now eligible for wives and all children, as well as discussing the evolution of restrictions on women through *Ie* [household] laws from the Tokugawa and Meiji periods through to the present day. The lecture concluded with an exhortation to the female audience to remember that their new rights were accompanied by new obligations that they should resolve to meet.¹⁵⁵

But the LDPE's efforts to reach women were not entirely focused on pure education. Becoming involved with Women's Day promotion efforts in 1948, the League sponsored rallies and also used its film library to entice women to participate by sponsoring showings of 'edu-tainment' movies like *Ai no shori* [Victory of Love].¹⁵⁶ Increasingly, the LDPE also included information on home improvements specifically for rural women as part of its news car and other mobile presentation programs as a way to encourage farm women to visit and to attend accompanying lectures.¹⁵⁷ Its films, also coming via news cars to the countryside, drew a large rural, female audience. By the time of its

demise in March 1949, the LDPE had compiled a wide variety of useful political education materials and left a legacy of targeting both rural areas and rural women.

Chapter 5: Educational Reforms and Related Programs

This chapter concerns Occupation-led or imposed reforms on the Japanese educational system and, in particular, the impact those reforms had on women. It addresses first the educational reforms advocated by SCAP that led to women having equal, and in many cases coexistent with men, access to education. Next it examines school and local community clubs that were developed to promote democracy and leadership training for youths, including organizations that were co-ed and ones designed to be just for girls. Finally it examines PTAs, which were heavily promoted by SCAP both to encourage parental participation in school programming and educational direction and to offer regular Japanese a chance to participate in governance on a local level. This secondary concern was seen as providing women with good opportunities to take leadership roles. Japanese women who attended precollegiate school as well as higher institutions of learning during the Occupation were in a unique position to experience the full force of SCAP's democratizing programs, and their reactions to such an education are notable in later decades as shall be discussed in a later chapter.

5.1: Educational Reform

Reform of Japan's educational system was a goal of the United States that dated back to pre-Occupation planning and became serious in 1944. Japanese schools were seen as incubators of militarism and nationalism, as promoters of emperor-worship, and as designed to turn individual Japanese into docile, obedient citizens who would follow their government's commands. Evidence for this came, in the opinion of planners in the U.S., from the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education which, among other things, exhorted the people to "practice loyalty and filial piety...and...should an emergency arise, offer

yourselves courageously to the State, and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne...”¹⁵⁸ In July of 1944, recommendations regarding Japanese schools under a military occupation were written by Hillis Lory of the Japan desk in the State Department’s Office of Far Eastern Affairs. He did not think that the occupation would be able to make far-reaching reforms but he did believe they could destroy what were seen as the militaristic features of the schools. Among his seven major recommendations were to allow schools to remain open and to let the Ministry of Education continue its functions with its personnel and machinery as intact as possible while also assigning occupying civil affairs supervisors to the Ministry of Education and civil affairs officers to each prefecture to conduct inspections; to also abolish courses, such as history and morals and civics classes, seen as responsible for indoctrinating militarism and ultranationalism into students; and to study and analyze Japanese textbooks in preparation of revision, restoration of Taishō era books, or in anticipation of the adoption of entirely new texts.¹⁵⁹ Many of Lory’s recommendations would remain in place, albeit with some revisions such as ending school ceremonies related to the emperor, until the summer of 1945.

The next significant planning figure was Gordon T. Bowles, a Harvard-trained anthropologist and Quaker who had also grown up in a missionary family in Japan. His policy paper from July 30, 1945, encouraged the US to become involved in education during the Occupation. This was based partly on SWNCC 150 from June 11, 1945, which “required the establishment of control over the educational system of Japan for the purposed of eliminating Japanese militarism and ultranationalism, including para-military training, and making possible the development of democratic ideas.”¹⁶⁰ Bowles felt that

while the military government of the Occupation could not exercise direct supervision of the classroom, it could “supplement instruction through radio broadcasts, recordings, and films in which the content was ‘world-wide in character’ and give ‘an idea of other lands and of Japan in an objective manner.’”¹⁶¹ Bowles also argued that the Occupation might promote a variety of positive reforms, including: “development of the concept of individualism and of a critical attitude, extension of vocational opportunities for both sexes and all classes of people, encouragement of Japanese to undertake a national reform movement, expansion of the number of secondary and higher schools, [etc.].”¹⁶²

The need for educational reform was directly addressed by both the Japanese government and SCAP in the early stages of the Occupation. In the two months between Japan’s surrender and the formation of SCAP’s special staff sections on October 2, 1945, the Japanese Ministry of Education voluntarily nullified wartime education laws and ordered the censorship of militaristic phrases from school textbooks.¹⁶³ On October 22, 1945, SCAP issued the directive on educational reform, ‘The Administration of the Educational System of Japan.’ It consisted of four basic and familiar directives relating to education. These directives would in 1946 purge teachers who were seen as holding nationalistic and militaristic tendencies. They also eliminated elements of militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology from lessons, abolished state Shinto and instruction in it, and halted all courses in history, geography, and morality as well as confiscating related texts. These changes were the main extent of the removal aspect of Occupation policy, clearing the way for the implementation of a new, democratic curriculum and the writing of new textbooks.¹⁶⁴

To assist in formulating and making recommended changes, an educational mission came to Japan in March 1946, one month prior to the start of the new Japanese school year on April first. The carefully selected group of twenty-seven American educators, including Gordon Bowles, took a three-week tour of Japan after which they quickly prepared and submitted to GHQ a set of proposals for the overhaul of Japan's schools.¹⁶⁵ Among the suggested changes and concepts was the need for continuing decentralization, an individualization of instruction according to student needs, implementation of a 6-3-3 system of education in which the first nine years would be compulsory, and the expansion of educational opportunities for women.¹⁶⁶ The Education Division of SCAP considered their suggestions and developed a full report of further changes that it felt the Japanese government should make to promote democratic education. To help the Japanese enact reforms, SCAP sent civilian education experts to join military government teams in every prefecture. The duties of these civilians were to not only "exercise surveillance over the enforcement of SCAP's directives requiring the demilitarization of education and religion but also to assist prefectural education officials, school principals, and faculties in instituting SCAP's democratic school reforms, adult education organizations such as youth associations and women's groups, and, since the abolition of State Shintoism, to explain the importance of the separation of state and religion."¹⁶⁷

One of the biggest issues that arose for SCAP and for Japan was that of co-education. The Education Division of CI&E, and especially the women on the staff, believed it was necessary for a provision regarding co-education to be written into basic educational law so that the principle of equality of educational opportunity – an important element that tied into women's newfound equality of status under the Constitution and revised Civil

Code – would be protected. However, it was equally important to SCAP that co-education not be seen as a compulsory imposition by the Occupation, although it was to be made clear that co-education was to be encouraged whenever possible.¹⁶⁸ On the Japanese side, a long tradition of the separation of the sexes after the first four years of education existed. There were concerns about how co-education would affect children's morality and what sort of effect it would have on the learning environment. As Jacob Van Staaveren, a Civil Affairs team member in Yamanashi Prefecture observed firsthand in 1946-1947:

Women teachers were particularly curious to know what “equal education” portended in newly enacted Japanese legislation and the new Constitution. A frequent question was: “If girl students take the same courses as boys, how will they ever learn the domestic arts of cooking, sewing, caring for children, and flower arrangement?” My standard reply was that whereas a course or two in domestic arts could be retained in the curriculum, girls in Japan, as in America, learned a great deal about these matters at home. Further, well-educated girls would have no difficulty in reading articles or books on the domestic subjects. I sensed this answer was not very convincing. Men teachers rarely asked about equal education, their silence perhaps indicating their considerable lack of enthusiasm for the SCAP-imposed reform.¹⁶⁹

Co-education was formally put into place by the Japanese government on March 31, 1947, through its Fundamental Law of Education, which also declared that the primary goal of education was to “esteem individual dignity and endeavor to bring up people who love truth and peace.”¹⁷⁰ Co-education was implemented in elementary schools almost immediately, in part because it had been practiced through at least the first four grades in the past. Classes that had formerly been devoted to girls, such as the fifth and sixth grade sewing courses, were reorganized into classes on ‘practical arts and home living’ for both sexes.¹⁷¹ By 1949, co-education was complete across the junior high level. That same year, approximately fifty-five percent of senior high schools were co-educational and acceptance, as well as an understanding of the economic benefits of co-education,

continued to grow.¹⁷² Indeed, Van Staaveren observed that one of the surprising successes of the 1947-1948 school year from his perspective was the acceptance of co-education, despite earlier resistance from all fronts.¹⁷³

Another change to the educational system included the creation of popularly elected prefectural school boards that would in theory wield a great deal of local power in developing curriculum and hiring teachers. The Ministry of Education was seen, in the words of the First US Educational Mission, as “the seat of power for those who controlled the minds of Japan.”¹⁷⁴ Locally-elected school boards, so SCAP believed, would eliminate the tendency towards militarism and a uniformity of thinking, allowing the development of individualism within the Japanese school system. However this measure was widely opposed across Japan, being inimical to the way Japanese educational policy and society had developed since the Meiji Restoration, and passed only due to SCAP pressure. The first elected school boards in October 1948 were largely composed of conservative candidates, and about forty-two percent of all elected members were also teachers.¹⁷⁵ In 1956, four years after the end of the Occupation, the Local Education Administration Act was passed which eliminated the popular election of school board members and reverted control over the educational system to the Ministry of Education.¹⁷⁶

SCAP also promoted the development of a single-track system of education that included twelve years of schooling for both girls and boys after the American model, while the new Japanese constitution granted a minimum of nine years of education for all children. In tune with this and its other reforms, SCAP ordered Japanese textbooks to be rewritten to emphasize democracy and a more ‘scientific’ view of the world. The

composition of new textbooks, particularly for use in history, was a contentious process and subject to strong SCAP oversight. Criticism of the treatment of Japan's actions during World War II came from China and the Soviet Union as well as from Japanese Marxist historians, arguing that distortions of history and elements of nationalism still remained. Generally, however, the new history texts, such as *New Japanese History* by Ienaga Saburo of later textbook controversy fame, were well-received by Japanese teachers and the Japanese press.¹⁷⁷ Governmental involvement in informal, or social/adult, education was also embraced by SCAP and the Japanese government, and oversight came courtesy of the Japanese Social Education Bureau. This bureau actively promoted women's education, particularly concerning family and household issues, because women as mothers were seen as the primary providers of children's education beyond the classroom. Women's education was to be encouraged in part by the formation of youth and women's groups as well as of Parent-Teacher Associations, and through the use of radios, movies, the press, and festivals to urge women to participate.¹⁷⁸ By the early 1950s at the end of the Occupation and beyond, the Ministry of Education had developed a standard curriculum for women's social education. The classes addressed four main areas: civic education to encourage women to become good citizens, children's education to support them as mothers, household management and home economics courses to help them in their duties as housewives, and classes on working life for working women.¹⁷⁹

Girls now had access to schools in which they often sat in class next to boys, learning the same curriculum and demonstrating that they were just as capable. Their mothers were courted by the educational system as the primary decision-makers regarding their

children's schooling. The curriculum promoted to both girls and their mothers encouraged female participation in civic affairs and taught that democratization meant equality with boys and men under the law. These were lessons that were eagerly absorbed, and they contributed to the political development and activities of Japanese women during the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁸⁰

5.2: Clubs and Associations for Youths and Girls

Girls were also exposed to democracy and to concepts of gender equality through participation in club activities. These clubs covered a broad spectrum of interests but among the most common for girls were probably homemaking clubs. Homemaking clubs were seen as a teaching device by SCAP, which promoted and supported them, and were to provide "opportunities for broadening the experience of adolescent girls by learning how to cooperate in groups, developing ability in using democratic techniques, using parliamentary procedures, developing leadership, and giving girls in co-educational schools an activity in which they can develop the initiative and leadership ability needed to be able to take their place with boys in group situations."¹⁸¹ The revised homemaking educational courses in schools had themselves been designed to promote democratization and participation in community, national, and international affairs, particularly in the areas of food, health, education, and children.¹⁸² Clubs were seen as an outgrowth of this education, a way for girls to take charge outside of the classroom. SCAP provided an educational filmstrip, "A Brighter Home Life," to promote and encourage homemaking clubs and club projects.¹⁸³ It also provided copies of a booklet that gave instructions on how to form a homemaking club, what sorts of activities could be undertaken, and the ideal values for the club. Reasons for participation included the following:

1)It allows the youth to identify themselves with a strong school organization through which they may express themselves and learn to be leaders in worthwhile projects. 2)It develops youth socially. 3)It teaches youth to accept responsibilities as citizens. 4)It develops abilities in youth to express themselves. 5)It teaches youth to be leaders and to accept and follow good. 10)It dignifies work, the members learn that it is honorable to work with their hands.¹⁸⁴

Homemaking club activities included planning bake sales with proceeds to go to charitable organizations, running club elections, attending lectures given locally on democracy and women's issues, and organizing clean-ups of local rivers and wood lots.¹⁸⁵ Homemaking clubs, at least as some SCAP officials saw them, provided an opportunity for girls to practice democratic principles for themselves without the perceived Japanese social embarrassment that could come from direct participation with and competition from boys.

Co-ed opportunities could be found in other clubs in farming areas. Rural youth clubs traditionally had been segregated. However, SCAP encouraged these clubs to incorporate both girls and boys.¹⁸⁶ SCAP, along with urging equal gender membership in traditional rural clubs, promoted the formation of 4-H clubs¹⁸⁷ with participation to be by both girls and boys. Membership of girls in such clubs varied from place to place. In Yamanashi Prefecture there were seven model 4-H clubs that boasted a combined 267 members, of which 40 percent were girls.¹⁸⁸ In Shizuoka Prefecture, 4-H clubs were divided into two categories, those with chiefly teenage members and those with members mostly in their 20s. For the teenage group 39 percent were girls, but for the older group girls composed only 8 percent. Of all the clubs, 15 percent were studying home improvement issues along with agricultural concerns.¹⁸⁹ 4-H clubs could also be composed entirely of girls, as was the case in Nishi-Nasuno-machi.¹⁹⁰

The activities of such clubs varied but were generally devoted to agricultural and local community issues as well as broader concerns. The National Rural Youth League, an organization based out of Tokyo Prefecture and containing around one million members had as its objectives to “1)Abolish feudalism in rural areas. 2)Elevate the cultural and living standards of rural youth. 3)Introduce scientific farming. 4)Cooperate with other Democratic Youth and Women’s Organizations. 5)Contribute to the economic stability of Japan.” The League produced two publications, sponsored regular meetings and training courses, and had branches established in 37 prefectures.¹⁹¹ SCAP, turning to a familiar American model, pushed 4-H clubs. In a pamphlet produced with its guidance by a Japanese author, the motives of 4-H clubs were translated as follows: “1)To improve farming and living conditions of the farmers. 2)To educate and orient the ideals of farming youth. 3)To foster close relationships between schools and rural PTA. 4)Under the advice of Mr. T. A. Erickson, to teach the rural folk the merits of Farm Coops, Women’s Societies, and all rural community activities.”¹⁹² In the cases of both the National Rural Youth League and 4-H, attention to women’s roles in Japanese society was declared and an engagement with home aspects of farm life was present. Girls did have a role to play within these groups although it is not clear how many, if any, of them were able to obtain leadership positions. Even if they were relegated to a more passive role, girls in these clubs were not shunted off into their own auxiliary branch and did attend meetings and activities with boys. Through local community and school clubs, girls were able to gain an opportunity at a young age to participate in democratic-style leadership and governance during the Occupation. Their mothers also received such a chance through their own connection to the local educational system.

5.3: Parent-Teacher Associations

Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) were yet another element of educational reform. While affiliations between parents and local schools had existed prior to the war, these so-called ‘Guardians’ Associations,’ ‘School Support,’ or ‘School Maintenance Societies’ were established largely for the material maintenance of schools. Typically such groups met only two or three times a year to listen to the invariably male principal report on the status of the school and did not generally interfere with school operations or the curriculum.¹⁹³ The new PTAs, however, were to be administered after the American model. Although not mandatory, the PTA movement was seen as important to promoting child welfare and to provide a groundwork from which members for the eventual local Boards of Education could be drawn.¹⁹⁴ In conjunction with local Military Government teams, as early as 1946 the Ministry of Education began to study ways to convert old school organizations into PTAs as part of the process of democratizing education.¹⁹⁵

To aid in the process, CI&E published several guidebooks along with other materials on establishing PTAs. **(See Image on following page.)** The booklets encouraged parents to work together with teachers in the interest of their children. Meetings were encouraged to be held in the evening so that everyone who wanted to attend, male or female, could come. The guidebooks also noted that PTAs encouraged good citizenship. Parents were urged to be good citizens by “1)Obeying the laws of the community, 2)Helping neighbors whenever possible, 3)Studying issues in all elections, 4)Voting and urging others to do likewise, 5)Working to make the community a better place to live, and 6)Teaching their children to be good citizens by putting democracy into the everyday life of the home, in part by respecting the equality of all family members.” PTAs also



Image 6: Cover of a PTA booklet, dated June 1950
 (Source: National Archives II, Record Group 331, Box 2646)

provided training for members in the practices of a democratic organization as well as being able to sponsor programs and activities to promote democratization and good citizenship.¹⁹⁶ Such training was necessary, according to SCAP officials, due to a lack of experience on the part of Japanese parents.¹⁹⁷ And while intended for both men and women, PTAs were regarded by SCAP as an arena in which women could become more easily and intensively involved. Observations by anthropologists, such as Richard Beardsley who was in Okayama in 1950 while Japan was still under occupation, bear out the fact that more women than men tended to be involved in PTAs, sometimes to the exclusion of men.¹⁹⁸

Individual prefectural governments also released their own materials describing the activities of PTAs. Such efforts, while noting that PTAs were to include mothers and fathers and were to hold democracy-oriented programs as well as participating directly by appealing to proper authorities for services for the school, also placed a more subservient emphasis on female members. Mothers were, according to one such document, to sell tea and refreshments to help the PTA fund and were also to take turns in coming to the school to cook a hot dish for children's lunches. **(See Images on following page.)** Female students in sewing classes were to hold sales of their products in order to purchase material for later classes.¹⁹⁹ No such mention of similar activities on the part of fathers or boys was mentioned.

Teachers also reached out early on, taking the initiative to form their own groups. One such teacher was Mrs. Kono, a first grade teacher, who wrote directly to her children's mothers in December 1946, urging them to not wait for authorities to tell them to form PTAs or to join women's associations but to organize their own group with her.



Image 7: Japanese mothers outside of a school
(Source: National Archives II, Record Group 331, Box 2646)



Image 8: Japanese mothers preparing lunch for school children
(Source: National Archives II, Record Group 331, Box 2646)

She proposed to publish a weekly newsletter and to hold occasional meetings. Topics of the group were to include matters relevant to their children but also to matters of household chores and democratic education. As Mrs. Kono put it, “If the mother is red, her child will become red. If the mother is blue, her child will grow up to be blue.” It was up to mothers to understand democracy and to teach it properly to their children.²⁰⁰

By the end of 1947, many schools had organized PTAs, but it was believed that most were simply the old *koenkai* [local support group/Guardian Association] organizations existing under new names and that they were not being conducted in a democratic matter. In 1948, the confrontation of such problems began. The issue of ‘boss’ participation in local PTAs was raised by an August 1948, article in the *Asahi Shinbun*, and comments in the article also indicated the difficulty of carrying out a PTA democratically when perhaps only a few individuals were interested in participating and so dominated meetings.²⁰¹ On the Occupation side, CI&E and members of local Military Government teams were instructed to carry out an assessment of PTAs in their area and to urge individual PTAs to conduct democratic elections of officers. At this time in 1948, Rose Cologne joined CI&E as an expert in PTAs to specifically help guide their development and remained through the end of the year. With her help, the Ministry of Education released a sample PTA constitution to help local organizations further their democratization.²⁰² An example of one such constitution comes from the Kinrin Lower Secondary School PTA in Tsuruha-mura, Kagawa Prefecture. Under Article 4, Responsibility for the Family, it stated the following:

In the belief that the groundation of cultivation of the children's personality exist in their family life, we study how to improve the family life, make deep our cognition of the role which the parents should play in modern education, and proceed resolutely to the following goals: 1)To clear off the feudalism in the family, respect the personality of individuals, and cultivate the democratic way of thinking and 2)To understand the spirit of coeducation rights and especially to make men cultivate a custom to be kind always to girls and women.²⁰³

Women were definitely showing an interest in PTAs. Observations by Women's Affairs officers during visits to rural PTAs noted not only an increased attendance by women to such meetings but also more active participation, including discussions in some locations being led by women.²⁰⁴ Also in 1948, the question of establishing a national federation of PTAs was considered and judged premature, and the *PTA Hour* was launched by the BCJ and aired on Thursdays from 3:30 to 4 pm.²⁰⁵ And by 1949, PTAs, thanks in part to help from Civil Affairs and CI&E, really began to make progress.

To promote parliamentary procedure, CI&E released forty thousand copies of a dramatic skit demonstrating proper meeting handling set at a general meeting of a PTA. The copies were sent to PTAs directly as well as to Citizens' Public Halls and local Military Government teams.²⁰⁶ The *PTA Hour* offered up a dramatic series entitled 'Those Who Wish Their Children's Happiness' that promoted the democratic conduction of PTAs and also emphasized the importance of having a democratic family life to provide an example for children.²⁰⁷ Civil Affairs and Women's Affairs officials also continued attending local PTA meetings and reported that women continued to be increasing their levels of participation at such gatherings.²⁰⁸ Local Japanese women's associations were invited to become involved in the projects of local PTAs on the basis of mutual interest and through such joint ventures continued to promote the democratization of women.²⁰⁹ Assessments and adjustments, both self-initiated and on the part of SCAP,

kept going into the 1950s, as did presentations about the principles of PTAs and on democratizing them.²¹⁰ Concrete progress in the participation by rural women in PTAs was recorded and the development of PTAs in rural areas, at least as recorded in one prefecture, far outstripped those in urban areas.²¹¹

Statistically speaking, women's participation regularly began to outnumber men at PTA meetings and sponsored events by 1950, often in 2:1 and 3:1 ratios.²¹² It was noted that the attitudes of men at such events had changed from contempt for women who spoke out at meetings to one of acceptance, based in part on women's knowledge of their children's needs.²¹³ They did, however, fail to be represented in similar numbers as PTA officers, although a fair number of women were elected as PTA presidents and vice presidents.²¹⁴ Other problems also dogged the PTA movement. Above all was the issue of funds. PTAs were responsible for helping to maintain their local schools and there was not enough money coming in from prefectural sources. As a result, many PTA activities were devoted strictly to fundraising.²¹⁵ The noted persistence of 'feudalism' in members' homes was also cited as a continuing problem.²¹⁶ In some locations, local PTAs collapsed at the end of the Occupation, accompanying the end of local school boards as most direct control reverted back to the Ministry of Education. However, many PTAs persisted in some form or another, often with accompanying democratic formats, and it was the women who remained highly involved in their children's schools. PTAs provided a space for women to feel able to speak out confidently, even in conservative rural areas, for they were addressing an area that was held to be within their sphere of influence as it concerned children. The value of such experiences is impossible to judge or measure but at the very least PTAs provided an entrance for women into civic affairs

and was one in which their participation was not often hindered by tradition, their husbands, or the mandate or oversight of the Japanese government.

Chapter 6: Women Helping Women - Government Agencies in Charge of Women's Affairs

This chapter is concerned with Japanese governmental agencies and organizations that were dedicated to promoting the role of women in Japanese society. SCAP's greatest concern with Japanese women was in the advocacy of democracy. Japanese governmental agencies also concerned themselves with women's health and welfare as well as in protecting them within the workplace. The chapter includes a discussion of SCAP's Women's Affairs officials, many of whom were women themselves, and of the Women's and Minors' Bureau, a section within the Japanese Department of Labor that also employed women. It ends with an overview of Women's Week, an annual event during the Occupation designed to commemorate the anniversary of female suffrage and to highlight the achievements and future goals of women in a democratic Japan.

6.1: SCAP Women's Affairs Officials

Providing attention and support to Japanese women specifically became part of SCAP policy during the course of the Occupation. Under the umbrella of SCAP and the occupying U.S. Eighth Army, Japan was divided up into eight regions, variously called Civil Affairs Regions or Military Government Regions, depending on the context and time.²¹⁷ Beneath the eight Military Government regional teams were local teams that tended to operate on a prefectural level or be assigned to one city and its surroundings. Women's Affairs officials, generally women themselves, were appointed to the various Military Government regions and worked in conjunction with CI&E to focus on democratizing Japanese women at the ground level. Women first arrived in Japan as members of the Women's Army Corps (WACs) and with the Navy as Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVEs). These women served as secretaries,

drivers, nurses, doctors, intelligence operatives, wireless operators, logistics specialists, and more.²¹⁸ American women were also hired as Department of the Army Civilians

(DACs) to serve as education and welfare officers on Military Government teams.²¹⁹

Other women became part of the Women's Affairs program, which was headed by WAC Lt. Ethel Weed.

In a CI&E document from December 1, 1947, the purpose and activities of the Women's Affairs program for the local level were laid out. The Women's Affairs officer's primary job was to provide "basic information and education to women so that they can make constructive contributions to their society" as well as to aim for the overall democratization of women's organizations and in education. Surveillance of said organizations and of schools was an additional function of the Women's Affairs officer and reporting on observed inequalities, the continuation of 'feudalistic' actions, and, eventually, on communistic tendencies was a regular part of the job. As a result, meeting with as many women's groups as possible was an important part of the position and certainly kept the limited number of Women's Affairs officers extremely busy. In their role, they were to emphasize and encourage:

a) Japanese women to take part in community life as members of a group rather than as of a sex. b) Public meetings, discussions, social events, etc. in which both men and women may work together. c) Youth and student activities participated in by both boys and girls. d) Acceptance of capable women in administrative positions in schools and government. e) Working with leaders of groups but not forgetting to reach the masses through your information programs. f) Men to accept women as equals, socially and politically.²²⁰

Among the groups or areas they were to work with were women's organizations, education, general political education, public health and welfare, agriculture, social reform, and the family. Perhaps indicative of the broad role Women's Affairs officers

had to play despite their limited numbers, they were also encouraged to contact a variety of U.S. organizations and publications, such as *Reader's Digest*, the League of Women Voters, and various governmental agencies for further help in obtaining material resources for conducting their work.²²¹

Individual Women's Affairs officials had a fair degree of independence in running their programs. Carmen Johnson, one of the better known Women's Affairs officials thanks to her book, *Wave Rings on the Water*, documenting her experiences in Occupied Japan, was in charge of the four prefectures of the island of Shikoku from late 1947 through 1951. Having perhaps a million women within her assigned Civil Affairs region, Johnson chose to use a chain method to reach the women of Shikoku. She spoke to the presidents of various women's organizations, often devoting meetings to specific processes or purposes of democratization, who would then return to their home regions and teach the same information to the members of their clubs who could in turn pass the information on to even more women.²²² Johnson also developed a skit, which was translated into Japanese, to teach women's organizations how to conduct meetings in a democratic manner and in using parliamentary procedures like making motions and conducting votes.²²³ Over the course of her time in Japan, she was both frustrated and pleased by the progress made by Japanese women, although she herself never visited a women's organization attached to an agricultural cooperative – which was one of the main forms of women's groups in rural Japan – because she felt her efforts to democratize such groups would be largely futile.²²⁴ Elsewhere, however, other Women's Affairs officers did get involved more directly with farm women. Their involvement was likely to take one of several forms: becoming involved with Japanese women's groups,

with PTAs, or by working in conjunction with prefectural governments and the Women's and Minors' Bureau.

6.2: Japanese Governmental Involvement, Including the Women's and Minors' Bureau

The Women's and Minors' Bureau (W&MB) had been created in September of 1947 within the new Ministry of Labor to deal with, among other concerns, improving the status of Japanese women.²²⁵ Despite devoting the bulk of its efforts towards 'working women' – a term which ignored the long hours of work put in by farm women and implied an urban focus – the W&MB also directed some of its attentions towards rural women. Often, W&MB agents would report their activities to Women's Affairs officers and sometimes received specific direction from them. Among the many ways in which W&MB agents reached out towards rural women, lectures were the most common. Talks ranged from general comments about democracy and problems specifically impeding women's advancement to popular lectures on improving and rationalizing household chores.²²⁶ Agents quickly learned that their lectures would be more heavily attended in rural areas if they paid attention to three factors. The first was time. Evening lectures, specifically those held after 7 pm, were likely to have a higher attendance because more women would have finished with their farm and household work for the day.²²⁷ The second was location. Among the highest attendance figures for an audience of farm women came from a lecture at the local hot springs even though it was held in the middle of the afternoon.²²⁸ Distance from a meeting place could prove to be the deciding point for a woman to attend. Finally, offering some other method of instruction, particularly in the forms of films or *kamishibai*, proved to lead to a higher draw than just lectures alone.²²⁹

Prefectural government involvement was also fairly hands' on, although efforts leaned more towards general information campaigns rather than the W&MB way of lectures on specific topics. The news car proved to be the most potent format for prefectural governments to reach their more remote regions. Prefectural news cars typically went out between fifteen and twenty times a month and were laden with a typical array of democracy-related publications for distribution. They often also carried radios, *kamishibai* sets, and film projectors – which were always welcome in farm communities. A few even carried the necessary tools and supplies to make repairs to villagers' radios and the local projector if one was to be had. Lecturers also rode with the news cars and Women's Affairs officials as well as W&MB agents occasionally served in this capacity. The main drawback of the news cars was found primarily in northern Japan where snow prevented them from traveling for several months out of the year. In more remote northern locations, as many as eight or nine months could pass without a visit from some official, American or Japanese, for the purposes of democratization.²³⁰

Variations on the news car also made the rounds of rural roads. A book bus in Tokushima Prefecture adopted most of the same duties and accoutrements as a news car, adding in books that could be lent and also providing a story time for children.²³¹ And in Kagawa Prefecture, in conjunction with the prefectural Social Education Section, the CI&E Information Center in Takamatsu sponsored a 'mobile public hall,' which was basically a fancy name for a news car. A description of the mobile public hall's daily program reveals the activities typically conducted in each village by a news car:

1)Provide agricultural guidance, 2)Distribute books and magazines, 3)Discuss child welfare issues, 4)Display the provided CI&E news pictures, 5)Provide physical training through a radio broadcast program, 6)The accompanying public health consultant will take questions, and 7)Rural police forces will be discussed. In the evenings, a lecture on recent agricultural research will be held. It will be followed by the showing of CI&E films and a CI&E-provided record concert.²³²

News cars, together with radio broadcasts and newspapers and magazines, provided the main links between the government bodies of Japan, both native and occupying, and rural areas. Due to their relative rarity, visiting news cars - like attending films - remained something of a novelty and so rural women were more likely to be allowed or to feel able to visit them at the expense of their workload. Later, news cars in some locations were able to establish a set schedule and so women could plan in advance for their visits.

6.3: Women's Week

Women's Week provided a specific time frame and format for bringing nationwide attention to women's issues. Women's Week was first officially observed in April 1949 – although an unofficial celebration had been held in 1948 primarily in observance of the anniversary of women's suffrage²³³ - and became an annual event over the remainder of the Occupation under the sponsorship of the Women's and Minors' Bureau.²³⁴ There was always a theme to Women's Week, and that theme typically revolved around the various rights women had received under the new constitution or focused on the need for women to continue their democratization.²³⁵ Highlighting the chosen theme and also focusing more generally on democratization and women's issues, the W&MB sponsored lecture meetings as well as exhibits, displays, and surveys for the express purpose of “promot[ing] discussion by the people that will emphasize the important role women play in the home, politics, schools, and everyday life.” (See **Image on next page.**)

Participation also came from the Education Ministry (*Mombusho*), the Labor Ministry



Image 9: 1950 Women's Week Poster by the Women's and Minors' Bureau of *Rodoshō*, which says "Let's get rid of feudalism in the home and the workplace!"
(Source: National Archives II, Record Group 331, Box 2643)

(*Rodosho*), and the Agriculture and Forestry Ministry (*Norinsho*) as well as, prior to its demise right before the first Women's Week, the LDPE and groups like the Rural Cultural Association.²³⁶ Material support and oversight for these activities came from CI&E as well as from the Natural Resources Section (NRS) of SCAP, who had the job of overseeing the activities of *Norinsho*.

CI&E took the promotion of and activities for Women's Week very seriously, seeing it as an opportunity to refocus attention on the needs of Japanese women. CI&E planning for Women's Week in 1950, for example, took up the divisional Fact Sheet for March. The document noted that the purpose of the Women's Week program was "to focus attention on how to realize the freedom and equality established by the new constitution and implementing legislation, and on how to develop means for greater realization of economic, social, and political equality." This was important, the paper continued, because, as one subtopic stated, "Some Feudalistic Prejudices Against Women Still Remain." These were then enumerated, including that women's participation in social and cultural life was limited and that many women still deferred to their husband in all things, including eating and bathing. Next the Fact Sheet went on to break the activities of Women's Week up into themes for various spheres as follows:

Political Field: Women's rights and duties under the Local Autonomy Law and the Civil Code. Women should learn that they have opportunities to register their displeasure if local, prefectural, or national officials are not running their affairs in the way that women would like to see them run. Every woman has a stake in government. Women who consider themselves to be suppressed or otherwise oppressed within their own families should be urged to take their cases to the family courts. Economic Field: Improvements in several phases of rural life depend on women, who can learn how to improve their homes by attending meetings of agricultural and fisheries cooperatives, by participation in those organizations' programs, and by seeking the advice of home advisors. Social Field: Mothers should use new public facilities. Women should be anxious to participate in Parent-Teacher Associations to learn what is being done for their children.

Of particular note was the emphasis placed on bettering the conditions of rural women through home improvements and participation in agricultural cooperatives. There was a sense that rural women were not making as much progress under the new Civil Code as urban women and so specific attention to their needs, as well as the participation of *Norinsho*, was an important part of CI&E's plans for Women's Week. The Fact Sheet finally concludes with a listing of various available applicable publications and includes some suggestions for local Military Government teams to offer to various local media, including urging advance publicity of the event and its activities through magazines and newspapers and for the showing of appropriate films.²³⁷

Radio in particular was heavily utilized to promote Women's Week and as a teaching device during the actual event. Radio programs in 1949 for Women's Week included special broadcasts during every *Women's Hour* for the week, and local coverage was to be made across all stations. Spot promotions and ongoing reminders of local Women's Week activities were to be made daily during and in the days preceding the week-long event.²³⁸ Similar national programs were broadcast in 1950, with extra programming occurring on the *Early Bird* program as well as the *Man (Person) on the Street* program featuring the topic, 'What is Modern Women?'²³⁹ More attention was also paid to local broadcasts and they offered a variety of programs. The Fukushima radio station planned to broadcast directly from several prefectural women's rallies as well as providing publicity on the following points leading up to and during Women's Week: "1) Aim of Women's Week, 2) Goal of Women's Week, 3) Women can hold equal public office to men according to Public Officials Law, 4) Equal educational opportunities for both sexes,

and 5) Encourage women's organizations, girl members of youth associations, women members of labor unions, etc. to observe the week in an effective and useful manner.”²⁴⁰

Elsewhere, the Morioka Radio Station in Iwate Prefecture made a series of live announcements regarding Women's Week from the prefectural Women's and Minors' Bureau office.²⁴¹ The *Women's Voice* program in Ehime Prefecture broadcast on the topic of the real situation of women's emancipation at home and in the work place, providing comments from a twenty, a thirty, and a fifty year old woman. The same station also aired the topic 'Concerning the Hard Labor of Village Women' on the *New Farm Village* program.²⁴² The Sendai station traveled around the prefecture for the *Woman on the Street* show in order to gain a variety of opinions on the topic of 'The Present Standpoint of Women,' during which women discussed their hopes and requested that men cooperate with them at home and at work.²⁴³ With the growing prevalence of radios over the duration of the Occupation, as well as the incidence of rural-specific programs, the number of female farm listeners was likely to have increased with each Women's Week.

Newspapers also ran stories about Women's Week. An editorial from the *Nippon Times* on April 2, 1948, focused on the need to revolutionize housekeeping in rural homes. The author called for the communalization of housekeeping and the systemization of family life. The need to develop better educational programs on housekeeping in schools was also noted and it was emphasized that housekeeping in rural areas has a great deal to do with agricultural productivity.²⁴⁴ The editorial noted the difficulties rural women faced every day just in trying to cook a meal and urged their husbands to make upgrades to their homes and to accept communalization as a means for

improving the lives of all farmers. A year later, in the *Nippon Times* on April 9, 1949, Ethel Weed was quoted as saying that “the most comprehensive review yet undertaken of women’s progress under the new Constitution will be conducted April 10-18.” She also noted that “because of tradition and their double duty as farm workers and housekeepers farm women have been the slowest in following the new trends.”²⁴⁵

Weed’s acknowledgement of the difficulty faced by farm women was enhanced by another article published four days later. The editorial from April 13, 1949, noted that the *Tomo-No-Kai* [Friendship Association], which had long been concerned with the rationalization of housekeeping, had “operated a vocational guidance and cultural center in Akita to teach farmers’ wives and daughters improved methods of cooking and sewing while nurseries were opened for children so mothers can work on the farm without worrying about their children.” The group planned on organizing similar centers in more rural districts during winter months when farmers’ wives had more time to use them.²⁴⁶ From 1950, when one of the slogans of Women’s Week was “Let’s Free Our Homes and Work Places from Feudalism,” (refer back to Image 9) came the opinion that “we are afraid that there is a tendency among Japanese women of considering housekeeping and raising children irksome and feudalistic...Our society will become a truly democratic one if the average housewife becomes the true mistress of her home, equipped with the highest education and culture which still generally are reserved for men.”²⁴⁷ These articles all direct attention towards women during the spotlight of Women’s Week, and they note, for the most part, the particular struggles faced by rural women. However, said struggles were at least recognized and, during Women’s Week in particular, those issues were confronted head on.

The sponsoring Women's and Minors' Bureau also made an effort to reach rural women during Women's Week by targeting local women's associations. A great number of materials pertaining to Women's Week, including posters, wall newspapers, book marks, and leaflets, were distributed by prefecture to each women's organization as well as to government offices and boards of education.²⁴⁸ Additionally, members of the local W&MBs often conducted lectures during Women's Week. In Niigata, the specific lecture held in 1950 was on the 'Agricultural Women's Way' and focused on convincing attending farm women on the necessity of rationalizing their homes so that they could create free time for themselves – free time that could then be devoted to women's group or agricultural cooperative activities.²⁴⁹ The extremely active W&MB in Kagawa Prefecture managed to hold at least fifteen separate lectures and presentations relevant to rural women. The topic of 'Women's Home Life and Rationalization of Home Economics' was presented in Asano, Koumi, Yokita, Sogo, Fuchu, Tsuji, Kitaura, and Wabima villages. Additionally, a lecture on 'Women's Problems' was held in Kamitakase village while conferences on 'Leading the Home Life of Country Women' were held in Danshi, Asano, and Takamatsu.²⁵⁰ The Iwate W&MB held a joint Women's Week convention for four villages in Okirai Village, where the participants were said to have participated in active and eager discussions pertaining to improving the position of women in rural life.²⁵¹ By focusing on the area of improving home life in conjunction with improving rural women's status, the Women's and Minors' Bureau speakers were not just promoting Women's Week but also participating in SCAP's new emphasis on rural women as part of the Agricultural Extension Service.

Chapter 7: Local Japanese Women's Organizations

Moving from central governmental agents to more local ones, women's associations were often the front lines for democratization learning and experience for many women. During the Asian-Pacific war, every village and town had had its branch of the Greater Japan Women's Association, an organization to which every woman had been ordered to belong. It had been formed by drawing together the various local women's clubs under the single umbrella of the Greater Japan Women's Association for the purpose of undertaking war-related activities, activities that were often familiar from their service as wives of Army reservists.²⁵² Said activities the women were involved with included contributing money and care packages, often containing "thousand-stitch" belts, for Japanese soldiers overseas. Emphasis was placed on rationalization of the household, thrift, and savings. They were also instructed in the conducting of air raid drills, performing fire brigade duties, and even in spear fighting towards the end of the war.²⁵³ The rural local sections of the Women's Patriotic Association were, despite the name, almost always headed by male school teachers or the local village headman rather than by a woman.²⁵⁴ As Ellas Wisell observed at one such meeting of the local women's association in Suye Mura: "Called by men and addressed exclusively by men, it produced not only a plan for women's taking a role in economizing that was written by men, but also featured the appointment of a man, the school principal, as the head of the Women's Association of Suye."²⁵⁵ Such a situation was unacceptable to SCAP, which welcomed the disbandment of the Women's Patriotic Association in the weeks following Japan's surrender. Women's groups were then allowed to reform on a local level, and Women's Affairs officials were sent out to assess them. The hope was that women would revert to

prewar patterns of associations, about which admittedly little was known by Occupation officials, and that said patterns would prove to be democratic in nature.

However that was not to be entirely the case, and a reading of John Embree's assessment of Suyu Mura's women's groups would have revealed a depressing tendency for most women's organizations, even religious ones or lottery clubs, to feature a male head.²⁵⁶ Embree himself believed that uniting village women into "an active group showing initiative and uplifting spirit in civic affairs" to be a "hopeless job" due to the overall passivity he observed in women during their group meetings – which were of course led by men.²⁵⁷ To be sure, it was probably difficult to want to actively participate in activities that brought women little or no personal benefit, and it was likely that groups were often attended out of duty rather than any particular desire to belong. Following the disbandment of the wartime national women's association, SCAP desired for any newly formed women's group to be voluntary and organized along democratic lines. Women were to be wholly responsible for the oversight of their associations, and men were, at least initially, to be kept out. Investigations by CI&E Women's Affairs officials into women's associations during the summer of 1946, however, revealed that nearly every organization had been organized on the same pattern as the Greater Japan Women's Association, with hierarchical organizational ties extending from prefectural to city to town and village groups. Often, too, men were still advisors and even officers or presidents of the women's organizations, and in many instances the associations also received government subsidies. SCAP urged the Japanese Home Ministry to issue instructions to local male officials informing them that they, and any other men, were not

to act as advisors or be members of local women's clubs, and that such groups were not to receive subsidies either.²⁵⁸

CI&E's goals for women's organizations were then made more explicit. Women's Affairs officials were to emphasize democratic principles of organization through both verbal and written instruction and "to give women's organizations programs and techniques for achieving political, social, and economic elevation of women's status."²⁵⁹ To accomplish such aims, information sheets and pamphlets were to be produced covering such topics as "objectives and techniques for interesting membership in politics, parliamentary procedure, how to make a motion and vote, methods of voting and ballot counting, democratic organizations, and education for elections through organizations."²⁶⁰ Ethel Weed herself organized the Women's Democratic Club as a 'model' women's organization.²⁶¹ Elections for selecting officers and the making of individual group constitutions became the first priority for women's groups. Carmen Johnson's earliest activities as Women's Affairs officer for Shikoku focused on reforming women's organizations. Besides meeting with the leaders of local women's groups and teaching the democratic meeting practices, she also conducted annual surveys to assess the progress the associations were making towards democratization.²⁶² Johnson was also concerned by the low activity rate of many organizations. She wrote a pamphlet entitled "Planning for a Year's Program for an Organization" that was relevant to many local groups but also contained a course specifically for women's groups. Johnson, upon realizing the lack of funding – especially once government subsidies had been ordered cut off – was a major hindrance for women's groups, wrote another pamphlet called

“Discussion – A Technique of Democracy” that urged women’s groups to organize a variety of discussion groups since such activities could be held with little or no cost.²⁶³

7.1: Women’s Associations During the Latter Part of the Occupation

Despite some ongoing pockets of problems, by 1949, many of Shikoku’s women’s groups, as well as those elsewhere in Japan, had purged their male members and were engaged in writing constitutions.²⁶⁴ An examination of the constitutions reveals that many organizations merely wrote theirs from SCAP-provided templates but equally that many other women’s associations felt free to place their own particular spins on the documents. The constitution of Onsen-gun Miuchi Village Women’s Organization held that “the object of this organization shall be to elevate the standard of culture and to promote the happiness of the membership at home and in society.”²⁶⁵ The rural Ozu Fudo Association constitution held a similar objective and also included the promotion of women’s position as well as noting that its course of activities would include holding training courses, study meetings, tours of inspections, informal conversations, and bazaars.²⁶⁶ And the Matsubagawa Village Women’s Association had the following three objectives outlined in its constitution: “1)The thoroughgoing materialization of democracy, 2)the study of politics, economy, upbringing of children, education, and etc., for the purpose of increasing the level of literacy not only as housewives but also as social human beings, and 3)the devotion towards the social welfare under cooperation with other organizations.”²⁶⁷

Rural women’s groups were of especial concern to CI&E. Given the busy nature of farm women’s lives, time for participation in women’s groups was limited. Too, rural areas were thought to have received less access to political education and ideas about

democratization. To quote a female attendant at a meeting for leaders of PTAs and women's organizations held in March 1949, "Fujinkai [Women's Associations] in farming village has many difficulties. During the war, most of the husbands were willing to send their wives to fujinkai, but after the war they would not send her away from home for a gathering."²⁶⁸ However, letters written from such groups to Carmen Johnson reveal that many were able to function successfully despite resistance from local men. The Takeshima Izawa Women's Improvement Club, for instance, was concerned with children's education and so had linked up with the local PTA. Improving the lives of farm women was their other main interest and to that end they had begun keeping angora rabbits and were looking into joining the local agricultural association as well as working towards the creation of a day off for farm women at least once a month.²⁶⁹

A letter from Mrs. T. Okazaki, the president of the Niida Village Women's Association, revealed the difficulty she had had in starting up the group in 1946 following the disbandment of the national association. Despite having no funds and being unsure of how to generate interest, she invited her friends, who invited more friends, and soon a sizable group formed. To earn money, they held a program of opera singing and dances for the village and invited donations from attendees. They also became interested in discussing elections and local politics at their meetings as well as organizing activities to generate funds for the local school.²⁷⁰ The Misuga Women's Organization wrote to say that, while struggling to conduct meetings in a democratic way, they were trying. Their problems stemmed, the president noted, from tradition. Younger women were apt to hesitate to speak before older women, and when taking motion votes it was difficult to get many women to express yes or no decisively. Still,

they were practicing democratic decision-making methods and, by urging women to speak at every meeting, believed they soon would have only active members.²⁷¹

Elsewhere, too, rural women were able to come together. Independently conducted women's association meetings on the topic of brides and mothers-in-law were fairly common in rural areas and generally quite popular. Women speakers at such meetings often focused on the need for women to treat each other as equals in status. At one such meeting, in Abukuma Village in Miyagi Prefecture in 1950, a particularly note-worthy comment came from a seventy-three year old woman: "Brides and mothers-in-law should live separately until advanced age and then live together. That way domestic quarrels might be avoided." This was seen as extremely progressive, and many attendees were amazed that such a comment came from an elderly woman.²⁷² At such meetings the role of democracy in creating equal status between wives and their mothers-in-law also played a part in the conversation. The Shimane Women's Affairs officer singled out the Nishisusa Village Women's Association for mention in reports because the women had organized their own livestock club, were studying better farm management during group meetings, and were hoping to establish an annual livestock fair. And the Fukui Prefecture Women's Affairs officer felt that the rural women's groups in her area were particularly active, especially in the winter months when farm work was reduced, as they held several varieties of meetings both for their own benefit and for their local communities.²⁷³

Women's Affairs officers in other prefectures also often lectured or gave presentations to local women's associations about a variety of topics pertaining to women. Not every region was active or successful of course. Both the Ibaraki and Tottori Women's Affairs

officials noted that their prefectures experienced little to no activity by women's groups during the farming season, although in Tottori at least, they had been helped to make plans for activities during the winter months.²⁷⁴ In Shimane, an inspection of twenty-eight women's organizations in the most rural areas of the prefecture revealed that few of the women had received information on democratic women's organizations and that, even if they had, few women would have been able to study the material because their houses generally lacked electric lights for night reading while they were too busy working during the day. Still, the organizations did express a desire for more informational materials, especially in the form of visual aids and films.²⁷⁵ Elsewhere, however, results were better.

In Aomori Prefecture, the local Women's Affairs officer often conducted discussion meetings on the new Civil Code at women's association gatherings.²⁷⁶ The Aomori W&MB officer was also active in reaching out to rural groups, especially during winter months when farm women were less busy. Tanaka, the male chief of the branch office in 1951, often lectured before women's association meetings on topics of farm women's democratization and in the importance of having and participating in local organizations like women's groups and the PTA.²⁷⁷ His effectiveness may be questioned, however, simply on the basis of his gender and his position of authority in a governmental organization meant to help women. After the announcement of the general election in 1949, women's group leaders met with Civil Education personnel, including the Women's Affairs officer, in Yamaguchi Prefecture to discuss what activities they could undertake to promote interest in the election. This resulted in a total of 245 separate women's association meetings for the purpose of informing its members of the

importance of the election and of the need for intelligent voting. The Women's Affairs officer felt this directly contributed to the high percentage of voter turnout in all areas of the prefecture.²⁷⁸

Continuing on to other regions of Japan, in Yamagata Prefecture *kamishibai* and talks on democratizing farm women and improving their lifestyles was able to draw together women from several associations to a joint meeting in Yamato Village. Wisely, given that the meeting was held in the fairly busy farming month of August, the Women's Affairs officer gave her presentation from eight until ten pm so that more women would be able to attend.²⁷⁹ Combining meetings with several local women's associations was a common tactic in rural areas. The Women's Affairs official for Hiroshima Prefecture held several democratic educational conferences encompassing generally three villages at a time. Speakers in 1948 included the local Civil Education representative as well as Kobayashi, a female representative from the Women's and Minors' Bureau. Topics for later audience discussion included women's responsibilities in the new Japan and methods by which women's groups could help in improving community conditions.²⁸⁰ The Nagasaki Prefecture Women's Affairs official frequently made inspection trips to rural organizations, often ten or more per month. During her trips, she held leaders' conferences for local organizations where she encouraged frequent meetings and the use of democratic procedures. Often the official spent two or three days in an area in order to make as many contacts among the local women as possible.²⁸¹ And besides the ongoing monthly activities conducted by SCAP and the Women's and Minors' Bureau among Japanese women's groups, an annual onslaught of activity from a range of Occupation, governmental, and private sources occurred during Women's Week. Further focus on

rural women also came from *Norinsho* as part of its tasks in overseeing Japanese agriculture. It enjoined farm women to become members of local agricultural cooperative societies and also reached out to them via the Agricultural Extension Service.

Chapter 8: The Agricultural Extension Service During the First Half of the Occupation

The following two chapters concern the Agricultural Extension Service. It was through this program that perhaps the most direct efforts were made towards democratizing rural Japanese women. Focused on the improvement of farming techniques, the collection of food for a hungry nation, and on providing farmers with democratic experiences as well as the economic benefit of collective bargaining and on land reform, agricultural cooperatives were considered to be an essential part of every rural town. Opening them to women was a primary goal of SCAP, the process of which was overseen by the Natural Resources Section in conjunction with CI&E and Women's Affairs officials. SCAP had high hopes for the role of rural women in agricultural cooperatives and promoted them through *Norinsho's* Agricultural Extension Service, which eventually developed the Home Improvement Section to specifically focus on the needs of farm women. Chapters 8 and 9 are concerned with the development of these programs during the first and latter parts of the Occupation, with a timeframe division coming in 1949. Perhaps the easiest way to understand SCAP's hopes for the role of rural women in agricultural cooperatives can be found in the film, *Koshi no magaru hanashi* [Bent With The Years]. What follows is a basic outline of the film's plot.

The scene: a dimly lit farmhouse where a grandmother and her granddaughter Yoshi are lying together in bed. Granny is talking to Yoshi about why her back is bent so low, just like all of the other grannies in the village. Granny asks Yoshi if she knows why grannies get bent over when they become old and Yoshi replies it is because they plant rice and pick up grasses. Granny agrees that the planting of rice is very hard and to do it for three days in succession makes a person's back begin to ache so badly that they seem

to break in half. And it is the same for picking up grasses and sometimes it seems as if a person's back will never be made straight. But Granny tells Yoshi that that is not the only reason why she is bent low. Yoshi then says it is because Granny carries heavy things. Granny affirms that carrying firewood is really trying but that is also not the only reason. Yoshi adds that it is because Granny cooks in the kitchen, and Granny confirms that it is quite painful to work in the kitchen after working all day on the farm and bending low. However, Granny says, even that is not enough to make a body bend low for good. Finally Yoshi asks Granny how her body became bent low. Granny states it is because women kowtow too much.²⁸² Women, she says, begin to kowtow as soon as they are married. Father-in-law, mother-in-law, the relatives, and then her husband. As soon as she is married, a woman has to kowtow to the village headman and the big men of her community. And then a kowtow to village officials and to the policeman too. Women even kowtow in their sleep!

The scene changes to a general meeting of the women's department of the local agricultural cooperative society where Omitsu – Granny's daughter and Yoshi's mother – has just been asked to speak about the formation of the women's department. She begins by saying that she once lacked backbone and was under the impression that all women were so. However, she has realized that even women can be awfully strong when they get together and combine their strength. From now on, she states, women will not be bossed around by menfolks. When the women's department is fully established within the society, she is ready to stand with her fellow village women to work hard at all they can do together. Various other women stand up and state their goals for the cooperative, including the establishment of a day nursery, a community kitchen, and contracting a

nurse. A vote is then taken to select the manager of the women's department and an observer comments that it will likely be Omitsu since she sponsored the formation. The scene cuts to the exterior of the building where Eisaku – Omitsu's husband – has been listening despite earlier complaining about Omitsu's activities. Eventually Omitsu is found to be the winner of the vote and the meeting disperses. Eisaku follows Omitsu home and casually mentions that he wants to start assisting in the business of the cooperative. Omitsu, relieved at his words, begins to apologize for being so much trouble and taking up so much time. Eisaku turns around and tells Omitsu not to bow too much because Granny and Yoshi will be angry. They will, he asserts, say Omitsu's body will become bent low. The scene returns to the farm house and Yoshi smiles in her sleep.²⁸³

Koshi no magaru hanashi, which was alternately titled *Fujin to nogyo kyobo kumiai* [Women and the Agricultural Cooperative Society], was produced by Nippon Eiga Sha on behalf of Japan's Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in 1949. *Koshi no magaru hanashi* perfectly illustrated the harsh realities of life in the past for rural Japanese women along with showing their hopes for the future following the end of World War II.²⁸⁴ (See **Image on next page.**) With Japan's industrial base destroyed, its cities decimated, and its access to crops in former foreign territories denied, the nation had to depend on its farmers to feed its defeated and hungry population. Aware of the corruption of some of the landlords and of the discontent of tenants in rural areas and anticipating action from General MacArthur in his role as the Supreme Commander (which did come in mid-December 1945), the Japanese Diet under the Shidehara cabinet passed a land reform bill drafted by officials within *Norinsho* in December of 1945.²⁸⁵



Image 10: A Farm House in Teshima, 1949

(Source: Source: John W. Bennett. *Doing Photography and Social Research in the Allied Occupation of Japan, 1948-1951: A Personal and Professional Memoir*. Courtesy of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at the University of Ohio Libraries,

<http://nextweb.lib.ohio-state.edu/sites/rarebooks/japan/images/full/11/8.jpg> 15 April 2010)

8.1: Land Reform and Women

The Occupation forces were indeed aware of some of the problems and tensions in Japan's countryside. Rural areas were seen by U.S. occupation planners as a bastion of tradition that had helped to support Japan's militarism and were therefore ripe for reforms.²⁸⁶ Occupation officials were disappointed that the new Japanese measure would only provide about a third of tenant families with enough land to be self-sufficient.²⁸⁷ Seeing land reform as a means of access to the countryside and facing pressure from Australia and the Soviet Union, SCAP concluded the initial reforms were not enough. In General MacArthur's Memorandum on Land Reform from December 1945, the Supreme Commander instructed the Japanese government to "break the economic bondage which had enslaved Japanese farmers through centuries of feudal oppression."²⁸⁸ SCAP submitted a land reform proposal drafted by the Australian representative on the Allied Council on Japan (ACJ), MacMahon Ball, and, reluctantly backed by the cabinet of Yoshida Shigeru, the new, more wide-ranging proposal was passed by the Diet and became law on October 21, 1946.²⁸⁹

Under the second land reform, all the lands of absentee land lords, who were the major type of land lords, and all but approximately 3 *cho*²⁹⁰ of the lands of village landlords – excluding Hokkaido where up to 12 *cho* could be retained - were purchased by the Japanese government and then resold at a low price to former tenants through farmer organizations. The paying of rents in kind was ended with the requirement of cash payments, and rent control was instituted. Within two years and under further pressure from SCAP to see them through, the reforms were nearly completed, and the area of

tenanted farm land fell to below ten percent.²⁹¹ But Occupation officials were not content with nearly eliminating tenancy. The US also wished to change the minds and lifestyles of Japan's rural population as part of an overall reorientation and democratization agenda for the country at large. To do so, it instituted various rural-focused campaigns to promote democratization and modernization. Despite the fairly large differences that existed between Japanese and U.S. farming lifestyles stemming from the size of fields, type of crops grown, and utilization of both human and mechanized resources, many of these campaigns were based on reform programs conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture during the 1920s and '30s in rural America.²⁹² One such major initiative was launched in August of 1948, both as a means to promote the goals of democratization and modernization and to serve as a spur to the sagging pace of land reforms and crop production. The Natural Resources Section of SCAP, under the leadership of Colonel Hubert G. Schenck and in conjunction with *Norinsho* and with the support of CI&E and the new law concerning agricultural associations, launched the Agricultural Extension Service.²⁹³

The Agricultural Extension Service, acting very similarly to the Cooperative Extension Service initiated in the U.S. in 1915 and to Japan's own Lifestyle Improvement Campaign launched by the Ministry of Education in 1920, promoted the use of scientific techniques in farming, advocated the formation of agricultural cooperatives to strengthen farmers' economic power, and brought rural villages into contact with modern technologies and urban Japan.²⁹⁴ **(See Image on following page.)** Indeed, the program was quite a familiar one to Japan's farm families. As John Embree observed during his

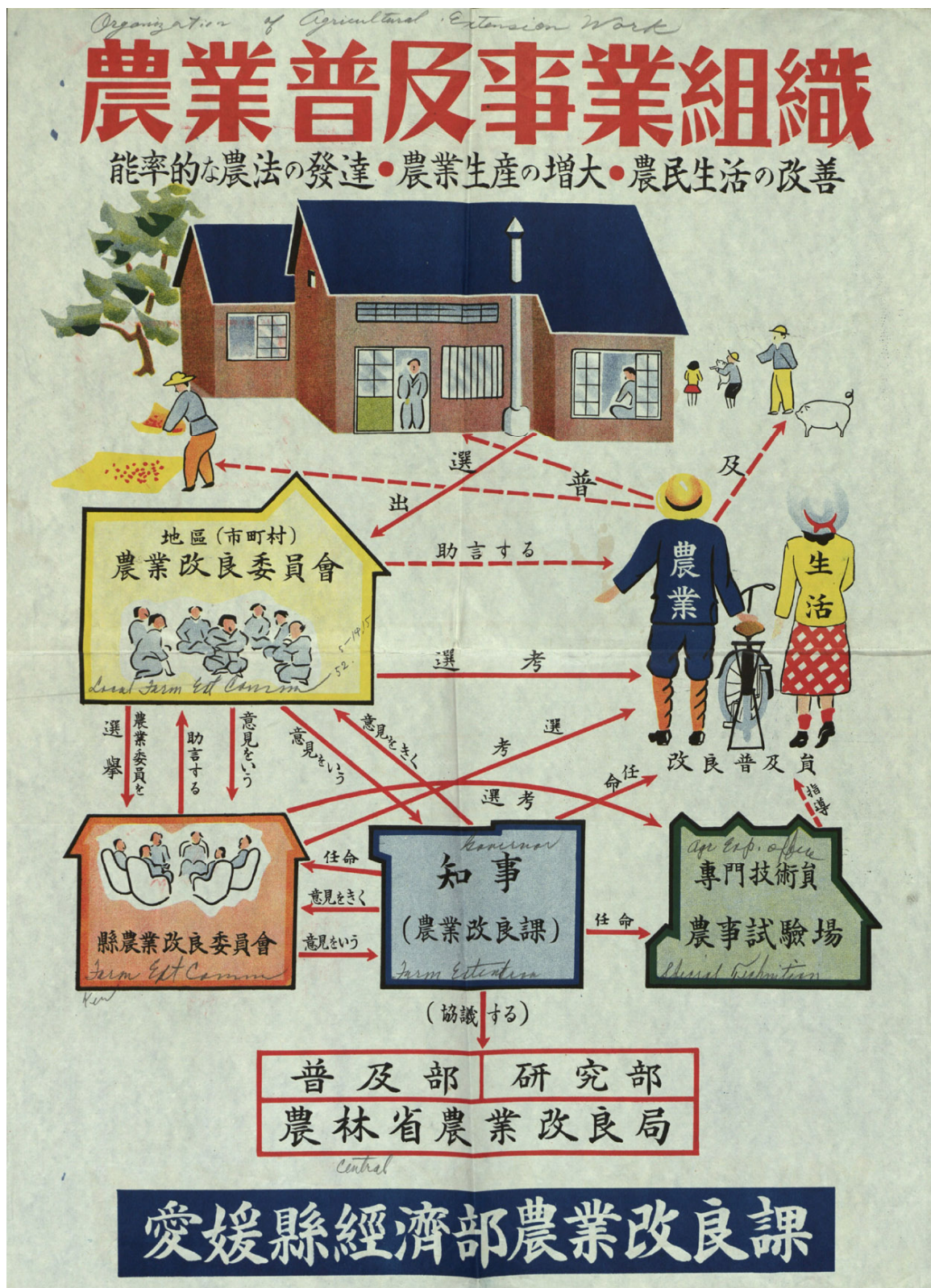


Image 11: Poster promoting the Agriculture Extension Service
(Source: National Archives II, Record Group 331, Box 2647)

time in Suye Mura, agricultural cooperatives had long been encouraged by the Japanese government, being first introduced along the lines of the German model at the turn of the century. According to his figures, in 1938 there were 15,328 cooperative societies in Japan, and the majority of them were agricultural. Local branches of the cooperative societies were served by a government agricultural advisor, an appointee of the prefecture in conjunction with *Norinsho* whose job was to assist farmers in progressive farming techniques and to encourage the formation and utilization of cooperatives.²⁹⁵ The newly created Agricultural Extension Service would act in much the same way, but government control would be on a greatly reduced level and cooperatives were to function in a democratic fashion. In early 1949, a similar program was launched for fishing communities to urge the formation of fisheries cooperatives. The service was to be administered by *Norinsho* through the Agricultural Extension Service as the fishing cooperatives were to serve an equivalent function to agricultural cooperatives.²⁹⁶

8.2: The Home-Life Improvement Section of the Agricultural Extension Service

NRS realized that the Agricultural Extension Service (AES) would not be enough on its own to achieve democratization and modernization goals. There was also a great need to provide advisory services relating to family life since the census of October 1947 found that 8.6 million women were engaged in farming alongside 6 million men. As a result, NRS also mandated the creation of a home-life extension service to *Norinsho*.²⁹⁷ It seemed a logical move to NRS officials to include home life extension work in Japan since it had been a part of cooperative and extension work in the United States. Family life and agricultural work were seen as being inseparable on a family farm regardless of country, and so mutual promotion would provide mutual benefit. The formally declared

goals of the NRS and the AES were to help farm families improve their economic and social positions by “(1) applying the findings of research, (2) solving problems through group action, (3) understanding economic and social factors, (4) improving family diets, (5) working with rural youth, (6) counseling on farm problems, (7) aiding the cultural growth of rural people, and (8) developing rural leadership.”²⁹⁸

In November of 1948, the Home-Life Improvement Section was officially established as part of the AES division of *Norinsho* to directly reach rural women and facilitate improvement projects, many of which were seen as promoting women’s liberation.²⁹⁹ SCAP hoped extension advisors would teach rural women about their new constitutional rights, undermine ‘feudalism,’ and improve women’s overall status. To quote an unidentified NRS specialist: “Since home improvement problems [sic] are introduced and put into practice by women or their children, there is no doubt that this improvement work will not only make them open their eyes to their status in agricultural and farm homes but serve as an important key to the democratization of the rural community.”³⁰⁰

Agricultural cooperatives were heavily promoted to women, and the home demonstration agents – nearly all of whom were women - were seen as one method by which women could be sold on the idea of joining. Rural women were encouraged to approach home demonstration agents with a variety of questions, including these examples from a leaflet: “My husband is handling the household economy and I know nothing of what is going on. How can I improve this situation?” and “I want to reconstruct my kitchen. How can I keep it convenient?”³⁰¹ *Norinsho* proceeded to place a female educator, Yamamoto Matsuyo³⁰², in charge of the new department, and she began hiring women to serve as home demonstration extension agents while NRS

continued to provide its support.³⁰³ Having farm women become members of their local agricultural cooperative societies was seen by Occupation members as an important step in the democratization of rural areas.

The first year or so of the Agricultural Extension Service's existence was an optimistic time. Publications supporting the program were distributed even before its formal start date. *Norinsho* developed both a twenty piece *kamishibai* presentation and a ten page illustrated booklet for rural distribution, and each prefecture was given the task of dispersing the material.³⁰⁴ In Kochi prefecture on the island of Shikoku, a highly successful program, dubbed 'New Farm Village,' was based upon the *Norinsho* publications and then greatly expanded. A news car traveled through Kochi's rural areas carrying the *kamishibai* presentation and pamphlets as well as additional posters, films, and lecturers. It was also accompanied by local officials, the region's Military Government civil information officer, and a panel of visiting women leaders who held daytime meetings with farm women as well as contributed to the general evening meeting held for all farmers in the local community. Japanese press coverage of the program in both local and nationally read newspapers and magazines was positive and fairly extensive and SCAP's CI&E section's bulletin also promoted the program to its readership as a working example to follow in their own regions.³⁰⁵

Another early publication supporting the Agricultural Extension Service (AES) came from the Women's and Minors' Bureau in 1948 around the initial launch of the program. Once again, despite devoting the majority of its efforts towards urban working women, the W&MB served as an important source of informational materials for NRS and *Norinsho* in promoting democracy to rural women. The 1948 pamphlet aimed at women

was designed to explicitly contrast past rural conditions and the way in which agricultural cooperatives would improve life for rural women. It opened by reminding women of the difficult lives they had lived up until the present and then recalled the hopes for a new life that had become possible since the Occupation. “Now democratic reforms are freeing farm women from this bondage. The agricultural cooperative law gives women who till the soil equal rights with men in improving conditions cooperatively.”³⁰⁶

The pamphlet continued on by emphasizing the fact that Japanese women now had equal rights with men and as a result women could join agricultural cooperatives and have a vote equal to that of their husband or brother. It also reminded women that in order to have access to their new equality, they needed to actively participate in their local cooperative. As a means of further enticing women to join cooperatives, the pamphlet then listed several opportunities cooperatives could provide to benefit women. Included in the list was better nutrition through community kitchens, better clothing through the purchase of community sewing machines, and better living as men and women were able to work together and attend discussion meetings and lectures that would be to the benefit of the community at large. Finally, the pamphlet included a step by step process for forming a cooperative association and it even urged women to take the initiative and start a local one on their own.³⁰⁷ The overall impression given by the pamphlet was that rural women, if they wanted to stop living hard, miserable, and oppressed lives, needed to step up and actively embrace their new rights by using the agricultural cooperative as a means to further increase and enhance those rights.

8.3: Promoting the Agricultural Extension Service

The W&MB-sponsored Women's Week in 1949 also promoted rural women's participation in agricultural cooperatives in conjunction with *Norinsho*. *Norinsho* urged all agricultural cooperatives to hold meetings including both farm men and women during Women's Week in order to discuss ways in which rural cooperatives could improve the status of farm women. *Norinsho* also printed approximately one hundred thousand posters for distribution showing the significant contribution agricultural cooperatives could make to Women's Week.³⁰⁸ And in Ehime, a joint release from the prefectural W&MB and Agricultural Cooperative Union section urged women to participate in both cooperatives and in Women's Week. The open-style letter announced the dates of Women's Week and then continued as follows:

The purpose of this week is to have you be conscious of your own standings stated in the New Japanese Constitution, civil code, local self-government law and other laws in order to make your status improve. On this view-point, you are farther from the goal in comparison to city women. So the first problem is to raise the status of rural women. There are many methods to take to solve this problem. But we think the first of all is to improve economical conditions of agricultural lives so that you may have your own time. Until now you had to work from morning till night without any rest. How can you think about your social status under the present situation?

The letter went on to tell women that the way to solve their problems was to actively join agricultural associations and not just leave the affairs to men or to think that it was disreputable to attend meetings.³⁰⁹ Exhorted from two angles, at least in Ehime it would be hard for rural women to have missed the message that agricultural cooperatives would play a key role in their democratization and in improving their hard lifestyles.

Similar tones could be found in the films and film strips developed by *Norinsho* – partially from the urging of NRS - at the time to promote the AES and agricultural cooperatives. *Koshi no magaru hanashi* was perhaps the best of the films. It was heavily

promoted by SCAP, and by *Norinsho* at SCAP's urging and with NRS and the assistance of CI&E. Shown in local community halls or schools, the film was often locally advertised several days in advance by posters and through localized newspapers and announcements from village officials. *Koshi no magaru hanashi* was perceived by Occupation forces to be both popular with rural Japanese and effective in communicating its message about women's equality.³¹⁰

Another film by *Norinsho* was *The Youth of a Village*, produced by Nihon Eiga Sha in December of 1948. The film promoted the rationalization of farm management through agricultural cooperatives and the bringing of electricity into the countryside but also managed to produce moments of female empowerment and reduced farm work for women thanks to cooperatives. In the film, a young man named Ichiro is busy trying to repair a cultivator at home while his sister and mother look on. The mother does not see much good in the cultivator because it has a tendency to break down. However Osaki, Ichiro's sister, jumps in to defend him and the machine:

Mother, you always think things like that and that's why the people of this village are called conservative. For instance, even the kitchen, if that well were here and the sink, cupboard and oven were put side by side, we wouldn't have to go up and down between the room and the kitchen. Then the preparation for meals would become much easier. I tell you, mother, it's the same reason why my brother bought that machine.³¹¹

Later, the scene changes to a small discussion meeting of local young people led by Ichiro. Osaki is delighted with the news of a chemical developed jointly by U.S. and Japanese scientists that's been designed to kill weeds. She says that if it really works, the chemical will set women free. Another girl seconds her comment, saying that it sounds like a dream. The movie concludes with the village youth resolving to convince their elders of the value of new technology geared towards their small-scale farms and that the

way to fund and study new technology is through forming a local agricultural cooperative association.³¹²

In yet another *Norinsho* film, the proposed *Story of Marriage*, which had the theme of promoting the construction of mutual aid associations in rural villages, women once again are portrayed as the initiators for local change. In it, the fire that destroys a young woman's wedding trousseau is not a tragedy because her village has a mutual aid society that provides her membership-having family with aid money to help them recover from their loss. Her friends from another local village are inspired by their friend's calm and saved fortune to convince their own village to form a mutual aid association. They go door to door trying to convince influential villagers but find that most of them aren't home. Finally the girls find that the presidents of the local *buraku* associations – small subdivisions or districts within a village that functioned much like urban block associations as the most basic unit of organization after the family in rural Japanese life - have concluded that forming a mutual aid society might cause them to lose face since it was opposed at an earlier general meeting. The girls are disheartened at first, but they feel better once they convince local leaders to hold another meeting purely to readdress the issue and try and convince those who remain opposed.³¹³

In *Women at the Farm Village*, a film produced by Nippon Eiga Sha in 1947 prior to the launch of the AES but relevant to the program, the purpose was to introduce the hard labor experienced by farm women in both the fields and during their daily housework. This was contrasted with the lifestyles of women in less feudalistic farm villages and in urban areas through scenes of rural labor as well as the effect of such work on farm women's appearances and on their relationships. The goal was to encourage rural women

to reform their lifestyles and embrace democratization as a means to an easier life.³¹⁴

And in *Green Bicycle*, a November 1949 *Norinsho* film produced by Dentsu Eiga Sha, farm advisors and home demonstration agents are shown performing their work. The home demonstration agent explicitly helps make the homes of rural women cleaner and more functional, and she then accompanies them – as they have some free time thanks to the improvements made to their homes – to a meeting of the local agricultural cooperative association.³¹⁵ All of the films promote female activism and equality and illustrate how cooperative associations can be of help to women.

In addition to national-level efforts by *Norinsho* and the Women's and Minors' Bureau, more local efforts at promoting cooperative formation were made that also targeted women. SCAP Women's Affairs officials strongly encouraged both participation in agricultural cooperatives and the utilization of home demonstration agents. Many also promoted the specific appointment of women in the home demonstration role.³¹⁶ Carmen Johnson, despite her pessimism regarding women's participation in agricultural cooperatives, met regularly with the home demonstration agents in Shikoku beginning in September 1949. She realized the difficult road the agents faced when a male AES agent comments that "Japanese women like to work in the fields [so how] can we raise the culture of Japan for farm women?" but the agent did somewhat redeem himself later by noting that in order to solve the situation it was important to "lessen the burdens of farm women and to democratize the home."³¹⁷ A Japanese organization, the Cultural Welfare Federation, was active in promoting agricultural cooperatives to women in the Kanto and Tohoku Civil Affairs regions. The Federation held short courses on dairy farming and sewing in order to encourage rural

women to attend meetings where women's emancipation and education were also stressed.³¹⁸ Even a figure as famous as Oku Mumeo, political activist, member of the Upper House of the Diet and leader of the Housewives League, got involved, traveling to Kato-mura in Fukui Prefecture, which happened to be her home prefecture, to lecture on behalf of the local women's agricultural association. The group had been trying to start a movement in 1949 for making higher sinks as part of a kitchen improvement program but had been encountering resistance from some older women. Oku attended a training course on raising sinks in the village and spoke to the participants.³¹⁹

Local governments also got involved in promoting agricultural cooperatives to women. In many ways similar to the W&MB pamphlet, a brochure was published by the Kagawa Prefectural Agricultural Cooperative Association of the island of Shikoku in 1949. It also provides an interesting contrast to the W&MB pamphlet because of particular differences in tone and emphasis. The Kagawa brochure does emphasize that the new agricultural cooperatives must be made up of both male and female villagers. However it makes the point of urging women to come together to make a 'women's department' within the local cooperative association rather than implying, as did the W&MB pamphlet, that all local farmers – men and women - should meet together or that women could form their own, fully independent, cooperatives. The women's department was, the Kagawa brochure concluded, integral to strengthening the cooperative union and propelling its work. Farm women were urged to express their own opinions at cooperatives without hesitation so that the level of farming women could be elevated. However, the brochure then goes on to urge that the women's department specifically engage in the study and improvement of handicrafts, in contributing to the household

economy by more skillful bargaining with merchants and the raising of cash animals like chickens and angora rabbits, and to contribute to the culture of the village through being good housewives. The brochure concludes in the following way: “Now the principles of ‘all men are equal’ and ‘equal rights for man and woman’ is established. You, women, should fully understand how great your mission is and be willing to form women’s organizations to be a propelling power of agricultural cooperative unions. Only after that a delightful and peaceful democratic farm-village will be created.”³²⁰

There is no mention of the benefits that rural women can obtain by joining a cooperative. Indeed, the tone of the brochure almost makes women’s participation in agricultural cooperative associations into a duty, much in the way that joining the Greater Japan Association of Women during the war had been mandatory. And, for all the mentions of the new equality between men and women, the Kagawa brochure instantly segregates women into their own department within the cooperative, providing them with tasks that hold little promise of a direct reward for the women. There is no mention of women obtaining leadership roles within the association; nor was it clear, although one could hope it would be a woman, who was to head the women’s department or how that department was supposed to interact with and integrate into the larger agricultural cooperative. Women’s duties, from the brochure, seem to be focused primarily on directing all their efforts to benefiting their family and hold little to entice women to participate. Unfortunately, the Kagawa brochure was a precursor to what was to become clear to SCAP officials by the beginning of 1950.

Chapter 9: Problems in the Agricultural Extension Service

In December 1949, a CI&E memorandum on Fact Sheet 21 declared that Home Improvement was the most difficult phase of the AES to implement. According to the memorandum initialed by John Sullivan of the Information Division, Policy and Programs Branch:

Home demonstration work has been slow in getting started and lags far behind other aspects of extension development. In a total of approximately 6857 advisors so far appointed, less than 200 are home improvement advisors...The home improvement program has the tremendous obstacles of ancient traditions, superstitions, and prejudices concerning the position of women in society and the conditions under which she should live and work, to overcome...Farmers, eager enough to improve farming techniques and increase food production, are uninformed on and generally indifferent to the need for home living improvement. Women who have learned about the program respond to it with enthusiasm, but usually plead that they are too busy helping with the field work to do anything to fix up their homes.³²¹

Participation of rural women in agricultural cooperatives also lagged. Statistics from 1949 drawn from across Japan revealed that nationwide less than ten percent of cooperative members were women. The average number of participants in a local cooperative association was 358, and of that number typically only 21 were women. With the passage of the new Civil Code in 1947-1948, membership was supposed to have been by equal individuals rather than by *Ie* [household]. Unfortunately this was rarely the case, as shall be seen later in the chapter. And of over 33,000 agricultural cooperative associations, only 56 nationwide had women serving as officers. Additionally the percentage of women's participation in cooperative associations varied widely across Japan from as low as 0.9 percent in Akita prefecture in northwestern Honshu to as high as 15.3 percent in Fukuoka down in Kyushu, a variance that was ascribed to the amount of encouragement given to women on local and prefectural levels.³²² The situation in Miyagi-mura in Gumma Prefecture was typical: The cooperative there had 1156 member

farmers, of whom just 31 were women. Those women also happened to be farmer widows, and it was noted that, other than them, female participation was not encouraged in the local community.³²³

The success and failure of SCAP in promoting democratization in rural areas was observed first hand by John W. Bennett, a member of the Public Opinion and Sociological Research division. The Natural Resources Section commissioned his division to conduct a series of studies of forestry management techniques throughout Japan. He traveled to Egari Mura in Iwate Prefecture in November 1949. While there, he observed what he described as the “most primitive social situation” he had seen in Japan. Of the women, Bennett observed that they were “absolutely beasts” and worked probably harder than men, as well as being literally filthy. He noted that the women seemed to be terribly ignorant. This came as quite a contrast to the women in the home of the local landowner (who retained his lands because they were forested rather than farmed), of whom Bennett noted that they participated with men at the same level in interviews and read newspapers and books. An even larger contrast was encountered later that same week when he went to Ogatsu Mura, a place that was very isolated. The women in Ogatsu, Bennett noted, were robust and not afraid to argue with their husbands or sit in on interviews. Indeed, the women had full control of the family finances, leading the men to complain that their wives were stingy! Bennett was amazed that two places that were less than 100 miles apart could be so dissimilar and doubted that the difference could be entirely explained by the Ogatsu women having been accustomed to running the house while their men were away fishing.³²⁴

SCAP officials, who had been pleased with the quality of publications and materials produced by *Norinsho* throughout 1949, began to realize as they looked for concrete results one year later that their movies and pamphlets alone were not effective in getting large numbers of women to participate in agricultural cooperatives. Nor were films and posters adequately convincing the public that Home Demonstration Agents should be accepted as a valid part of the Agricultural Extension Service. An interesting and anonymous letter addressed to the farmers in Kanagawa Prefecture perhaps best expresses the frustrations of all of those invested in having rural women join agricultural cooperatives. The undated letter asks why farmers discourage and prevent their wives from becoming members of their cooperatives. It goes on to ask a series of questions leading up to the clear point that farmers should value a wife who had been made more intelligent and valuable through an education obtained through membership in an agricultural cooperation. And it concluded with the following pointed line: “Your wife learned how to manage your house and raise your family. If she can learn and become proficient at one thing, can she not learn and become proficient at another???”³²⁵

9.1: The Case of Doi Ryoko

Throughout 1950, regular meetings between Mr. Paul Judge³²⁶, a rural affairs information officer with CI&E, and Mr. Kanaya (as well as his successor Mr. Fujimaki),³²⁷ the chief of the agricultural cooperative information section for *Norinsho*, took place. These meetings illustrated the extent of the problem on even the highest levels of government. Judge regularly inquired after the efforts *Norinsho* was making to reach rural women, and he often urged Kanaya to take a greater interest in convincing women to join agricultural cooperatives and to engage rural women in other agricultural

matters as well. A specific case showing both the lengths Judge went to as well as the resistance of male officials in *Norinsho* was that of Doi Ryoko,³²⁸ a sixteen year old orphaned farm girl from Ehime Prefecture who not only took care of three younger siblings but was also one of the very first in her village to deliver her rice crop quota.

Judge, upon finding out about her story in late February/early March 1950 from a newspaper article, had Kanaya determine the truth of the story. Upon verifying its accuracy, Judge urged *Norinsho* to bring the girl to Tokyo for participation in the rice collection ceremony. Judge believed Doi's seemingly atypical situation would encourage lots of publicity for both rice collection and for the participation of women in agriculture. However, at the last minute, a male official from her village came to Toyo instead. Judge continued to pursue the case, and in June the girl did travel to Tokyo where she was questioned about her situation by government officials, although once again Judge was disappointed to learn that *Norinsho* information section members had failed to even meet Doi Ryoko let alone use her visit as a media opportunity. Following her visit to Tokyo, Mr. Judge encouraged several rural Japanese newspapers and magazines to write about Doi, and her picture and story appeared in publications reaching an estimated four million readers.

The matter then rested until December 150 when Judge once again inquired about her status. At the time, Doi Ryoko still had not received an official commendation (and a related cash reward) as the matter was said to still be under consideration. Judge, finally appearing to have gotten annoyed with his *Norinsho* contacts, urged that the matter be resolved as quickly as possible. Five days after his urging, it was decided that Doi would receive a commendation in the Diet building from the Prime Minister on December 19,

1950. Pleased, Judge urged *Norinsho* to publicize the event as much as possible and noted on December 26 that publicity for the ceremony had been widespread and well received.³²⁹ **(See Image on following page.)** After a year of effort, a female Japanese farmer, and one in particularly difficult circumstances at that, had been formally recognized by her government, and her story had reached the homes of her fellow rural women.

With regards specifically to agricultural cooperatives, Kanaya, when pressed for a reason in late February 1950 for why it was so difficult for his section to convince women to join them, offered up two primary reasons. The first was a common complaint; farm women simply couldn't spare the time from the work of the field and the home to attend meetings or lectures.³³⁰ This excuse was often offered up even by apologetic rural women. With so many responsibilities, they didn't have the time or the energy to focus on anything beyond their daily routines.³³¹ The other reason Kanaya offered was that most farm families claimed they could not afford to have both husband and wife as members of the local agricultural cooperative. Judge was not convinced by Kanaya's arguments, noting that many farmers had more than a single share in cooperatives, which would indicate that it was not a financial problem that kept women from joining. What Judge was perhaps unaware of was the fact that many cooperatives made it clear that they were organized on the basis of farming households rather than individuals and so needed only one representative per family. That representative, despite the gender equality made explicit in the new Constitution and new Civil Code, was traditionally the male household head.³³² As for the problem of the lack of time,



GIRL FARMER COMMENDED: Miss Yoshiko Doi, 17, of Ehime Prefecture, who while caring for her four sisters and brothers has completed her rice delivery quota every year since she lost her parents in 1947. She was given a written commendation and a gift of ¥50,000 by Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida at a ceremony Tuesday morning at his official residence. Miss Doi (left) and one of her sisters, Miyako, are shown being congratulated by P.W. Rose of the Agricultural Division, NRS, GHQ. Asahi Shimbun

Image 12: Doi Ryoko (Yoshiko) receives recognition and an award
(Source: *Nippon Times*, December 20, 1950, Reprinted from the *Asahi Shinbun*)

Judge recommended that women needed to be shown how, via cooperatives and home improvements, they would have more rather than less time for community activities.³³³

A month later, on March 27, 1950, Judge met with Kanaya to discuss the results of Judge's field trip to Yamanashi Prefecture in the Kanto region of Honshu. While there, Judge observed that local cooperative leaders had little conception of why women should be induced to join cooperatives or of the varied activities they could engage in once they had joined. Judge was also displeased to note that only radio had been utilized in the past three months by local officials to publicize agricultural cooperatives to women. Despite fifty percent of rural households owning radios by that time and the regular sharing of such resources among extended families, Judge warned Kanaya that the effort was not enough and that a single form of publicity should not be entirely relied upon.³³⁴ He also had to keep exhorting *Norinsho* to spotlight women's role in rural life during Women's Week in 1950, to seemingly limited effect.³³⁵

In late May of 1950, Judge met with other members of the Agricultural Cooperative Association Division of *Norinsho*. The meeting confirmed that little was being done to encourage women's participation in cooperative associations. The two men did not seem to know that their division had spent ¥1,500,000 in the past fiscal year on urging women to join cooperatives.³³⁶ Judge constantly urged his Japanese counterparts to find ways to engage rural women. He also, as seen in the case of Doi Ryoko, encouraged them to use women and families, rather than just men, in other promotional rural campaigns after having observed the success of such choices in other CI&E divisions. It was Judge's hope that by doing so *Norinsho* could demonstrate to women that they were considered

and appreciated as an integral part of the rural economy and important to *Norinsho*'s policies and to Japan.³³⁷

9.2: Trying to Change Perceptions of the Home Improvement Section

In the spring of 1950, the NRS Agriculture section of SCAP brought in Mary L. Collings, an employee of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), as a specialist in home improvement and for dealing with the home demonstration agents.³³⁸ Her evaluation of the problems facing the home demonstration agents and the difficulty in convincing women to join cooperatives were presented at the Civil Affairs Conference on Natural Resources Policies and Operations held from May 2 to May 6, 1950. Before she spoke, some particular obstacles to the development of the home improvement program were noted, especially an “indifference approaching antagonism” on the part of rural men and male *Norinsho* and local officials. This was in sharp contrast to the popularity and success of other AES activities. Rural farmers had embraced programs about modern farming techniques, pest control, and the development of new cash crops. They had – excluding large landlords who had lost farm land and prestige as a result – embraced land reforms and were active members of local cooperatives, where most of their efforts were directed towards purchasing new mechanized equipment and sponsoring public works projects like extending electrical power lines and updating water works.

Additionally, some unique personnel and operational problems with the Home Improvement program had become apparent. These included a lack of competent research work in Japan on the topics of home improvements as opposed to numerous active studies on updated farming methods, no pool of qualified personnel to be assigned

to serve as home demonstration agents - part of which was caused by the fact that the Japanese educational system had not in the past offered women professional and technical training comparable to what was offered to men - and a belief on the part of SCAP that many of the women who could become home demonstration agents would marry before they could be stationed or resign to become housewives.³³⁹ SCAP officials had by May of 1950 largely concluded that the home improvement extension service had never really gotten off the ground due to a lack of noticeable aid from a reluctant *Norinsho* and owing to historical patterns of education and tradition that made it difficult for women to qualify for positions as home demonstration agents or remain in them due to an imperative towards marriage.

Collings' more in-depth presentation revealed further difficulties facing the home improvement program. In addition to the prejudice against women and the lack of understanding on the part of male farmers and officials as to the needs, very minor costs, and family and community-wide benefits of home improvement works, Collings noted that budgetary constraints at the highest levels were severely hindering the program. Budget problems were faced by many SCAP projects by 1950 thanks to the economic stabilization plan of the U.S. government and Joseph Dodge but made particularly acute in the case of home improvement by an extreme reluctance on the part of *Norinsho* and local Japanese officials to devote any funding to it. She noted that the *Norinsho* home improvement national division only consisted of ten persons, many of whom covered multiple duties. *Norinsho* itself did not even have a written statement of national policy regarding home improvement work, which was proving to be an obstacle when trying to convince prefectural and local governments to fund the program.

A desirable level of coverage by home demonstration agents would be to have one per every five villages. However the reality was that there were then only 266 agents for all 46 prefectures.³⁴⁰ Within the Kanto, region where the quality of soil and conditions were among the best in Japan for farming, for example, there were 31 home demonstration agents serving seven prefectures, with only a single agent assigned to Ibaraki and just two to Yamanashi.³⁴¹ Part of the difficulty in gaining and retaining agents was due to the low salaries they were paid. As many as 60 percent of the home demonstration agents had schooling beyond the high school level and 49 percent were graduates of three year colleges or normal schools.³⁴² With their level of education, they could obtain easier, higher-paying jobs through teaching or as lecturers. Instead, female home demonstration agents were paid an average of ¥2000 to ¥3000 less per month than male agricultural specialists for performing comparable work. Faced with the issues of inadequate staff and funding, prejudice, and the continuing complaint that rural women lacked the time and money to improve their homes, Collings suggested a new course for the program.

Her proposed changes for the home improvement program appear to be a concession of defeat in some ways for SCAP. Collings wanted to limit the specific initial objectives of the program. As she put it:

At the outset, because of the obstacles it faced, it is important that the program be concentrated on a few fundamental problems. For the most part, home advisors should limit their major efforts to the problems of home sanitation, nutrition, [etc.]... While the breaking of deep-seated social prejudices may rightly be an ultimate goal of the program, it is probably sounder practice to avoid a frontal attack on them... The advisor may cooperate in sponsoring programs with a wider scope, but her own contribution toward the 'second-chance' education of homemakers is in terms of homemaking skills and improvements.³⁴³

Later that month, during a statement delivered on May 26, 1950, Collings told the Japanese press about the 'true' direction of extension improvement work. "Many people

have confused home improvement work with the feminist movement. I want to state emphatically that the program is not a feminist movement. It is a part of the agricultural improvement work...and stresses simple, practical improvements that are within the means of the people.”³⁴⁴ One can only speculate about Collings’ intentions with this statement and use of the term ‘feminism,’ but perhaps she was influenced by a desire to reassure *Norinsho* officials and farmers that she had no desire to turn rural women into labor activists or to take them away from the long and necessary hours they worked on the farm. This stance could, she possibly believed, influence more male acceptance of home improvement efforts. It is also possible her viewpoint was influenced by a continuing concern of the USDA extension services of keeping young women in the countryside and limiting rural flight in the United States.³⁴⁵ Regardless of her intentions, however, Collings definitely wanted, at least publicly, for the Japanese press to focus on the simple physical lifestyle improvements she hoped the AES could provide rather than on the social and political changes that SCAP had also initially emphasized.

Collings’ retreat from confronting the many social pressures faced by rural Japanese women in favor of focusing on physical problems did seem to run counter to all of the optimism and hope for a democratized farm family that had been portrayed in films and pamphlets only a year earlier. Still, given the resistance faced by home demonstration agents from rural farmers, local officials, and their male counterparts in the AES, her decisions seemed reasonable. In order for rural Japanese women to become more democratic and politically active, Collings believed that it was most important to focus on the biggest stumbling block to such progress: time. With running water and electricity still absent in many rural communities and largely beyond the reach of most cooperatives,

more basic household improvements were urged by Collings. Simple, cheap improvements to kitchen arrangements; teaching women how to cook simple and nutritious meals from the limited foods available in the aftermath of the war; and encouraging the purchase of communal washing or sewing machines were all easy ways to improve rural women's lives and perhaps provide them with some more free time. Such improvements were tangibles, proof of a new beginning and the possibility of a new life after the war, with experiments in bread being somehow more real than democracy or the new constitution.³⁴⁶ Once the sense that such improvements were positive and some free time had been achieved – no small task given the amount of work farm women faced every day and the resistance to even the smallest of improvements from their husbands or fathers – then, Collings felt, it would be possible to resume talking to rural women about joining agricultural cooperatives, exercising their right to vote, and urging them to participate more vocally in the running of their communities.

Still one can only speculate whether Collings was tempted to change her mind after she got a taste of the prejudice facing Japanese women in June of 1950. She had gone to attend and speak at a conference for home demonstration agents in the difficult farming conditions of the Tohoku region, focusing on Miyagi and Iwate prefectures. There she found that while Miyagi had seven field home demonstration agents and two more based in the prefectural office, Iwate did not have a single home demonstration agent. Later, some of the section chiefs and other male attendants from Iwate “appeared that they were not actually supporting the conference and were actually ridiculing the efforts being made to improve the home demonstration agents’ techniques.”³⁴⁷ And despite Collings’ publicly expressed desire to change the focus of the home improvement program, NRS

and CI&E continued to push for rural women to join agricultural cooperatives and to learn about their democratic rights.

9.3: A Better Picture Emerges

The situation in rural Japan was not quite as gloomy as the statistics made it seem. W&MB efforts during Women's Week, 1950, made specific efforts to reach out to rural women. Indeed, in Kochi Prefecture, sponsored lectures during Women's Week targeted not just rural women's groups but more specifically female members of agricultural cooperatives. A round table conference on 'Democratization of Daily Lives of Women of Farm Villages' was held at the Yasu-cho Farm Cooperative Union and conferences on 'Organizations for Women' and 'Reformation of Daily Lives' was held at the Hirooka-kami village farm cooperative.³⁴⁸ Weekly bulletins from NRS on *Norinsho* projects and developments show that not every prefecture or civil affairs region was as lacking in cooperative and home improvement initiatives as Iwate. Throughout the spring and early summer months of 1950, even as SCAP was bemoaning the lack of progress in the home improvement program, prefectures were sending rural women home advice on wall-newspapers. Rural magazines, including the venerable *Ie no Hikari* whose circulation was approximately 380,000 in 1950, ran articles about successful women's departments in agricultural cooperative associations. Home improvement tips were offered by local radio station affiliates of the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation along with national programming devoted to the topic. Regional newspapers, like the *Ishikawa Shinbun* printed interviews with and articles about home demonstration agents. Home demonstration agents from Sendai conducted a workshop for girls from across the Tohoku region.³⁴⁹ More Tohoku region home demonstration agents were busy

conducting lecture meetings in schools, cooperative offices, and even in farmers' homes to discuss ways to improve the lifestyles of rural women, democratization, and how to ease their labor burdens.³⁵⁰ *Norinsho* also continued to produce films about agricultural cooperatives and on home improvements for distribution to home demonstration agents and local agricultural cooperatives.³⁵¹

NRS also pressured *Norinsho* to make a special priority of increasing the number of home demonstration agents. With the budget for AES continuing to be shared between prefectures and *Norinsho*, there was little excuse for prefectures to lack home demonstration agents when part of the bill was being paid by the national government. The announcement of the increase was noted with approval in a *Fujin Shinbun* (Women's Newspaper) editorial as well as on the CI&E-guided *Woman's Hour* radio program, which also advertised a need for more women extension workers.³⁵² Within the Tohoku civil affairs region, NRS suggested that home demonstration agents be brought to a proportion of one for every ten extension agents by 1951 and to as many as one in five by 1956.³⁵³ While ultimately the national increase in home demonstration agents announced in May of 1950 was only six hundred, that was still a large increase from the approximately three hundred agents in service at the time.³⁵⁴

CI&E's Fact Sheet 30, from the Officer in Charge (OIC), Policy and Programs Branch, and published on May 24, 1950, was entitled "Benefits to Which Women Can Expect From Joining Cooperatives." While the internal SCAP publication once again listed all of the problems with home improvement extension services and the lack of women in cooperatives that had become apparent in the past few months, it also found some positive experiences to relate. It ran a list from *Norinsho* of cooperatives that were

benefiting their female members. Particularly exemplary was the cooperative in Sakura Village in Iwate Prefecture – which had no home improvement agents and whose *Norinsho* officials expressed little interest in rural women’s activities - where women made up a third of the 471 members and were focusing on improving farm life and simplifying local religious rituals. The women of the cooperative in Tamamiya Village in Yamanashi prefecture successfully opened day nurseries for members during the busy seasons. And in Aichi prefecture south of Nagoya, the Obu cooperative boasted equal numbers of male and female members, as many as 1800 each, and the women were working specifically on welfare projects and “the elevation of the social standing of farm women.”³⁵⁵ It also once again listed the many benefits that rural women could expect from joining agricultural cooperatives and improving their homes. Word of successful women involved in cooperatives even reached the United States, for historian Mary Beard cited the case of a young woman in Rokugo Village, Ibaraki Prefecture, who had been appointed managing director of her agricultural cooperative.³⁵⁶ SCAP officials were also encouraged to urge their Japanese counterparts to launch new media campaigns emphasizing the low costs and value of improvements and female agricultural participation to both women and men.

Home demonstration agents, too, were encouraged to reach out. Given their few numbers, the best way to spread the word about home improvement extension agents and programs and gain access to groups of rural women was determined to be by going through women’s organizations. The Women’s and Minors’ Bureau had been helpful since the launch of the extension service, and it continued to provide printed materials and lecturers throughout the Occupation. Home demonstration agents were also urged to

reach out to local women's groups. In Ehime Prefecture, the Home Improvement Extension section of *Norinsho* sent out an introductory letter to each president of a women's organization as early as July 1949 and once again in February of 1950.³⁵⁷ The letter was friendly in tone and explained who the home demonstration agents were, how they were established, and the ways in which they could help local women. It urged the leaders of the women's organizations to think about improving their lives and culture within their agricultural village and invited the groups to contact the home demonstration agents with any questions or to arrange a meeting.³⁵⁸ This policy was also urged in CI&E's Fact Sheet 30 from its Policy and Programs Branch, as it was a successful way to overcome the small numbers of home demonstration agents and could also be seen as an indirect way of promoting democratization under the umbrella of the hosting women's organization.³⁵⁹

Despite Collings' suggestion to steer home improvement extension services and home demonstration agents away from political and social issues, those continued to be important factors in training many of the newly hired agents in the summer of 1950. A training course for home demonstration agents in Tokushima Prefecture in late June and early July of 1950, for example, provided at least one lecture or discussion a day about democracy or relations between men and women. According to the schedule, topics included family relations in a democratic home with a comparison of the old and new civil codes, a discussion of the democratization of farming villages, a lecture on the position of women in their home lives, followed by a discussion of the equal rights of men and women, and how to reform marriage and the new heredity laws. At the end of the course, the guest speaker, Mrs. Mori, left the new home demonstration agents with

the following sentiment: “We hope you will understand your women and assist them to learn democratic procedure at their home demonstration meetings as well as being an expert with special skills as a home demonstration agent. We [referring to the trainers, the AES, and various SCAP agencies] are prepared for you whenever you want to consult with us on the problems of Techniques of Democracy.”³⁶⁰

Eventually the intense focus of NRS and CI&E over the problems with Home Improvement Extension, home demonstration agents, and the lack of women in agricultural cooperatives began to subside. Progress continued to be made by *Norinsho*, local governments, and the Japanese people, and NRS continued to monitor and provide suggestions and materials as needed. The weekly NRS bulletins still noted projects and publications focusing on home demonstration agents and women in cooperatives.³⁶¹ Monthly reports on Civil Information Programs in the Tohoku region revealed that there, at least, all forms of media were still being utilized to reach rural women and inform them about home improvement projects, agricultural cooperatives, and their rights as equal citizens.³⁶² *Norinsho* finally developed and distributed a formal policy statement on home improvement work that helped to strengthen the position of the home demonstration advisors.³⁶³ And the reports of Tohoku region extension agents reveal that increasing numbers were coming out to attend home improvement demonstrations and lectures. For example, a course on living improvement in Kanagi in Aomori Prefecture, drew seventy attendants while a course on livestock raising in nearby Ishikawa drew only forty attendants.³⁶⁴ Lecture meetings on living improvement in Aomori Prefecture by home demonstration agent Mrs. Noro regularly drew in between twenty and eighty attendees.³⁶⁵ Rural women’s participation in AES activities was slowly but steadily

increasing through the disbanding of the NRS at the end of 1951 and beginning of 1952 as the Occupation gradually concluded.³⁶⁶

Chapter 10: Developments After The End of The Occupation

This chapter examines developments and conditions for rural women after the end of the Occupation in 1952. Problems of rural women's subordinate family and social roles and extremely heavy work burdens persisted, as illustrated in *The Lives of Rural Women*, a publication released in 1952 by the Women's and Minors' Bureau. The study marked the first time an official Japanese government agency had published material describing the heavy workload of farm women. And, even more importantly, it attributed the cause of that heavy workload to the privileged position of men in farm families.³⁶⁷ But the W&MB was not alone in its continuing focus on rural women.

After the departure of the Occupation forces, *Norinsho* continued and even expanded the home improvement movement during the 1950s. Bearing names such as the "Reformed Living Campaign" and the "New Village Construction Movement," rural reform continued to be sponsored by the Japanese government and included the promotion of rural women's greater participation in public life, albeit not explicitly politically.³⁶⁸ The "New Life Movement," a national program of reform, also emerged out of rural programs and was embraced by the socialist government of Katayama Tetsu in 1947. The ultimate aim of this movement was the democratization of daily life via the promotion of modernization through free association among the people at a local level, an end to the hold of tradition on individual lives and communities, and through the encouragement of a strong work ethic.³⁶⁹ Guidance in birth control was also provided to rural women through these campaigns, and the development of local cooperative association stores helped to provide new materials and tools, including those for the improvement of the home, at a discounted rate to members.³⁷⁰

Norinsho officials soon found that, despite focusing solely on physical improvements rather than social and political ones, the taste of democracy lingered and remained linked in rural women's minds with lifestyle improvement.³⁷¹ The statements of home demonstration agent Iwasaki Eiko, who began her work in Kanagawa prefecture, Honshu, in 1950, reveal how her work changed the women of one of her assigned villages. By 1953, the stated major goals of those women were to "lead a waste-free lifestyle" and to promote the "nurturing of rural women to think and act for themselves based on a awareness of the need for lifestyle improvement."³⁷² Other agents and observers in 1955 commented that "more than lifestyle improvement, it was human improvement that was needed," and that "lifestyle rationalization is a way of improving the lifestyle of the people democratically, culturally, scientifically, and industrially."³⁷³ Indeed, the linkage between democracy and lifestyle improvement would even come to be exploited, as was the case in an advertisement for an electronic home appliance from 1959: "In Article 25 of the Japanese Constitution, there is a phrase declaring that 'The people of Japan have the right to enjoy a healthy and cultural life.' One of the things that people wish to realize is the possession of electric appliances in the home."³⁷⁴

The Ministry of Education also continued to devote attention to women. In 1956, 230 women's education classes became incorporated in the Ministry's regular budget and were administered at the prefectural level on an experimental basis. They proved to be highly successful, and the number of classes commissioned by the Ministry of Education quickly increased, totaling 1,581 in 1963.³⁷⁵ Overall expenditures for women's education also grew. In 1946, spending on women's education, conferences, research, and motherhood classes totaled less than one hundred thousand yen. By 1956, the amount

was close to five million yen. And by 1965, more than one hundred million yen was being spent on women's education, with 63 percent of funds going to social education classes and 19 percent being used to promote women's education. An additional amount of almost one hundred million yen was budgeted for women's programs on child rearing and education in the home.³⁷⁶ PTAs, although no longer necessary for selecting the abolished local school boards, remained an important element of the educational process. Women, especially younger women, continued to be involved. Fundraising remained an important activity, as did studying matters relating to child welfare, such as delinquency. In the 1950s and 1960s, some women even used their local PTAs as a basis for organizing to lobby on issues like legalized prostitution that were not directly connected to the schools.³⁷⁷ Too, rural children, both girls and boys, were encouraged to remain in school and complete their educations, in contrast to pre-war attitudes. "Times have changed a great deal," Haruko [a Japanese farm woman] said in 1974-75, recalling how her own father would not allow her to study for examinations during the harvesting and planting seasons and scolded her for studying instead of working in the fields. "Nowadays, children are urged by their parents to study, and as long as they study, the parents are satisfied." Receiving a good education was seen as a way to improve lifestyles, with an assumption that educated children would obtain jobs in the cities and leave the farm behind.³⁷⁸

The observations of American anthropologists in Japan during the 1950s also demonstrate some measures of improvement for rural women. In 1951, Edward Norbeck noted in his observation of Takashima Village that more women were voting and that few men objected to their exercise of the franchise. He also observed that although the

relegation of women to inferior status had not changed very much, younger couples were showing some signs of progress. Young wives would accompany their husbands to public events and would walk beside rather than behind them. Problems between wives and mothers-in-law were also said to have been greatly reduced.³⁷⁹ Observations in Niiike during the first half of the 1950s also showed progress, especially among younger women. They regularly attended the meetings of the local PTA and women's association. Some followed news through the radio and newspapers almost as much as men, and others had begun to venture away from the village to a nearby city to shop, traveling by bus or train.³⁸⁰ Younger persons, especially younger women, had also begun to buck traditional attitudes and refused to concede that family responsibility had to prevail over individual needs.³⁸¹ Looking back on the end of the Occupation, Kawabata Misao commented to her interviewer that mothers-in-law had largely lost their power and men and women were, she felt, more equal in relationships.³⁸²

Japanese social scientists also commented on the status of rural women following the end of the Occupation. In a report for UNESCO, 1955, it was found that there were 7.8 million women engaged in farming, many only part-time.³⁸³ A significant development, and one that continued to increase over the years, was the emergence of so-called 'family' or 'housewife farming.' With limited land and the increasing availability of jobs in manufacturing or elsewhere, many men left their rural homes to earn money. Their wives were left behind to tend to the family fields, receiving assistance primarily from elderly household members as the children were in school. In addition to assuming an even greater share of the farm labor, many women took on part-time work outside of the home in order to earn extra income to pay for the many improvements they desired to

make to their homes.³⁸⁴ Despite this increased presence and importance of women to farming, which was noted as well in their increased participation in agricultural associations, rural women remained unlikely to inherit family property.³⁸⁵ Still, the UNESCO report also noted that women remained eager to participate in group activities like the agricultural cooperative. Indeed, “in this respect, it [was] said that men lag behind women because the farmer has now grown somewhat weary of the effort to put the new idea into practice.” This trend was summed up in the following phrase – “Nylon hosiery and women have got strong recently” – which was used to describe women’s continuing efforts to create a better life for themselves and their families.³⁸⁶ Younger women, especially, were considered more progressive than any other group in rural areas.³⁸⁷

By the 1970s, a slow but continued evolution in rural women’s status could be seen. While the degree of change was often described as ‘impressionistic,’ it was clear to Edward Norbeck in his return to Takashima in the mid-1970s that circumstances had changed. He observed that fathers were less commanding and mothers were less meekly submissive. In general, adult gender roles tended to be characterized more by differing rather than by being markedly unequal in prestige or authority. Women were the undisputed masters of the home and of their children and typically oversaw the household’s finances as well.³⁸⁸ A similar situation of change, at least within the rural household, was noted by Gail Bernstein from the same time period. Women felt they had a right to speak their minds and express themselves and their opinions. They also had a reasonable expectation that their opinions would be followed.³⁸⁹ This was found in the use of the new word – *hatsugen-ken*, which meant the right of expression. “I have the

right to express myself,” one woman said. “I can now argue with my mother-in-law or my husband.”³⁹⁰ Some three million farm women had also become members of the women’s section of their local agricultural cooperatives, pointing to the growth of such sub-associations, and also demonstrating the continued segregation of men and women in general organizations.³⁹¹ Women also went in place of their absent husbands (who were usually away laboring for wages in a city) to hamlet council meetings, which in former times they were prohibited from attending.³⁹² Technological advances had also made housework and farming tasks much simpler and less physically demanding on women.

However, as a side effect of growing gender equality and of the new emphasis on education, children, especially girls, were leaving the countryside for jobs in the cities after they were grown, contributing to the huge demographic shift Japan experienced in the 1950s and 1960s. Their farming mothers encouraged them to marry salary men and move to cities to become housewives or even to pursue careers of their own. This left the first sons, who still generally inherited family farms despite the new Civil Code which had opened up inheritance to other sons and to daughters, without wives. By the late 1980s, according to Tamanoi, Japanese rural women were “removed from the discourse of nationalism” due to their unwillingness to marry farmers and remain engaged with the continuation of traditional patterns of Japanese life.³⁹³ Their refusal to marry farmers also led to the bringing in of women from China, the Philippines, Thailand, South Korea and elsewhere to live and work on Japanese farms.³⁹⁴ And, as recently as 1998, rural Japanese women, who composed only a small fraction of the population, rated their status as very low. In a survey conducted by the *Ie no Hikari Association*³⁹⁵ among farm women in Japan, the United States, France, and Thailand, Japanese women had the

lowest rates of ownership of the family home and land. Ownership in the other countries was often held jointly by husband and wife, and the wife was also quite commonly the sole owner. In Japan, however, husbands retained ownership and did not enter joint ownership situations upon their marriage. Japanese women, unsurprisingly, held a much more negative attitude towards farming than their counterparts in the other countries.³⁹⁶ Reasons for this appeared to be the persistence of low women's status as compared to men's in rural areas. Preference continued to be given to males in terms of inheritance and farm responsibility, even though women performed most of the actual farm labor. Many agricultural cooperatives in Japan also continue to base membership on a household basis, relegating women to only auxiliary positions with a women's subsection and keeping many of them from serving as officers in the main organization. To escape such situations, many young Japanese women (and men) continue to move away from the countryside, making the cycle of rural flight and the problem of the lack of farm brides ongoing.³⁹⁷

Chapter 11: Conclusions

The question of the success of the democratization of rural Japanese women, 1945-1952, seems to remain clouded in doubt even today.³⁹⁸ The meaning, though, of success and of democratization differs in outlook from person to person and from country to country. With regards to Home Extension, when the Natural Resources Section disbanded, any positive gains were difficult to see. The official Occupation history of the Natural Resource section from 1951 concluded that:

Home life improvement has been the most difficult and complex part of the agricultural extension program. This phase...has had to overcome ancient traditions, superstitions, and prejudices concerning the position of women in society. Farmers, eager enough to improve farming techniques and increase food production, are uninformed on and generally indifferent to the need for home living improvement.³⁹⁹

But the Japanese farm wife in the 1950s who no longer felt enslaved to her mother-in-law, even if she stayed largely in her home and fields and went only rarely, if at all, to meetings of the local women's association where she never spoke, may have felt success had been achieved. Another woman, in similar circumstances, may have chafed against remaining traditions and sought more personal freedoms. Still another may have been content to experience no changes at all. As Gail Bernstein noted in *Haruko's World*, at least through the 1970s and early 1980s, Japanese farm women often understood the concept of improved status not in terms of their own position in society but that of their family's. Too, the role of a housewife in Japanese society was, at least until recently, viewed differently in Japan than in America. In Japan, the role was more respected and so the aspirations of farm women for their daughters to take this role must be understood against such a cultural background.⁴⁰⁰ The question of the success of the Occupation's democratization efforts would be best answered by an assessment from women who lived

through the experience or even now exist as farm wives as well as from further analysis of the SCAP documents at the National Archives.⁴⁰¹ That, however, is unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

Still, one can say that if nothing else, the activities of SCAP and various Japanese agencies did make an impact on rural women during the Occupation if only through the sheer quantities of information and education that descended on all of Japan. At the very least, programs by Women's Affairs officers, CI&E, the Women's and Minors' Bureau, and the Agricultural Extension Service brought entertainment and news to rural villages that existed in difficult, out-of-the-way places without electricity or even running water. And in many cases, the *kamishibai*, slides, films, and lectures about democracy, gender equality, and economic rationalization did make an impact. Rural women did vote. Rural women did join PTAs and agricultural cooperatives. Some of them did run for local office, and some of them won, helped in part by the votes of their fellow women.

Discussions of the meaning of democracy and of the status of men and women filled radio airtime and reached the ears of listening rural women. Perhaps the discussions even touched some of the rural men, because they were certainly listening and often complaining. Rural community message boards were crowded with posters, and women's newspapers and magazines featured stories related to democratization or women's rights constantly. Their children, many of whom would later leave the farm for the city and a career or a life as a housewife, brought home information or simply verbal reminders of the importance of voting and of being active in democratic organizations. Those same daughters would demonstrate that the lessons they learned in school about democracy and equality had been absorbed as they encouraged their own children to

obtain educations, started careers of their own, and engaged in grass roots political movements to shape Japan in ways they wanted. And thanks to the efforts of home demonstration agents and local women's associations, rural women were able to make simple changes to their homes that improved their lifestyles and reduced the strenuous nature of their workloads. This in turn allowed them to engage in outside work, contributing more money to their households that led to improved technology and further eased the burden of their work while also giving them a new source of power and authority. So, while to reference *Koshi no magaru hanashi*, rural Japanese women never stood as straight and as tall as early postwar reformers – both American and Japanese – would have liked, neither did they remain bent low.

¹ John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999), 33 and 36.

² *Ibid.*, 74.

³ Marlene Mayo, "American Wartime Planning for Occupied Japan: The Role of the Experts," in *Americans as Proconsuls: United States Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944-1952*, ed. Robert Wolfe (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 6-7.

⁴ Prewar planning underwent three phases, with a variety of policy papers and guides developed within both civilian and military government agencies. Plans for Japan garnered less public and political attention than those of Germany and also had to contend with a smaller contingent of 'experts' to oversee, advise, and construct policy for the eventual military occupation. The so-called 'Japan Hands' did manage to exert a fair amount of influence, however, especially in the first two stages. In the beginning, 1942-43, their knowledge was important for establishing a general framework for the treatment of a defeated Japan, which included plans for military occupation. Planning for dealing with a defeated Japan gained a great deal of momentum in late 1944 when the State-War-Navy-Coordinating Committee (SWNCC) was set up to give a broader consideration to policy and postwar American interests. From Mayo, "American Wartime Planning." Planning continued to accelerate particularly in the summer months and in the few weeks between the Potsdam Declaration and Japan's surrender. These plans included several of the more radical elements of the Occupation, including the reforms that took place in labor and in agriculture. Democratization was the primary goal and was established in the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) document 1380/8, the primary directive for MacArthur as SCAP. From Theodore Cohen, *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal*, ed. Herbert Passin (New York: The Free Press, 1987). Cohen was involved in postwar planning both in his role in military intelligence within the Office of Strategic Services and as an advisor on military government planning within the Foreign Economic Administration where he served as chief of the Japan Labor Policy Section from 1944-1945. He went on to serve as chief of the Labor Division of the Economic and Scientific Section of SCAP in occupied Japan from January 1946 until the middle of 1947. For more on wartime planning, see also Marlene Mayo, "Psychological Disarmament: American Wartime Planning for the Education and Re-education of Defeated Japan, 1943-1945," in *The Occupation of Japan: Educational and Social Reform*, ed. Thomas W. Burkman (Norfolk: General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1982).

⁵ Dower, 75. Also: Artemus Gates, the Navy representative on the SWNCC had urged a comprehensive program for reorientation of the Japanese people on July 19, 1945. Growing concerns about communism and the Soviet Union helped in part to drive this thinking, which believed that the mentality of the entire population of Japan needed to be reformed along democratic lines using all available resources. "The United States should take no chances about keeping Japan within its postwar global democratic capitalist system." From Mayo, "American Wartime Planning," 41.

⁶ Tsuchiya Yuka, "Imagined America in Occupied Japan: (Re-)Educational Films Shown by the U.S. Occupation Forces to the Japanese, 1948-1952," *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 13 (2002): 194.

⁷ Dower, 81. See also Marlene Mayo, "The Occupation Years, 1945-1952," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition Volume 2*, 2nd ed, compiled by Wm. Theodore deBary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur Tiedemann (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 1021-1081. See also *Nippon Times*. "His Majesty Orders Constitutional Revision." October 14, 1945, and *Nippon Times*. "Women's Franchise Decided by Cabinet." October 15, 1945.

⁸ Use of the term “feudal” is rife throughout SCAP documents and is the term most often used in translations of Japanese comments as well to describe the perceived status of Japanese thought and culture at the end of the war. Although current scholarship rejects usage of this term because of its limitations in meaning, I have kept it in this paper due to its consistent usage during the Occupation by both Americans and Japanese in translation. “Feudal” usage during the Occupation was employed primarily to serve as a contrast between Japan and the United States, to imply that Japan was not nearly as progressive as the US, particularly with regards to the rights of the people – especially women – and in terms of Japan’s system of government. The implication was that Japan needed to “modernize” away from its “feudal” status, adopting a democratic form of government and developing a society in which the rights of the people, including equality for women, were protected.

⁹ Marlene Mayo, “The War of Words Continues: American Radio Guidance in Occupied Japan,” in *The Occupation of Japan: Sixth Symposium – Arts and Culture*, ed. Thomas W. Burkman (Norfolk: General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1988), 49.

¹⁰ Tsuchiya, “Imagined America,” 196, and Mayo, “The War of Words Continues,” 46-47, 49.

¹¹ It is worth noting that the democratization campaign was accompanied by a program of censorship. To detect and check “militaristic and chauvinistic ideas,” SCAP used the Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) of the Civil Intelligence Section. The subunit, of Press, Publications, and Broadcasting Division (PPB) was responsible for preventing the mass media from carrying any materials considered harmful to the goals of demilitarization and democratization. From Marlene J. Mayo, “Literary Reorientation in Occupied Japan: Incidents of Civil Censorship,” in *Legacies and Ambiguities: Postwar Fiction and Culture in West Germany and Japan*, ed. Ernestine Schlant and J. Thomas Rimer (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 136.

¹² Planning documents for the U.S. Occupation of Japan make little mention of Japanese women. In some ways, it was MacArthur himself in his October 11, 1945, order who focused attention upon them. For a discussion of the ways in which the democratization of Japanese women was not a separate goal of the Occupation per se, refer to Tsuchiya Yuka, “Democratizing the Japanese Family: The Role of the Civil Information and Education Section in the Allied Occupation 1945-1952,” *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 5 (1993-1994): 137-162. The article is based upon her master’s thesis from the University of Maryland. A ‘critical feminist perspective’ on women, both American and Japanese, in the context of the Occupation and democratization can be found in Koikari Mire, *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in the U.S. Occupation of Japan* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).

¹³ Susan Pharr, “The Politics of Women’s Rights,” in *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, ed. Robert E. Ward and Sakamoto Yoshikazu (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 222. See also Mayo, “The War of Words Continues,” 62, specifically this quote: “Policy makers in Washington and General MacArthur in Tokyo believed that women were crucial to the reform of Japan as a peaceful and democratic nation.” Of course one must remember that women’s rights in this context were heavily defined by American military needs and by American conceptions of the place that (American) women held at the time and are not necessarily radical or far-ranging beyond basic political and civic rights. Too, this decision to support women’s rights came about almost entirely after the beginning of the Occupation and may in fact be partially attributable to the actions of Japanese women themselves. Takemai Eiji, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2002), 241 – notes that on August 25, 1945, three influential women - Ichikawa Fusae, Akamatsu Tsuneko, and Kawasaki Natsu – established the Women’s Postwar Counter-Measures Committee to resume the fight for universal suffrage and that on September 10, 1945, the group presented a list of five demands, including the right to vote, to SCAP and to the Higashikuni government. This group later formed the New Japan Women’s League.

¹⁴ “Press Release: General MacArthur Expresses Views to New Prime Minister.” October 11, 1945. National Archives II (NARA II), Record Group (RG) 331, Box 5245, Folder: Political. The extent of MacArthur’s knowledge about Japan’s pre-war women’s suffrage movement is unknown. However, many of the women active in this area became re-energized and organized in the immediate aftermath of the war and it is possible that he was aware of their actions. To wit, consider the role played by his spouse. MacArthur’s wife, Jean, quickly followed him to Japan. Her function in Japan was in some ways similar to that of the modern First Lady. She promoted charity and reform through her visits to hospitals and work places. She was present at a great many social events as MacArthur’s de facto representative, viewing parades and attending flower shows and exhibitions. She met with a variety of Japanese and foreign nationals on these occasions, serving as the General’s eyes and ears as he purposefully remained remote from the public. From Marlene Mayo, “Allied and American Women – Military Wives,” *Occupied Japan 1945-1952: Gender, Class, Race*, Hosted by the Maryland Institute for Technology in the Humanities (MITH), <http://mith.umd.edu> (25 March 2010). It is notable that her position was unpaid and voluntary and can be considered respectable and proper for a woman of her stature. Whether or not this is ‘democratic’ per se is an issue. However, given that Japanese wives did not openly engage with men outside of their families or partake in many public events in a visible way, Jean MacArthur did provide an example of a woman engaged not just in domestic chores but acting as a vital helpmeet to her husband’s political and governmental duties.

¹⁵ Herbert Passin, “The Occupation: Some Reflections,” *Daedalus* 119, no. 3 (Summer 1990): 117.

¹⁶ Theodore Cohen provides several examples of such behavior including: “When American soldiers stood up in a crowded trolley or bus to offer their seats to Japanese women, the Japanese passengers were stunned. In Japan men did not publicly defer to women.” From Cohen, 120-121. See also Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy*, 3.

¹⁷ See Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy*, for a much more focused examination of the ways in which American and Japanese women were subjected to male chauvinism from both American and Japanese men and the way in which American women in the Occupation force imposed their own ideas about women’s roles, which at the time were heavily weighted towards a helpmeet and active housewife perspective, on Japanese women. This is one of the main arguments of her book. The democracy promoted to Japanese women emphasized the role U.S. women played in public life, which was largely confined to local organizations and concerns but did not preclude the possibility and reality of women serving in local, state, or national public office. See also Koshiro Yukiko, *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 70. Koshiro discusses how the Japanese government formed the Recreation and Amusement Association (RAA) as a way to service Occupation soldiers and protect the virtue of the majority of Japanese women, who were believed to be at high risk for rape at the beginning of the Occupation. The RAA appealed to local rural women who lived near military bases because of the access it gave them to special foods and luxuries as well as the supposed psychological reward of being associated with the victorious Americans. These women were often repudiated by their fellow Japanese, despite working at the behest of their own government, and were often scorned or degraded as well by the Americans since they were prostitutes.

¹⁸ Groups of Japanese women had agitated for women’s rights and reforms prior to Japan’s entry into the war. Their work had been suppressed by wartime laws but they began agitating for women’s suffrage within days of Japan’s surrender. Women’s rights had not been a major component of U.S. wartime planning but MacArthur himself quickly put it on the agenda. Japanese women leaders from the prewar movements such as Ichikawa Fusae were contacted by the Occupation and used to help promote suffrage during the run-up to the 1946 elections. From Marlene Mayo, “Politics and Legal Issues – Occupation Initiatives,” *Occupied Japan 1945-1952: Gender, Class, Race*, Hosted by MITH, <http://mith.umd.edu> (25 March 2010).

¹⁹ In English language scholarship, there is a fair-sized body of work dealing with urban working Japanese women and the Occupation. One may presume that the visibility of factory girls in Japanese society and their fights for fair conditions as both workers and women has helped contribute to this scholarship. In contrast, the experiences of Japanese farm women during the Occupation remain largely undocumented in English but this paper hopes to demonstrate that they too came under scrutiny and were targets of democratization by SCAP. Japanese language scholarship has not been considered for this paper due to limitations on the part of the author.

²⁰ Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment, and Sexuality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 21-25.

²¹ For more on the support of the Japanese farmers for the military, refer to Louis J. Walinsky, ed., *Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business: The Selected Papers of Wolf Ladejinsky* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 44, 86, and 281. See also R. P. Dore, "The Japanese Land Reform in Retrospect," *Far Eastern Survey* 27, no. 12 (December 1958): 183, and Passin, 116.

²² John F. Embree, *The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1945), 49-50. Thomas R. H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War Two* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1978), 97, notes that by 1944 57.6 percent of the rural workforce were women, when only three out of every ten farmers were males between the ages of sixteen and sixty.

²³ Land reform was a fairly late factor in U.S. planning for the Occupation. The 'Japan hands' who formed much of the initial policy paid little attention to the issue. The man often credited as the architect behind much of the American land reform agenda was Wolf Ladejinsky, who was a member of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the US Department of Agriculture from 1935-1945 and became established as its expert on Japanese agriculture. At the end of 1945 he was posted to Japan to assist in the planning and conduct of the land reform. Much of his thought on the state of Japanese agriculture prior to the Occupation and the need for reform can be found in Walinsky, *Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business: The Selected Papers of Wolf Ladejinsky*.

²⁴ "Within the very narrow range of experience of most of them, the married women of Suye led lives clearly dominated by domestic concerns. They knew little of the national scene and even less about their country's involvement in international affairs. Their interest in both was largely limited to concern for their conscripted sons." And "Most of the women of Suye had very limited experience of the world, and their access to information about it was severely restricted. The women over fifty were functional illiterates, and many younger women had only the most tenuous control over the complex universe of written characters and syllabary. From Robert J. Smith and Ella Lury Wiswell, *The Women of Suye Mura* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 1 and 10. Ella Lury Wiswell was married to John Embree in 1935 and accompanied him to Suye Mura where she conducted her own research focused on the women and children. She had an advantage over her husband in that she could speak Japanese and did not require a translator.

²⁵ John F. Embree, *Suye Mura: Japanese Village* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 301. See also Richard J. Smethurst, *A Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism: The Army and the Rural Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 55, 66, and 145: "In other words, the army's local acceptance was insured by its organizations' ability to absorb these traditional activities as its own."

²⁶ Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 120-121.

²⁷ According to Sheldon Garon, "From Meiji to Heisei: The State and Civil Society in Japan," in *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, ed. Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 50-54, a series of control measures in the late nineteenth century were designed to incorporate farmers into increasingly compulsory associations. The 1900 Producers' Cooperative Law started a drive to establish agricultural cooperatives in every village. The government provided subsidies while the associations became part of hierarchical organizations designed to further official policies. Independent tenant unions arose after World War I but became co-opted during the 1930s recession as leaders became state agents in accepting funds to "rehabilitate" depressed villages. These associations were later incorporated into the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA) umbrella organization after 1940 and take the form of *burakukai* (hamlet associations) and *tonarigumi* (neighborhood associations).

²⁸ Issues of rural women's war guilt or complicity are largely unaddressed in this paper, in part due to the fact that SCAP itself did not seem to raise the issue. When SCAP documents did address the role of rural Japanese women in the war, they tended to take one of two forms. The first focused on the hardships suffered by farm women as they were forced to give up their husbands, fathers, and sons to the military while working ever harder themselves to keep the country fed and being deceived of the actual status of Japan. These papers believed such suffering would make rural women willing targets of democratization. The second focused on the various patriotic Women's Associations and on the need to dissolve them due to their perceived role in inculcating women and their lack of a democratic organizational structure, as well as their tendency to be organized and run by men.

²⁹ Garon, "From Meiji to Heisei," 52-54. See also Sandra Wilson, "Mobilizing Women in Inter-War Japan: The National Defense Women's Association and the Manchurian Crisis," *Gender and History* 7, no. 2 (August 1995): 295-314.

³⁰ The Greater Japan Women's Association [*Dai Nippon Fujinkai*], particularly in older texts, is often also referred to as the Greater Japan Women's Patriotic Association.

³¹ Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall, and Robert E. Ward, *Village Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 371. See also Embree, *Suye Mura*, 304. And Havens, 58.

³² Tanaka Toki in "Burdens of a Village War Bride" noted of her time in the association: "Then you had the National Defense Women's Association work, too. You had to send off the soldiers and welcome them back. And you had to volunteer to make money to send to the military...Because I was doing so much work outside the home, I had to ask my mother-in-law for permission, even though I had no choice about going or not going. I had to ask to be allowed to do anything. I wasn't free." From Haruko Cook and Theodore Cook, *Japan at War: An Oral History* (New York: New Press, 1992), 182. And in *Suye Mura*, the apron uniforms of the Women's Association were considered a foolish extravagance, especially given all the exhortations towards thrift and savings. Their interest in the 'kit-bags' (*imonboukuro*) for soldiers seemed to have focused largely on what each hamlet sub-group of the Women's Association was spending and had decided to include rather than on the purpose of the bags themselves, especially since they had had to be reminded to make them by the village headman. From Smith and Wiswell, 28-31.

³³ Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 151.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 124. Current scholarship acknowledges that the role of women in Japan has, as it has the world over, changed through time. Farm women were often roughly equal in social status to their husbands prior to the Meiji restoration. However, with the adoption of the samurai class as the model for all society, constraints on Japanese women came down on all classes and became codified into law. Generally, rural women were still regarded as being on more equal status with their husbands than those in urban areas, a fact noted by Embree himself. Thus Embree's view was, while not nuanced, also not incorrect in that legally Japanese women held few rights. See also Hane Mikiso *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan*, 2nd ed, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 79.

³⁵ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 88. See also Edward Norbeck, *Country to City: The Urbanization of a Japanese Hamlet* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978), 53.

³⁶ Embree's observations about female rural factory workers did miss the fact that many of the girls were willing to go. Barbara Molony found that the perception that most girls went to factories as more or less indentured servants is not wholly accurate. Indeed, she found that many girls left for factories against their parents' wishes and that others went with their blessings in order to earn money to send home to help combat rural poverty. Many left, too, in the hopes of bettering themselves and furthering their educations. She also found that of the rural girls that left to work in factories in the 1930s, only 22.5 percent of them returned to the farm while the rest continued to be factory workers or married into the urban working class. In Barbara Molony, "Activism Among Women in the Taishō Cotton Textile Industry," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 221-227. Ella Wiswell, Embree's wife, herself noted that many of the younger women and girls in Suye wanted to escape the village and find work in the cities, although the local young men were much more successful at doing so. Smith and Wiswell, 1.

³⁷ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 175. See also Hane, 82. Once again, Ella Wiswell found circumstances somewhat different. Women in Suye Mura were engaging in extramarital affairs but on the whole they tended to be much more limited in number and far more circumspect about them. Smith and Wiswell, 149, 189, 274.

³⁸ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 212-213. See also Gail Lee Bernstein, "Women in Rural Japan," in *Women in Changing Japan*, ed. Joyce Lebra, Gail Paulson, and Elizabeth Powers (Boulder: Westview Press Inc., 1976), 27 – Quote from Misao Sakai Kawabata: "My grandfather did not believe in educating women. If he saw me reading, he would scold me. Women should do housework; they shouldn't learn how to use the abacus; they should only learn how to sew. If I didn't do well at schoolwork, however, he would also scold me!" Also Hane, 81: "One old woman recalled that whenever her mother caught her reading she would take the book away from her saying, 'It's pretentious for girls to read books.'"

³⁹ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 95.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 88, 93, and 97.

⁴¹ Ella Wiswell noted while on a trip with the Suye Women's Association to observe a model kitchen in the town of Kume that the members of the Young Women's Associations were almost all there but that the members of the Women's Association were for the most part the older ones of their houses, having left the bride behind to look after things. Smith and Wiswell, 32.

⁴² Beardsley, 329. Also: "The position of a Japanese wife is hardly enviable, with the constant necessity to be doing one type of work or another. She does nothing but cook, sew, wash, and wait on the men of the house all day long. For companionship there is no room left, unless it is a case like the Katos, where the mother does all the work." And: "Certainly one of the criteria for a good wife was that she was a hard worker." From Smith and Wiswell, 177 and 178.

⁴³ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 80. See also Smith and Wiswell, 273: "The production of silk was almost entirely in the hands of women, but few were allowed to keep the money earned by its sale. Wives enjoyed virtually no degree of financial independence of their husbands, who controlled all but a fraction of the family finances."

⁴⁴ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 92 and 93. See also Bernstein, "Women in Rural Japan," 34, for the quote: "Water was drawn every day from a well a short distance from our house. Every morning I slung a bamboo pole with one bucket on each end over my shoulder and brought the day's water to the house."

⁴⁵ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 96.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 99 and 104. Also Norbeck, 50.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 90.

⁴⁸ Bernstein, "Women in Rural Japan," 29.

⁴⁹ Norbeck, 51.

⁵⁰ Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 124. See also Smith and Wiswell, 3 and 4.

⁵¹ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 172.

⁵² Norbeck, 49.

⁵³ Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 51. Also Embree, *Suye Mura*, 98, for the following quote: "Electricity has so far affected the mura chiefly by replacing kerosene lamps with electric bulbs and water-powered grain mills with electrically powered ones."

⁵⁴ Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 51.

⁵⁵ See for example John Bennet's description of the roads as "ghastly – tiny, narrow lanes on steep cliffs, with deep mud holes all the way." From John W. Bennett, "Portfolio 13: Fishing Activities," In *Doing Photography and Social Research in the Allied Occupation of Japan, 1948-1951: A Personal and Professional Memoir*, Hosted by The Rare Books and Manuscripts Library of the Ohio State University Libraries, 2003, http://nextweb.lib.ohio-state.edu/sites/rarebooks/japan/2_13_photos.html (15 April 2010). And his description of a "local 'taxi,' which consisted of a 1934 Ford with charcoal burner on back. How this particular vehicle still functioned is beyond me. It was loose all over, boards for seats, wood instead of glass, etc. The worst I've seen, and Japan is full of wrecks which run." From Bennett, "Portfolio 12: Forest, Society, and Economy," http://nextweb.lib.ohiostate.edu/sites/rarebooks/japan/2_12_photos.html (15 April 2010).

⁵⁶ "Nevertheless, many households subscribed to illustrated magazines. The most popular was *le no Hikari*, followed by *Fujin Karabu*, *Shufu no Tomo*, *Kingu*, *Haiyu*, and various other movie magazines bought by young men for the pictures of women actresses...Even those young women who could not write were able to read these magazines, and the older ones who could not read could enjoy the pictures." Smith and Wiswell, 11.

⁵⁷ Mayo, "The War of Words Continues," 47.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 48.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 60. See also Dower, 244 for the following: "Political candidates commonly were given air time on NHK. Prior to the general election of April 1946, some two thousand candidates took advantage of this opportunity..."

⁶⁰ "Suggestions for Radio Treatment of the Political Education Campaign Memorandum." December 22, 1947. NARAII, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: Media Plans

⁶¹ Dower, 243.

⁶² Mayo, "The War of Words Continues," 73. Radio repair became a priority as many had been cannibalized for parts or had simply broken down during the war years. News cars, which would become an important means of contact between SCAP, the Japanese government, and rural towns, often carried spare radio parts in order to effect repairs.

⁶³ “Broadcast Schedule for the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation 12 September thru 31 December 1948.” 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Radio Schedule.

⁶⁴ Mayo, “The War of Words Continues,” 62-63. See also “Suggestions for Radio Treatment of the Political Education Campaign Memorandum.” December 22, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: Media Plans, which notes the importance of appealing to a female audience through women-oriented programming.

⁶⁵ Mayo, “The War of Words Continues,” 63. Many of the programs designed specifically for women were also created by women. There were several Japanese women employed by NHK and they were often directed by a small team of American women working for the Radio Branch of CI&E. Egami Fuji, then a young producer at the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, recalled how the “Women’s Hour” program became a regular feature. According to her, it demonstrated the “real meaning of democracy.” From Dorothy Robbins-Mowry, *The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 90.

⁶⁶ “Listing of All Radio Programs by Broadcasting Corporation of Japan.” Undated, presumed 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Radio Schedule.

⁶⁷ “CI&E Bulletin.” March 16, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletins.

⁶⁸ Mayo, “The War of Words Continues,” 67-68.

⁶⁹ “Listing of All Radio Programs by Broadcasting Corporation of Japan.” Undated, presumed 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Radio Schedule.

⁷⁰ Mayo, “The War of Words Continues,” 61.

⁷¹ “Plan for Coordinated Political-Information Education Program.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: National Personnel Authority. Such attempts to change views of women were considered especially important for rural areas, which were regarded as more backward even by urban Japanese, and could also reflect a general ignorance on the part of SCAP about pre-war Japanese feminist activity, which admittedly had little to do with rural women.

⁷² Jacob Van Staaveren, “The Democratization of the Japanese, September 1946 – September 1948: A Prefectural View,” in *The Occupation of Japan: Eighth Symposium – The Grass Roots*, ed. William F. Nimmo, (Norfolk: The General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1992), 47.

⁷³ “Political Information Education Program.” May 3, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: National Personnel Authority. – Of noted concern was the formation of women’s and rural organizations devoted to the Communist cause. See also “Memo on Suggested Program of Political Education for 1949.” January 21, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5244, Folder: Communism (2nd). Generally however, the Communists – and the Socialists - did not fare as well as could be expected in rural Japan. Takemae attributes this to the success of the land reform, which weakened the farmers’ movement and cost the Socialist Party its rural electoral base. The conservative party alliance which took power in 1948 has largely maintained the support of the countryside thanks to price supports and subsidies for rice and other crops, 544-545.

⁷⁴ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 76.

⁷⁵ “Percentage of Newspaper Reading Population in Miyagi Prefecture From August 1948.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Information Section – Miyagi Prefecture.

⁷⁶ “Investigation of Prefectural Information Activities in Niigata.” Undated but presumed February 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Information Section – Niigata Prefecture. The same survey noted that two thirds of those surveyed owned radios; Of those surveyed, 84% had graduated from elementary school but only 13% had graduated from high school.

⁷⁷ Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 148.

⁷⁸ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 76. See also Smith and Wiswell, 11.

⁷⁹ “CI&E Bulletin.” November 24, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletin.

⁸⁰ “Memo on Visual Presentation of Political Education Programs.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: Media Plans.

⁸¹ In SCAP documents, *kamishibai* could refer to both a slide format backlit by a lantern and a general framed picture/poster presentation accompanied by narration/explanation.

⁸² “CI&E Bulletin: SCAP-CIE Information Centers Are Popular With Japanese.” May 11, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletin. The amount of rural female visitors to such centers is probably extremely low but it is possible some did visit.

⁸³ “CI&E Bulletin: Square Dance vs. Feudalism.” December 22, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletin. Everything you could want to know about square dancing in Japan thru 1948 can be found in this article.

⁸⁴ Van Staaveren, “The Democratization of the Japanese,” 57. Also “Political Information Education Program.” May 3, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: National Personnel Authority. The document notes that by May 1949 around 2000 Citizens’ Public Halls have been constructed in cities, towns, and some villages.

⁸⁵ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 111. Also Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 149.

⁸⁶ Smith and Wiswell, 15. See also p. 183: “Few villagers read very much, and it was in the films that they were frequently treated to the instructive examples of good and bad marriages.”

⁸⁷ “Plan for Coordinated Political Information-Education Program.” June 29, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5305, Folder: Political Information-Education Program. Newsreels were probably not shown to rural audiences with nearly as much frequency as films, if only because the likelihood of them being shown in a timely manner was very low. There was also, interestingly, a monthly newsreel called Fujin-Graph, which was devoted specifically to Japanese women’s activities.

⁸⁸ Tsuchiya, “Imagined America,” 198.

⁸⁹ “Distributing Visual Materials.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5244, Folder: CIE Information Training Institute. Also “CI&E Bulletin: Okayama Prefectural Visual Aid Center Reports Active Japanese Interest in Film Program.” April 27, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletin. Noted in the document is that in March of 1949 in Okayama prefecture alone, seventy-six different CI&E and Japanese films were shown in 231 places to 65,382 people. See also “Monthly Information Report: Information Section of Miyagi Prefecture for August.” August 24, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Report – Miyagi Prefecture. Per the document, Miyagi Prefecture in August 1951 saw an attendance of 20,000 over 6 rural locations.

⁹⁰ Tsuchiya, “Imagined America,” 207. The quote comes from the author’s own translation of audience commentary found in RG 331, Box 5256, File 5. See also Norbeck, 107, and Smethurst, 167-168.

⁹¹ Tsuchiya, "Imagined America," 199. Also "CI&E Bulletin: Motion Pictures Released During August and September." October 27, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletin. *Waga Koi wa Moenu* was directed by Mizoguchi Kenji. According to Hirano Kyoko, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema Under the American Occupation: 1945-1952* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 167, Mizoguchi and Shochiku Studios made the film due to pressure from CI&E. The director for *Renai Tokkyu* is unclear due to multiple films bearing this name.

⁹² *Nippon Times*. "Latest Postwar Film Seen as Improvement: 'Women's Victory' Gives Fair Promise of Bigger and Better Pictures." April 21, 1946. "*Josei no Shori*" was produced by Shochiku and was released in the middle of April 1946.

⁹³ Hirano, 70-71.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

⁹⁵ *The Farmer's Daughter*, dir. H. C. Potter, 1 hr. 37 min., Dore Schary Productions, 1947, videocassette. Loretta Young won an Academy Award for Best Actress for the film.

⁹⁶ "Concerning Editorial in Ibaraki Shinbun about film 'Farmer's Daughter.'" Undated, presumed 1948/1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Lectures. - Indeed, reactions to the film were generally positive and it was thought to be of high value especially for rural audiences.

⁹⁷ "Distributing Visual Materials." Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5244, Folder: CIE Information Training Institute.

⁹⁸ Marlene Mayo, "Politics and Legal Issues – Occupation Initiatives," *Occupied Japan 1945-1952: Gender, Class, Race*. Hosted by the Maryland Institute for Technology in the Humanities (MITH), <http://mith.umd.edu> (25 March 2010).

⁹⁹ Ethel Weed was a lieutenant in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. She arrived in Japan in October 1945 and remained through the end of the Occupation in April 1952, although she shifted to civilian status in 1947. She was initially placed on duty as a women's information officer but, with the creation of a Women's Bureau within CI&E, Weed was placed in charge, the date being unclear but likely in either December 1945 or January 1946. Weed made a concerted effort to establish relationships with activist Japanese women and she worked with and through them to promote women's democratization and equality. She was devoted to raising the legal status of Japanese women, particularly through the revision of the Civil Code, and in encouraging them to participate in democratic processes such as voting and running for public office. Her involvement with rural women, however was limited to promoting Occupation policies and she had little direct contact with farm women. From Susan J. Pharr, "Weed, Ethel Bernice," in *Notable American Women – The Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green (Cambridge: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1980), 721-723.

¹⁰⁰ "Japanese Woman Suffrage Center of World Interest." Trans. From *Mainichi Shinbun*. January 20, 1946. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5250, Folder: Press and Magazine Relations. The election had been bumped from January to April in order for SCAP to conduct a political purge.

¹⁰¹ "Japanese Women's One Vote." Trans from *Jiji Shinbun*. January 22, 1946. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5250, Folder: Press and Magazine Relations.

¹⁰² “Memorandum: Election Report.” April 22, 1946. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Election. See also *Nippon Times*. “All Japan Awaits Balloting Returns: Ozaki, Saito Lead – Women Candidates Reveal Unexpected Strength – Hatoyama, Nozak Also Ahead.” April 12, 1946. *Nippon Times*. “Liberal Party Scores Impressive Poll Win; Women Make Notable Gain With 38 Elected.” April 14, 1946. *Nippon Times*. “The Significance of the Election.” April 16, 1946. Of note is that in the 1946 elections Occupation authorities replaced the medium-sized districts of the pre-war era with prefecture-wide districts from which as many as fifteen representatives could be returned. Moreover, a multi-vote system was instituted, allowing each voter to cast ballots for two or more candidates. From Sally Ann Hastings, “Women Legislators in the Postwar Diet,” in *Re-Imaging Japanese Women*, ed. Anne E. Imamura (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 272.

¹⁰³ Koseki Shōichi, *The Birth of Japan’s Postwar Constitution* trans. Ray A. Moore (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), 9.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 12-17, 50. Konoe’s involvement was harshly criticized both in Japan and abroad and MacArthur refuted the idea that he had ordered Konoe to revise the constitution on November 1, 1945.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 26-49. This is chapter 2 of the book, entitled ‘Restoration of the People’s Rights Ideology.’

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

¹⁰⁹ Katsutoshi Takami, ed., “Courtney Whitney’s Memorandum Regarding Constitutional Reform, February 1, 1946,” *Birth of the Constitution of Japan*, Hosted by the National Diet Library, Japan. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/03/069shoshi.html> (15 March 2010). See also Koseki, Chapter 3 ‘A Week in a Secret Room: Writing the SCAP Draft,’ specifically p. 76 quoting from Whitney’s Memorandum: “In these circumstances, I have considered the extent of your power as Supreme Commander to deal with fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure, either by approving or disapproving proposals made by the Japanese government or by issuing orders or directives to that government. In my opinion, in the absence of any policy decision by the Far Eastern Commission on the subject (which would, of course, be controlling), you have the same authority with reference to constitutional reform as you have with reference to any other matter of substance in the occupation and control of Japan.”

¹¹⁰ Katsutoshi Takami, ed., “MacArthur Notes (MacArthur’s Three Basic Points), February 3, 1946,” *Birth of the Constitution of Japan*, Hosted by the National Diet Library, Japan. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/03/072shoshi.html> (15 March 2010). And Koseki, 79-81.

¹¹¹ Marlene Mayo, “Popularizing Japan’s Postwar Constitution,” *Japan Society Newsletter* 35 (October 1987), 2.

¹¹² Koseki, 79-89. See also Beate Gordon, *The Only Woman in the Room: A Memoir* (New York: Kodansha, 1997).

¹¹³ Koseki, 99, and Katsutoshi Takami, ed., “GHQ Draft, February 13, 1946,” *Birth of the Constitution of Japan*, Hosted by the National Diet Library, Japan. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/03/076shoshi.html> (15 March 2010).

¹¹⁴ Koseki, 102-109, recounts the concerns of the Japanese Cabinet regarding the SCAP draft and their attempts to see if SCAP would yield on various points.

¹¹⁵ Mayo, “Popularizing Japan’s Postwar Constitution,” 2.

¹¹⁶ Dower, 82-83.

¹¹⁷ Understanding of the new constitution was also “enhanced by the use of a colloquial spoken language style and hiragana, which makes the text much easier to understand and the meaning clearer than in the former stiff style.” From *Nippon Times*. “Constitution Made Easier to Understand By Use of Colloquial Language, Hiragana.” April 19, 1946.

¹¹⁸ Mayo, “Popularizing Japan’s Postwar Constitution,” 6.

¹¹⁹ “Publicity for the New Constitution.” December 19, 1946. NARAI, RG 331 Box 5242, Folder: Constitution. The document shows, for example, on November 4, 1946, fifteen minutes on “The New Constitution and the Home” from Tawabe Shigeko aired and on December 12, 1946, fifteen minutes on “Women as House Wife” from Watanabe Michiko also aired, along with many other such segments.

¹²⁰ Mayo, “Popularizing Japan’s Postwar Constitution,” 3. See also Alfred Rodman Hussey, “List of Officers: The Constitution Popularization Association,” *The Hussey Papers* (Ann Arbor: Asia Library of the University of Michigan, 1977).

¹²¹ Alfred Rodman Hussey, “SCAP Government Section Memorandum: Japanese Constitution Popularization Society,” January 17, 1947, *The Hussey Papers* (Ann Arbor: Asia Library of the University of Michigan, 1977). This memo, signed by Hussey and by Ruth Ellerman, was regarding their attendance at a meeting of the Japanese Constitution Popularization Society. At the meeting, Ellerman noted that that Japanese women posed a special problem and that the Society should devote time and effort toward educating them in their social and political responsibilities under the new Constitution. Hussey reminded the members of the importance of telling the Japanese people not only what the Constitution said but also what it meant for them in their uses and their responsibilities from it. They also recommended that the Society make every effort to place a copy of the Constitution in the hands of every registered voter and to encourage schools to devote a few minutes each day to studying it.

¹²² “Publicizing the New Japanese Constitution.” February 11, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Constitution.

¹²³ Mayo, “Popularizing Japan’s Postwar Constitution,” 5.

¹²⁴ Morioka Michiyo, *An American Artist in Tokyo: Frances Blakemore, 1906-1997* (Seattle: Blakemore Foundation and the University of Washington Press, 2007), 86-89. Blakemore, who had lived in Japan prior to the war, would go on to be the chief of the Exhibits unit when it became the independent Arts and Exhibits Branch in 1948.

¹²⁵ “Constitutional Material for Radio Programs.” February 19, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Constitution. See also Mayo, “Popularizing Japan’s Postwar Constitution,” 7.

¹²⁶ Hirano, 170.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 171.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 172-175. *Sensou to heiwa* had two directors, the communist Satsuo Yamamoto and the leftist Fumio Kamei. 17 scenes, amounting to 30 minutes of film, were deleted.

¹³⁰ “Memorandum from Education Division to CIE Chief.” March 5, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: Government Section – General. The four film strips were “What the New Constitution Means to You,” “Promulgation of the New Constitution,” “The New Constitution,” and “Life in the Forest.”

¹³¹ “Outline of the Activities of the Constitution Popularization Association.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Constitution. Also Dower, 402. Also Katsutoshi Takami, ed., “Publication and Work of the Constitution Popularization Society,” *Birth of the Constitution of Japan*, Hosted by the National Diet Library – Japan. <http://www.ndl.go.jp/constitution/e/shiryo/05/141shoshi.html> (15 March 2010).

¹³² See for example the three radio broadcasts, two films, two posters, *kamishibai* set, pamphlets, and newspaper and magazine articles devoted to explaining the Constitution as well as the lectures and various celebrations held in the local prefectures. “Constitution Month Committee Report.” Dated May 24, 1945, but presumed to be May 2, 4 1948 or 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5244, Folder: Constitution Month.

¹³³ “Information Activities by Information Car.” Undated but presumed 1948+. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Report – Miyagi Prefecture. Please note the distribution of papers to the general public in the Miyagi, Kurokawa, Mono, and Oshika regions.

¹³⁴ “Constitution Month Memorandum.” June 24, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5244, Folder: Constitution Month. From the document: “100,000 copies of five different posters, 241,000 copies of eight different pamphlets, 300,000 copies of nine different magazines and bulletins, 46,500 copies of three different wall papers, countless newspaper and magazine articles and editorials, and 11 special radio broadcasts were held. In the opinion of the undersigned (J.R. OB), the Constitution Month program was an effective and constructive effort.”

¹³⁵ “Translation of Commentary for Lantern Slides on the New Constitution.” Undated but presumed 1947+. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Constitution.

¹³⁶ “Memo: Subject Matter for CI&E Bulletin.” May 9, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Civil Code – Background Information. And “CI&E Bulletin: Civil Code Potent Weapon.” June 1, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Civil Code – Background Information. The Ministry of Justice, in a move that mirrored efforts to publicize the constitution, distributed copies of the new Civil Code to all local judiciary, college faculties, labor groups, and political parties. Copies were also sent to Military Government teams to be used in assisting them to help educate various local people and groups. For basic information, see also Tsuchiya, “Democratizing the Japanese Family,” p 142-144.

¹³⁷ ‘Weed’s Girls’ were the ones to teach her about the gender inequalities in the 1898 Civil Code and to urge her to call for its reform. Takemae, 328-329.

¹³⁸ “Unknown.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: National Personnel Authority.

¹³⁹ Ibid. Quote: “The principal reason for its dissolution was the recognition by interested SCAP sections that it had become a potential propaganda instrument for the government or political parties.” See also “About Political Education League” Tomie Washinuma, trans. From *Women’s Democratic Paper*. September 18, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5250, Folder: Organizations – Democratic Political Education League. “It should be congratulated that at this moment the Democratic Political Education League has been born, but the organization of this league worries us from the very start. That is, it is apparent that the stem came from the top down...suddenly the curtain rose at the stage of the Diet. I feel like asking what they mean to do when only Diet people organize what is to give political education which is so closely related to the masses...But it is most urgent to educate the people who elected those representatives who need to be educated anew. In the first place, the people have learned not to trust anything ‘party transcending’ or ‘all national’ since their experience in those days of totalitarianism. Moreover, in this case, though it is called ‘party transcending,’ labor and agricultural organizations are not represented in it. Doesn’t the character of this league seem to be governmental?”

¹⁴⁰ “Translations of Civil Liberties Posters.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Civil Liberties. Also “Translation of Suggested Text on Civil Liberties Posters.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Exhibits. From the document, part one referenced Constitution Article 26, part two referenced Constitution Article 24 and part three referenced Constitution Article 14.

¹⁴¹ “Translations of Civil Liberties Posters.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: Civil Liberties. Also “League for Democratic Political Education Wallcharts.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Background. Additionally “Tentative Plan for Production of Civil Liberty Posters.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Exhibits. And “Report from League for Democratic Political Education on Production of Lantern Slides.” August 3, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Exhibits.

¹⁴² Hastings, in her paper “Women Legislators in the Postwar Diet,” contributes women’s failure to maintain the same numbers in the Diet to the fact that the pre-war political order had reasserted itself. Electoral districts had resumed their old contours, rather than being prefecture-based as they were in 1946, and each voter had only one vote to cast in multimember districts, making it impossible to vote for both a man and a woman. Too, the political parties had recovered and had actively organized support for their approved candidates. Conservative parties did not support female candidates and of the twenty-five women who had won in 1946 but lost in 1947, seventeen had affiliated themselves with conservative parties.

¹⁴³ Regarding elected women, three of twelve candidates were elected to village headship, 23 out of 111 candidates were elected to prefectural assemblies, and 707 out of 1784 women were elected to town and village assemblies, with female assembly members represented in all forty-six prefectures. From “Report: The Japanese Elections.” April 30, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5241, Folder: Elections.

¹⁴⁴ “Report: The Japanese Elections.” April 30, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5241, Folder: Elections.

¹⁴⁵ “League for Democratic Political Education First and Third Project Sections Future Plans.” March 1, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education Operation. And “Memo: Plan for Production of Mobile Street Show.” October 18, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Exhibits.

¹⁴⁶ This focus on encouraging women to action by appealing to them through channels that directly affected their daily lives was also a tactic used to great effect by the *Shufu Rengo Kai* [Housewives League] led by reformer and politician Oku Mumeo. As a member of the Upper House of the Diet, Oku used her position to encourage various housewives’ organizations to group together to protest against shoddy products and high prices, which quickly evolved into the Housewives League. Oku also coined the phrase “kitchen politics” to explain her attempts to empower women in their roles as managers of the home and as consumers. From Marlene Mayo, “Oku Mumeo,” *Occupied Japan 1945-1952: Gender, Class, Race* Hosted by MITH, <http://mith.umd.edu> (25 March 2010). By approaching women from a perspective that they could understand and cared about, both the Housewives League and the LDPE were able to encourage women to become active and exercise their power – as consumers and as voters – in order to effect changes that would benefit them. See also Patricia L. Maclachlan, *Consumer Politics in Postwar Japan: The Institutional Boundaries of Citizen Activism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

¹⁴⁷ “Information Plan to Get Women to Vote.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5250, Folder: Organizations – Democratic Political Education League.

¹⁴⁸ “Untitled.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education Operation. And “Election Information Program Memo.” November 5, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5244, Folder: G.S. See also “Information Plan to Get Women to Vote.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5250, Folder: Organizations – Democratic Political Education League.

¹⁴⁹ “League for Democratic Political Education Sponsored Story Contest Winners and Notables.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Background.

¹⁵⁰ See for example “Report: Kamishibai “Hahayo Izuko” Sponsored by League for Democratic Political Education.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education- Exhibits. This tells the story of a police woman’s attempt to find a boy’s mother and illustrates several key changes to the police force in postwar Japan, most obviously that women can be policemen.

¹⁵¹ “League for Democratic Political Education Working Plans for First Period.” Undated but presumed 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Background. See document for emphasis on traveling to rural areas during non-farming seasons to reach a wider audience. Also reference “Monthly Report of the League for Democratic Political Education.” September 10, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: League for Democratic Political Education. Document contains specific plans to democratize fishing villages in Nagasaki prefecture and to include notes on improving rural kitchens

¹⁵² “League for Democratic Political Education Report on Contents of Films Purchased by the League.” May 17, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Movies. And “Shin Tokyo Press Translation.” July 9, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: League for Democratic Political Education.

¹⁵³ “Report on Subject of Purchase of a Dramatic Film.” June 16, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Movies.

¹⁵⁴ “Report from League for Democratic Political Education on Lecture and Motion Picture Meeting in Mito.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Lectures. And “Concerning Editorial in Ibaraki Shinbun about film ‘Farmer’s Daughter.’” Undated, presumed 1948/1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Lectures.

¹⁵⁵ “Translation of ‘Women and the New Civil Law’ Lecture.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Lectures. And “Evaluation of Drafts of Lectures Sponsored by the League for Democratic Political Education.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5243, Folder: League Political Education – Lectures.

¹⁵⁶ “Monthly Report from League for Democratic Political Education about Women’s Day Convention.” June 10, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: League for Democratic Political Education.

¹⁵⁷ “Monthly Report of the League for Democratic Political Education.” September 10, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5242, Folder: League for Democratic Political Education.

¹⁵⁸ Edward R. Beauchamp, “Reforming Education in Postwar Japan: American Planning for a Democratic Japan, 1943-1946,” in *Education and Schooling in Japan Since 1945* ed. Edward R. Beauchamp (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998), 3.

¹⁵⁹ Mayo Marlene. “Psychological Disarmament,” 35-37.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 62.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 65. See also page 44.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Yoko H. Thakur, "History Textbook Reform in Allied Occupied Japan, 1945-52," in *Education and Schooling in Japan Since 1945* ed. Edward R. Beauchamp (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998), 25. See also Nozaki Yoshiko, "Educational Reform and History Textbooks in Occupied Japan," in *Democracy in Occupied Japan: The U.S. Occupation and Japanese Politics and Society* ed. Mark E. Caprio and Yoneyuki Sugita (New York: Routledge, 2007), 124.

¹⁶⁴ Mayo, "Psychological Disarmament," 92.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 62. The group also consulted Japanese education specialists on the Japanese Education Reform Council (JERC) and incorporated many of the group's ideas and concerns.

¹⁶⁶ Beauchamp, "Reforming Education in Postwar Japan," 17.

¹⁶⁷ Jacob Van Staaveren, *An American in Japan, 1945-1948: A Civilian View of the Occupation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 13. Van Staaveren served as the CI&E officer on the Yamanashi Military Government Team from November 1946 to September 1948, with his specific duty to advise and assist prefectural officials and citizens of Yamanashi Prefecture on how to democratize and conform with SCAP's many directives and the new postwar legislation.

¹⁶⁸ Joseph C. Trainor, *Educational Reform in Occupied Japan: Trainor's Memoir* (Tokyo: Meisei University Press, 1983), 144-148.

¹⁶⁹ Van Staaveren, *An American in Japan*, 78. He notes further that most women teachers in Yamanashi prefecture appeared reluctant to reduce the number of courses in the domestic arts (perhaps because they were the primary instructors of these courses, with men teaching most other subjects aside from languages in grades above the primary school level) and some asked him if the change meant that women might become school principals. He was also asked by a girl pupil why her all-girls' school could not offer her an equal education without being merged with boys, a question which Van Staaveren found difficult to adequately answer. Page 90. To help invoke the provisions and spirit of Japanese legislation regarding female equality, Van Staaveren confronted the issue of school bathrooms, which were usually cleaned by the girls. He urged that both sexes should be assigned the duty of keeping them clean instead. Page 82

¹⁷⁰ Mayo, "The Occupation Years, 1945-1952," 1040. See also Nozaki, 132-133.

¹⁷¹ "Education in the New Japan." Undated. NARAIL, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Women's Organizations – Kagawa.

¹⁷² Roland S. Anderson, *Education in Japan: A Century of Modern Development* (Washington DC: US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1975), 74.

¹⁷³ Van Staaveren, *An American in Japan*, 157.

¹⁷⁴ Edward Beauchamp, "Education." In *Education and Schooling in Japan Since 1945* ed. Edward R. Beauchamp (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1998), 131.

¹⁷⁵ Anderson, 68-69. Despite coming in as part of the conservative election of school boards in 1948, the Teachers' Union developed a reputation for liberalism, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s and became a force for the left despite not having active power on the discontinued school boards.

¹⁷⁶ Beauchamp, "Education," 232-233.

¹⁷⁷ Thakur, 270-271.

¹⁷⁸ Van Staaveren, *An American in Japan*, 116.

¹⁷⁹ Miriam Murase, *Cooperation Over Conflict: The Women's Movement and the State in Postwar Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

¹⁸⁰ See Iwao Sumiko, *The Japanese Woman: Traditional Image and Changing Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 20-21.

¹⁸¹ "Civil Affairs Section Memorandum: Homemaking Clubs in Upper Secondary Schools in Japan." January 24, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2547, Folder: Homemaking.

¹⁸² "Homemaking Education in Upper Secondary Schools, 1948-1949." Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2537, Folder: Homemaking.

¹⁸³ "Civil Affairs Section Memorandum: Homemaking Clubs in Upper Secondary Schools in Japan." January 24, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2547, Folder: Homemaking.

¹⁸⁴ "Booklet on Organization of School Homemaking Clubs." Undated but presumed 1950/1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2537, Folder: Homemaking.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Van Staaveren, "An American in Japan," 67. From a talk given to the Funatsu Youth Association in mid-November 1946, Van Staaveren notes that he encouraged the all-male audience to meet occasionally with the young women's arm of its club rather than continuing to meet separately as a means of promoting equality for women. The reaction, he noted, was one of silence.

¹⁸⁷ 4-H clubs in the United States were (and still are) youth organizations administered by a division of the Department of Agriculture. The goal of 4-H clubs is to promote leadership and citizenship among (generally) rural youth as well to help them develop life-skills through experiences and projects that – at the time of the Occupation – tended to revolve around agriculture and rural life. The four 'H's stand for head, heart, hands, and health. From 4-H National Headquarters, "4-H History," Hosted by the National Institute of Food and Agriculture, http://www.national4-hheadquarters.gov/about/4h_history.htm (10 April 2010).

¹⁸⁸ "Report: Status of Extension Youth Clubs in the Kanto Region." June 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2766, Folder: Youth Organizations.

¹⁸⁹ "Agricultural Extension Service Section Report: 4-H Clubs' Activities and Membership at Present Time." May 18, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2766, Folder: Youth Organizations. Similar levels of female participation in 4-H clubs were noted for Kanagawa, Saitama, and Gumma prefectures.

¹⁹⁰ "Gist of Selection and Management of Fostering Areas for Model Rural Youth Club Activities." Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2766, Folder: Youth Organizations.

¹⁹¹ "Survey of Young People's Organizations – Tokyo Prefecture." June 7, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5390, Folder: Youth Organizations.

¹⁹² "Translation of Pamphlet: Guide to 4-H Club Promotion." November 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2766, Folder: Youth Organizations.

¹⁹³ Van Staaveren, "The Democratization of the Japanese," 56. And "Parent-Teachers Associations." Undated. NARAI, RG331, Box 2979, Folder: Women's Organizations – Home Making Club.

¹⁹⁴ Jacob Van Staaveren, "The Growth of Parent-Teacher Associations in Japan (A Prefectural View)," *Peabody Journal of Education* 27, no. 3 (November, 1949): 162.

¹⁹⁵ “The Development of PTA Movement in Japan.” January 20, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2979, Folder: PTA.

¹⁹⁶ “A Handbook for Parent-Teacher Associations Part 1.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – General.

¹⁹⁷ Van Staaveren, “The Growth of Parent-Teacher Associations,” 163.

¹⁹⁸ Beardsley, 280. and Norbeck, 106. See also comments regarding that participation in PTAs had been largely left to women in “Questionnaire: Making a National PTA.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – General. Also Robbins-Mowry, 153.

¹⁹⁹ “A Parent-Teacher Association and What It Can Do.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – General.

²⁰⁰ “Translation: Letter from Mrs. Kono to Mothers.” December 20, 1946. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Parent-Teacher Associations.

²⁰¹ “PTA and Educational Bosses.” Trans. From *Asahi Shinbun*. August 22, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5249, Folder: Organization – PTA.

²⁰² “The Development of PTA Movement in Japan.” January 20, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2979, Folder: PTA. See also Van Staaveren, “The Growth of Parent-Teacher Associations,” 164.

²⁰³ “Kinrin Lower Secondary School PTA Constitution.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Kagawa.

²⁰⁴ “Women’s Affairs: Annex E-1.” November 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs. See specifically Ehime and Aomori. And “Women’s Affairs: Annex E-1.” October 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs. See Nagasaki.

²⁰⁵ “The Development of PTA Movement in Japan.” January 20, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2979, Folder: PTA.

²⁰⁶ “CI&E Bulletin, Supplement 4.” Undated but presumed March/April 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – General.

²⁰⁷ “CI&E Bulletin Supplement 3.” Undated but presumed March/April 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – General.

²⁰⁸ “Report on Attending a Discussion Meeting Held by PTA.” August 10, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs Kagawa.

²⁰⁹ “Translation: Ehime Educational Bulletin.” October 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Ehime. And “PTA Teachers’ Training Course.” October 29, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Kagawa. See also Van Staaveren, “Growth of Parent-Teacher Associations,” 165.

²¹⁰ “Memo: Holding Mutual Encouragement Meetings about PTA.” September 15, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Kochi. Note: Carmen Johnson to speak in both Muroto and Aki on the subject.

²¹¹ “Translation: Ehime Educational Bulletin.” October 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Ehime. Refers to Ehime Prefecture data.

²¹² “Info on PTA Study Meetings, Kochi.” April 27, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Kochi. Note that attendance was entirely at rural village schools. See also “Survey of Attendance at 2nd PTA and Women’s Organizations Conference.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331 Box 2646, Folder: Parent-Teacher Associations. And “Attendance of PTA Conference.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331 Box 2646, Folder: Parent-Teacher Associations. As well as “Translation: Ehime Educational Bulletin.” October 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Ehime. This document noted as a problem of PTAs that attendance by men members is bad and they are not eager to come to meetings.

²¹³ “Parent-Teachers Associations.” Undated. NARAI, RG331, Box 2979, Folder: Women’s Organizations – Home Making Club.

²¹⁴ “Survey: PTAs in Tokushima.” May 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Tokushima. And “Survey by Tokushima Social Education Section.” July 3, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Tokushima. As well as “Special Survey on PTA.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331 Box 2646, Folder: Parent-Teacher Associations. Refer also to “Questionnaire on Business and Professional Women.” August 19, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2648, Folder: Women’s Organizations. Document says that Osaka Prefecture was noted for having all 873 PTAs with at least one female officer, generally vice president or secretary.

²¹⁵ “The Development of PTA Movement in Japan.” January 20, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2979, Folder: PTA. And “Parent-Teachers Associations.” Undated. NARAI, RG331, Box 2979, Folder: Women’s Organizations – Home Making Club.

²¹⁶ “Parent-Teachers Associations.” Undated. NARAI, RG331, Box 2979, Folder: Women’s Organizations – Home Making Club. And “Translation: Ehime Educational Bulletin.” October 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: PTAs – Ehime.

²¹⁷ Context generally refers to whether matters were handled primarily by military officers or dealing with military objectives, such as collecting reparations or resettling returned Japanese soldiers, in which case the area tended to be referred to as Military Government Regions in documentation, or if matters were handled primarily by civilian officials or military officials more concerned with transformational objectives, such as promoting democracy or reforming schools. In such cases, the regions tended to be referred to in documentation as Civil Affairs Regions. In the middle of 1948, Civil Affairs Regions became the preferred term as the military aspects of the Occupation were largely seen as concluded and the civilian goals of continued democratization remained. See Record Group 331 at the National Archives for examples.

²¹⁸ Takemae, 127-128.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 129.

²²⁰ “Women’s Affairs Program.” December 1, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Objectives + Plans.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Carmen Johnson, “Women’s Rightful Equality: An Objective of Shikoku Military Government Region,” in *The Occupation of Japan: Eighth Symposium – The Grass Roots* ed. William F. Nimmo (Norfolk: General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1992), 13. See also “Political Information Education Program.” May 3, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: National Personnel Authority. – This top-down instructional method was fairly common. Military Government teams and prefectural governments sponsored similar meetings for farm, labor, cultural, educational, and political leaders.

²²³ Johnson, "Women's Rightful Equality," 13. See also Helen Hosp Seamans, "The Contributions of Women's Organizations to the Goal of the Occupation: Democratization," in *The Occupation of Japan: Eighth Symposium – The Grass Roots* ed. William F. Nimmo (Norfolk: General Douglas MacArthur foundation, 1992), 20.

²²⁴ Carmen Johnson, *Wave Rings on the Water* (Alexandria: Charles River Press, 1996), 94-96.

²²⁵ The creation of the Women's and Minors' Bureau was bumpy. It originated in the prewar ideas of Katō Shizue and other women's rights activists who had lobbied the government for a bureau with broad powers to help improve the status of women. After the war, this desire was revived and found a sympathetic partner in Ethel Weed. Helen Mears, the only woman on the U.S. Advisory Committee on Labor, also recommended a women's bureau in her group's report. After facing difficulty from men within SCAP and the Japanese government, on September 1, 1947, the W&MB was formed within the new Labor Ministry. It was composed of three sections: Women Workers, Minor Workers, and Women, and its first director was Yamakawa Kikue, a well-known feminist and Marxist, and she was followed by several other capable women leaders. From Takemae, 328-330.

²²⁶ "Yamagata Women's and Minors' Bureau - Monthly Report." December 20, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2601, Folder: Women's and Minors' (Yamagata). And "Niigata Women's and Minors' Bureau - Accomplishments." August 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2601, Folder: Women's and Minors' (Niigata). See also "Iwate Women's and Minors' Bureau - Accomplishments." March 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women's and Minors' (Iwate).

²²⁷ See for example the attendance figures of "Iwate Women's and Minors' Bureau - Accomplishments." August 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women's and Minors' (Iwate).

²²⁸ "Iwate Women's and Minors' Bureau - Accomplishments." September 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women's and Minors' (Iwate).

²²⁹ "Yamagata Women's and Minors' Bureau - Accomplishments." October 16, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2601, Folder: Women's and Minors' (Yamagata). And "Table: Screen Program of Special Projection of CIE in Yamagata Prefecture." Undated but presumed May or June 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Information Section - Yamagata Prefecture.

²³⁰ See all of the following: "Interview Record: Prefectural Information Section in Akita Prefecture." May 17, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Information Section - Akita Prefecture; "Interview Record: Prefectural Information Program in Yamagata." May 21, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Information Section - Yamagata Prefecture; "Interview Record: Prefectural Information Section in Yamagata." January 14, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Information Section - Yamagata Prefecture; "Interview Record: Prefectural Information Section in Aomori Prefecture." June 15, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Information Section - Aomori Prefecture; "Report on Information Activities in Morioka for January-February." March 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Report - Iwate Prefecture; "Translation: News Car to Make Debut in Iwate." June 14, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Information Section - Iwate Prefecture; "Monthly Information Report: Information Section of Miyagi Prefecture for August." August 24, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Report - Miyagi Prefecture.

²³¹ "Report on Book Bus in Tokushima." December 23, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Library.

²³² "CI&E Takamatsu Unit Information Center Branch Report." May 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Audio Visual Education.

²³³ See the following articles: *Nippon Times*. "To Observe Women's Day," April 9, 1948. "Nation's Women Lauded by SCAP," April 11, 1948. "Political Strides Made by Women Here Hailed," April 8, 1949. "Women's Day in Japan: Mrs. Roosevelt Sends Greetings on Third Anniversary of Women's Suffrage Here," April 10, 1949.

²³⁴ Seamans, 21.

²³⁵ In 1949 the theme was the "Commemoration of Women's Suffrage in Japan" while in 1950 the theme was "Elimination of Remnants of Feudalistic Ideas and Practices Which Prevent the Actual Emancipation of Women" and in 1951 the theme was "An Informed Participation in Local Elections." From "CI&E Bulletin." March 2, 1949. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletins.; "CI&E Intrasection Memorandum: Fact Sheet no. 27." March 18, 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Fact Sheets 1950.; and Seamans, 21, respectively.

²³⁶ "CI&E Bulletin." March 2, 1949. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletins.

²³⁷ "CI&E Intrasection Memorandum: Fact Sheet no. 27." March 18, 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Fact Sheets 1950.

²³⁸ "CI&E Bulletin." March 16, 1949. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletins.

²³⁹ "CI&E Intrasection Memorandum: Fact Sheet no. 27." March 18, 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Fact Sheets 1950. And "CI&E Intrasection Memorandum: Supplement to Fact Sheet no. 27." April 3, 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Fact Sheets 1950.

²⁴⁰ "Letter to Director of Fukushima Radio Station about Women's Week Publicity." April 4, 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2643, Folder: Women's Week.

²⁴¹ "Monthly Information Activities Report." April 15, 1951. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Report – Iwate Prefecture.

²⁴² "Women's Week Radio Broadcasting Program." May 17, 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB Reports – Ehime.

²⁴³ "Radio Programs for Women in April." Unknown but presumed 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2643, Folder: Women's Week. For still more examples of local radio programs, refer to: "Report: Activities for Women's Week Kagawa." April 26, 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB Reports – Kagawa. (See especially discussions on 4/14 about country women and feudalism in the farm-village and on the real condition of the Home Extension services). See also "Radio Broadcast Program for Women's Week – Tokushima." May 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB – Tokushima. And "Radio Broadcast Program during Women's Week from Kochi." May 1950. NARAII, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB Reports – Kochi.

²⁴⁴ Hisao Sekijima, "Old-Fashioned Housekeeping on Farms Must be Renovated," Condensed from *Nosei Hyoron* and reprinted in *Nippon Times*, April 2, 1948.

²⁴⁵ *Nippon Times*, "Miss Weed Hails Women's Week: Declares Movement Here Is Expanding; 800 Holding Elective Offices." April 9, 1949.

²⁴⁶ Shiraishi Tsugi, "The Women of Japan: Many Organizations and Groups Formed But With Few Exceptions They Have Done Little," *Nippon Times*, April 13, 1949.

²⁴⁷ *Nihon Keizai*, "Women's Position," Reprinted in *Nippon Times*, April 14, 1950.

²⁴⁸ “Yamagata Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” April 15, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2601, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Yamagata). And “Iwate Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” April 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Iwate). Also “Monthly Activity Report – Kochi.” April 26, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB Reports – Kochi.

²⁴⁹ “Niigata Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” April 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2601, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Niigata).

²⁵⁰ “Report: Activities for Women’s Week Kagawa.” April 26, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB Reports – Kagawa.

²⁵¹ “Iwate Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” April 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Iwate).

²⁵² Sheldon Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 19, no. 1 (Winter, 1993): 36-38. In the 1930s, the Home Ministry, Ministry of Education, and the Army Ministry all established national women’s organizations. By 1942 these had all been merged into a single organization, the Greater Japan Women’s (Patriotic) Association. See also Marlene Mayo, “War Complicity – Patriotic Activities,” And “War Complicity – Neighborhood Associations and War,” *Occupied Japan 1945-1952: Gender, Class, Race*, Hosted by MITH, <http://mith.umd.edu> (25 March 2010). See also Smethurst, 43-44. “Hamlet women were unofficially part of the army’s local system before they became defense women.”

²⁵³ Savings campaigns in rural areas were not really about savings at all since household budgets were already small. Rural women were instead expected to find side-employment and to contribute that pay to savings accounts. And by 1943, rural women’s roles as farmers became further emphasized due to a need to increase food production. This meant that farm women were not only expected to work even harder but it was also suggested that they consume less rice themselves or switch to eating brown rice (*genmai*). From Sandra Wilson, “Family or State? Nation, War, and Gender in Japan, 1937-45,” *Critical Asian Studies* 38, no. 2 (June 2006): 218 and 229. See also Smethurst, 47, “The defense women’s association branches, usually in conjunction with community youth and reservists, provided labor for the families of men on active duty, helped prepare and perform the funerals of war dead, sponsored lectures and movies to disseminate military ideas, conducted all manner of savings, frugality and antiluxury campaigns, helped at the army’s annual draft examination and inspection of youth and reservists, sent off and greeted soldiers to and from the barracks, and performed war relief.”

²⁵⁴ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 167-168. See also Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 111-112, and Norbeck, 108. Also Smethurst, 46, “At the lowest levels, even in the navy districts, army influence was absolute. This was because the reservist branches, the army’s local appendages, dominated their communities’ women’s associations...local reservist units took the initiative in enlisting women in their communities into the new organization and in providing guidance and leadership for women’s activities.”

²⁵⁵ Smith and Wiswell, 26.

²⁵⁶ A similar observation was made by his wife. See Smith and Wiswell, 41 and 273.

²⁵⁷ Embree, *Suye Mura*, 168.

²⁵⁸ “Memorandum.” August 7, 1946. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5250, Folder: Organizations – Women’s Organizations General.

²⁵⁹ “Information Plan to Further the Democratization of Women’s Organizations.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5250, Folder: Organizations – Women’s Organizations General.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Tsuchiya, "Democratizing the Japanese Family," 144.

²⁶² Johnson, "Women's Rightful Equality," 13-14. See also "Survey of Women's Organizations in Ehime Ken." Undated but presumed 1948. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Women's Organizations – Ehime. And also reference "Women's Organizations Survey, Ehime-Ken." May 1949. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Women's Organizations – Ehime.

²⁶³ Johnson, "Women's Rightful Equality," 14.

²⁶⁴ See "Organizations Receiving Subsidy in Shikoku." December 31, 1949. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Women's Organizations – Ehime. Document has a list of women's organizations still receiving outside subsidies. See also "Mother's Clubs in Kagawa." 1949. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Misc. Organizations. Document is about the Kagawa Prefectural Education department's attempt to organize Mothers' Clubs geographically around all schools in a plan that seemed to be compulsory.

²⁶⁵ Onsen-gun Miuchi-Mura women's Organization Constitution." 1949. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Women's Organizations – Ehime. The reason for so much data of this type coming from Shikoku is that it is still extant on a larger scale in the archives than from other areas, perhaps owing to Ms. Johnson's extreme personal interest in the matter even at the time. Further research in the archives in individual Civil Affairs regional files would probably yield similar evidence from elsewhere in Japan.

²⁶⁶ "Ozu Fudo Association Constitution." 1949. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Women's Organizations – Ehime.

²⁶⁷ "Matsubagawa Village Women's Association Constitution." Undated. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Women's Organizations – Kochi.

²⁶⁸ "Second Series of PTA and Women's Organization Conference." March 1, 1949. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Parent-Teacher Associations.

²⁶⁹ "Summary of Takeshima Izawa Women's Improvement Club." January 1949. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Women's Organizations – Tokushima.

²⁷⁰ "Our Women's Association Statement." March 1949. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Women's Organizations – Kochi.

²⁷¹ "Letter to Carmen Johnson from Misuga Women's Organization." September 2, 1950. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Women's Organizations – Ehime.

²⁷² "Brides and Their Old Mothers-In-Law." Press trans. of *Yukan Tohoku*. November 27, 1950. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2643, Folder: Women's Political Education.

²⁷³ "Women's Affairs: Annex E-1." November 1948. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women's Affairs.

²⁷⁴ "Women's Affairs: Annex E-1." October 1948. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women's Affairs.

²⁷⁵ "Women's Affairs: Annex E-1." December 1948. NARA II, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women's Affairs.

²⁷⁶ “Aomori Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” March 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Aomori). And “Aomori Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” February 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Aomori).

²⁷⁷ “Aomori Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” February 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Aomori). And “Aomori Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” January 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2602, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Aomori).

²⁷⁸ “Women’s Affairs: Annex E-1.” January 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs.

²⁷⁹ “Yamagata Women’s and Minors’ Bureau Report – July.” August 16, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2601, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Yamagata).

²⁸⁰ “Women’s Affairs: Annex E-1.” December 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs.

²⁸¹ “Women’s Affairs: Annex E-1.” January 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs.

²⁸² The use of the word ‘kowtow’ comes directly from the English translation from 1949. I do not believe Granny meant a kowtow in the original Chinese meaning of full prostration with the forehead touching the ground to show respect but rather the use is the western interpretation of any sort of abject submission or bowing to one who was considered a ‘better.’

²⁸³ “Koshi No Magaru Hanashi: Why They Are Bent Low movie translation.” September 30, 1949. From National Archives II (NARAI), Record Group (RG) 331, Box 5245, Folder: English Scripts of Japanese Rural Movies.

²⁸⁴ Although I have no direct evidence of CI&E’s work in writing the film or suggesting that it be made, the emphasis placed on the film by CI&E members and their continuing interest in its exposure and success seems to indicate a certain degree of involvement, and even guidance, in the development of the film.

²⁸⁵ Dore, 183.

²⁸⁶ Ibid. See also Passin, 116, and Walinsky, 44, 86, and 281.

²⁸⁷ Walinsky, 281.

²⁸⁸ Fukutake Tadashi, *Japanese Rural Society*, trans. By R. P. Dore (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 17. See also Takemae, 339-342.

²⁸⁹ W. G. Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan* (Washington, D. C.: Praeger Publishers, 1963), 286.

²⁹⁰ A *cho* is about 2.45 acres according to Beasley, 287.

²⁹¹ Beasley, 287. See also Dore, 184.

²⁹² Simon Partner, “Taming the Wilderness: The Lifestyle Improvement Movement in Rural Japan, 1925-1965,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 56, no. 4 (Winter, 2001): 501.

²⁹³ “The Law Concerning Agricultural Associations.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5249, Folder: Organizations – Farm Organizations. The law specifically described agricultural associations as being open to both sexes.

²⁹⁴ Kathleen R. Babbitt, “The Productive Farm Woman and the Extension Home Economist In New York State, 1920-1940,” *Agricultural History* 67, no. 2 (Spring, 1993): 83, and Partner, “Taming the Wilderness,” 490-491. For more on the USDA’s Cooperative Extension Service in America, see Babbitt and Hoffschewille, and for more on Japan’s prewar agricultural reform efforts, see Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State,” 23-27 and Partner, “Taming the Wilderness.”

²⁹⁵ Embree, *The Japanese Nation*, 87 and 113-114.

²⁹⁶ All persons, male and female, engaged in the fishing industry 30 to 90 days a year were eligible to join. The letter specifically mentions the need for informing fishermen’s wives of the importance of their understanding of the new fishery cooperatives for the effect the organizations would have on their families and communities. “Letter to Aileen Aderton from Charlotte Crist.” January 29, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs.

²⁹⁷ Statistic taken from: “CI&E Bulletin vol. II no. 8.” September 29, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI&E Bulletins.

²⁹⁸ Partner, “Taming the Wilderness,” 501. Text references GHQ: SCAP: *History of the Nonmilitary Activities of the Occupation of Japan. Agriculture (September 1945 through December 1950)*. See also: Okado Masakatsu, “The Women of Rural Japan: An Overview of the Twentieth Century,” in *Farmers and Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan*, ed. Ann Waswo and Hishida Yoshiaki, (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 46-47 for a discussion of the similar goals of the rural economic revitalization plans for Japan’s agricultural sector undertaken in the 1930s.

²⁹⁹ Okado, p. 51.

³⁰⁰ Partner, “Taming the Wilderness,” 501 with reference to NRS: “Organization Plan for Farm Life Research.”

³⁰¹ Agricultural Improvement Bureau Leaflet No. 5 – “What Does the Home Demonstration Agent Do?” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2979, Folder: Women’s Organizations – Home Making Club.

³⁰² Also identified as Omori Matsuyo per Shina Kan, “Japanese Women Move Forward,” *Far Eastern Survey* 19, no. 12 (June 14, 1950): 123. Yamamoto Matsuyo was a 1937 graduate of the University of Washington who was promoted to head the new department. She held the post until 1965, when she left to become a consultant to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. She also established the Home-Family-Community-Life Research Institute where, working with advisors like Fujita Taki and with scientists and experts in dietetics, household economics, etc., she sought data to provide a ‘quality of life’ index to consumers to advise them about expenditures on various products. From Robbins-Mowry, 109 and 209.

³⁰³ Partner, “Taming the Wilderness,” 502.

³⁰⁴ “CI&E Bulletin vol. II no. 3.” July 21, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI&E Bulletins.

³⁰⁵ “CI&E Bulletin vol. II no. 9.” October 13, 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI&E Bulletins.

³⁰⁶ “Agricultural Cooperatives.” Undated translation of W&MB document but presumed from mid to late 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Misc. Organizations.

³⁰⁷ “Information Sheet: Agricultural Cooperative Associations.” Undated translation of W&MB document but presumed from mid to late 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Tokyo W&MB General Docs.

³⁰⁸ “CI&E Bulletin.” March 16, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: CI+E Bulletins.

³⁰⁹ “Notice: To All of Women in Farm-Villages for Women’s Week.” May 19, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB Reports – Ehime.

³¹⁰ See for example: “Agricultural Cooperative Information Activities.” February 27, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Conference Reports 1950; “Fact Sheet No. 30 – CI&E Intrasection Memorandum.” May 24, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Fact Sheets 1950; “Agricultural Improvement Program Visit to Miyagi and Iwate Prefectures Concerning HDA.” June 3, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Agricultural Extension; “NRS: Memorandum of Field Trip to Tohoku Region and Nagano.” July 19, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Agricultural Co-ops; “Distributing Visual Materials.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5244, Folder: CIE Information Training Institute. For more information about the popularity of films in rural Japan, see Partner, “Taming the Wilderness,” 505.

³¹¹ “The Youth of a Village: Movie Translation.” Undated SCAP document. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: English Scripts of Japanese Rural Movies.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ “Story of Marriage/Story of Construction of Mutual Aid Association: Movie Translation.” Undated SCAP document. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: English Scripts of Japanese Rural Movies.

³¹⁴ “Women at the Farm Village – NOFU.” July 15, 1947. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5249, Folder: Motion Picture.

³¹⁵ “List of Movie-Films: Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.” January 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: English Scripts of Japanese Rural Movies.

³¹⁶ The Ishikawa Military Government Women’s Affairs official visited eight rural communities in November 1948 to promote agricultural cooperatives and female participation as well as oversaw the appointment of one home demonstration agent and that five more women were interviewed for other vacant posts. “Women’s Affairs: Annex E-1.” November 1948. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs. See the same location for December 1948 as well. In January 1949, the same Ishikawa official held a series of conferences for 100 men and 100 women (many of them land owners) to discuss the importance of rural women joining agricultural cooperatives and for such organizations to be run democratically. See the same location for January 1949. For more references to Women’s Affairs officers encouraging the appointment of Japanese women as home demonstration agents, see also the “Letter to Aileen Aderton from Charlotte Crist.” January 29, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs.

³¹⁷ Johnson, “Women’s Rightful Equality,” 17.

³¹⁸ “Cultural Federation Works for Organizing Farm Women.” Trans. from *Nippon Fujin Shinbun*. January 24, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5249, Folder: Organizations – Farm Organizations.

³¹⁹ “HD Movement in Fukui – Mrs. Oku Gave a Lecture.” Trans. from *Nippon Fujin Shinbun*. August 26, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5250, Folder: Organizations – Women’s Organizations General.

³²⁰ “Let Us Organize Women Department of Agricultural Cooperative Union in Your and Our Towns and Villages: Translation of Kagawa Agricultural Cooperative Federation document.” 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Misc. Organizations.

³²¹ “Fact Sheet no. 21 – CI&E Intrasection Memorandum.” December 21, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Fact Sheets 1949.

³²² “Agricultural Cooperative Information Activities.” February 27 and March 6, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Conference Reports 1950. “Fact Sheet no. 30 – CI&E Intrasection Memorandum.”

³²³ “Agricultural Cooperatives – Miyagi-mura Cooperative in Gumma.” January 19, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2718, Folder: Agricultural Cooperatives and Extension. A similar situation existed in Kanagawa Prefecture where the female members of agricultural cooperatives, usually numbering between 10 and 30 per section, tended to be family heads. “Women’s Affairs: Annex E-1.” January 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2963, Folder: Women’s Affairs.

³²⁴ Bennett, “Portfolio 12: Forest, Society, and Economy,”
http://nextweb.lib.ohio-state.edu/sites/rarebooks/japan/2_12_photos.html (15 April 2010).

³²⁵ “Women in Agricultural Cooperatives.” Undated. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2609, Folder: Agricultural Cooperatives.

³²⁶ To the best of my knowledge, Paul Judge was a full time Civil Information officer concerned with rural affairs who began a stint of service in Yamanashi and the surrounding areas in March 1948. He had served as an intelligence analyst with the U.S. Army during the war and then later in SCAP headquarters. He supposedly had also acquired a modest Japanese language ability from a wartime Army language school.

³²⁷ Full names for Mr. Kanaya and Mr. Fujimaki were not given and have not yet been found.

³²⁸ In the photograph reprinted in the *Nippon Times*, December 20, 1950, Doi’s personal name is listed as Yoshiko. However, all of the SCAP documents pertaining to her give her name as Ryoko and so that is what has been used in this paper.

³²⁹ The full saga of Doi Ryoko plays out in the reports on Current Norinsho Information Activities as gathered by Paul Judge, CI&E Rural Affairs officer. “Current Norinsho Information Activities.” Various. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Conference Reports 1950. Specific dates include March 4, March 11, March 25, June 24, December 1, December 2, December 7, and December 26. See also *Nippon Times*. “Girl Farmer Commended.” Reprinted from *Asahi Shinbun*. December 20, 1950.

³³⁰ “Agricultural Cooperative Information Activities.” February 27, 1950. According to Carmen Johnson’s – who served as women’s affairs officer for CI&E and Civil Affairs on Shikioku from 1947 to 1951 - memoir, a typical question she encountered from men when she promoted women’s organizations was “How can women take part in social education when farm women work all day in the fields and have to take care of the home and children too?” From: Johnson, *Wave Rings in the Water*, 51.

³³¹ John Bennett also speculated that the heavier economic burden of farm women meant that they had no time for anything else. However, he also attributed their low status to the “persistence of ancient attitudes about women’s place in things. From Bennett, “Portfolio 12: Forest, Society, and Economy,”
http://nextweb.lib.ohio-state.edu/sites/rarebooks/japan/2_12_photos.html (15 April 2010).

³³² Kan, 123.

³³³ “Agricultural Cooperative Information Activities.” February 27, 1950. NARAI RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Conference Reports 1950.

³³⁴ “Agricultural Cooperative Information Activities.” March 27, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Conference Reports 1950.

³³⁵ “Rural Affairs Weekly Reports.” April 6, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Rural Affairs Weekly Reports 1950.

³³⁶ “Agricultural Cooperative Information Activities.” May 22, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Conference Reports 1950.

³³⁷ “Agricultural Cooperative Information Activities.” January 3, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Conference Reports 1950.

³³⁸ To the best of my knowledge (much of which comes from her USDA publications), Ms. Collings was a graduate of Northwestern University who found work as a home management specialist at Louisiana State University before becoming an employee of the USDA. While at the USDA, she was employed in the division of field studies and training for the Extension Service and focused primarily on home economic and home improvement affairs. She came to Japan to serve in this capacity for NRS with regards to Japan’s AES and Home Improvement Program. Upon her return to the U.S., Ms. Collings resumed her work with the USDA, focusing on rural home improvement and the 4H program.

³³⁹ “Agriculture – Excerpt from Material Presented by Agricultural Division at Civil Affairs Conference on Natural Resources Policies and Operations.” May 4, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Misc. Organizations. The problem of home demonstration agents marrying could be alleviated by hiring widows for the task, as had been done in Nagano, where six widows had been hired for training. From “Notes from Conference of Gun District Agricultural Improvement Committee Council Chairmen in Nagano Prefecture.” June 27, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2766, Folder: Youth Organizations.

³⁴⁰ “Part IV – The Home Improvement Program.” May 4, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Misc. Organizations.

³⁴¹ “Home Demonstration Agents in Kanto Region.” Undated but presumed to be from 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: Informational Material on Home Demonstration Agents.

³⁴² “Part IV – The Home Improvement Program.” May 4, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2646, Folder: Misc. Organizations.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ “Extension Home Improvement Work in Japan – Press Conference Statement by Mary L. Collings.” May 26, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Agricultural Extension.

³⁴⁵ See Babbitt and Hoffschewlle for more information on this concern.

³⁴⁶ Simon Partner, *Toshie’: A Story of Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 115 – reference to the new foods that home demonstration agents recommended as ways of improving diets, including bread, potatoes, milk sauces, and cheese.

³⁴⁷ “Agricultural Improvement Program 12-16 June 1950.” June 23, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Agricultural Extension.

³⁴⁸ “Monthly Activity Report – Kochi.” April 26, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB Reports – Kochi. The same document also describes similar meetings in Togano and Katachi villages. Also refer to “Niigata Women’s and Minors’ Bureau – Accomplishments.” April 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2601, Folder: Women’s and Minors’ (Niigata). And “Report: Activities for Women’s Week Kagawa.” April 26, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: W+MB Reports – Kagawa. for further examples.

³⁴⁹ “Rural Affairs Weekly Reports.” April 20, Mid June 1950, June 21, and July, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Rural Affairs Weekly Reports 1950.

³⁵⁰ Refer to “Yamagata Ag Improvement Section – Women Extension – Accomplishments.” March 1, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2609, Folder: Past Activities – Extension; “Aomori Ag Improvement Section – Women Extension – Accomplishments.” March 1, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2609, Folder: Past Activities – Extension; “Miyagi Ag Improvement Section – Women Extension – Accomplishments.” February 20, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2609, Folder: Past Activities – Extension.

³⁵¹ “Rural Affairs Weekly Reports.” Various. NARAI, RG 331, Box 5245, Folder: Rural Affairs Weekly Reports 1950. See also “Instructive on ‘Trailer’ Film on Agricultural Cooperatives.” January 21, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2609, Folder: Agricultural Cooperatives. “Trailer” was produced by *Norinsho* specifically to promote a greater understanding of the agricultural cooperative program and to encourage farmers to assist in developing them.

³⁵² “Rural Affairs Weekly Reports.” April 27, 1950.

³⁵³ “Request for Assistance to the Agricultural Improvement Program.” April 8, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Agricultural Extension.

³⁵⁴ “Rural Affairs Weekly Reports.” July 1950.

³⁵⁵ “Fact Sheet no. 30 – CI&E Intrasection Memorandum.”

³⁵⁶ Mary Beard, *The Force of Women in Japanese History* (Washington DC: Public Affairs Press, 1953), 189.

³⁵⁷ “Report of the First Home Demonstration Agents’ Conference.” February 3, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: HDA Reports – Ehime. This process was similar to what Oku Mumeo was doing with her Housewives’ League in order to gain interest and access.

³⁵⁸ “Letter Given by Ehime Agricultural Improvement Section to Women’s Organizations – Translation.” July 30, 1949. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: HDA Reports – Ehime.

³⁵⁹ “Fact Sheet no. 30 – CI&E Intrasection Memorandum.”

³⁶⁰ “Report on Process of the Training Course for Members of Home Demonstration Agents Which Was Held During June and July in Tokushima.” June 31, 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2647, Folder: HDA Reports – Tokushima.

³⁶¹ “Rural Affairs Weekly Reports.” November 1950. Discusses a *Nogyo Asahi* magazine article detailing improvements brought to farm villages by women home advisors

³⁶² See: “Monthly Report on Civil Information Program.” January 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Reports – Niigata Prefecture, regarding an NHK radio program about ‘women and the citizens’ public hall’ and married life; “Activity Plans from Feb. 1, 1951 to Feb. 28, 1951.” Undated but presumed from early March 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Reports – Yamagata Prefecture, regarding lecture courses on living improvement held in Kaminoyama Town and Zao village; “Monthly Report on Information Activities Carried Out and Estimated Information Work Program. February 24, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Reports – Niigata Prefecture, regarding radio broadcasts on NHK station JOQK about the status of farm husband and wife as well as meetings in four separate prefectural locations to cultivate women’s education and prevent juvenile delinquency; “Report on Publicization Activities During the Period Covering 21 January to 20 February 1951.” February 26, 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Reports – Fukushima Prefecture, regarding radio broadcast about the activities of women’s department of rural cooperatives from the Fukushima and Koriyama NHK stations; “Information Activity Through Radio Pertaining to Agricultural Affairs in November.” Undated but

³⁶² Cont: presumed to be from 1950. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Reports – Miyagi Prefecture, regarding the cultural activities of women in agricultural districts.

³⁶³ “Rural Affairs Weekly Reports.” December, 1950.

³⁶⁴ “Detailed Report on the Extension Works on the Agricultural Improvement – January 21 to February 20, 1951.” Undated but presumed from late February/early March 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Reports – Aomori Prefecture.

³⁶⁵ “Report on the Progress of Agricultural Improvement and Extension Works of the Prefecture – February 21 to March 20, 1951.” Undated but presumed from late March/early April 1951. And “Report on the Progress of Agricultural Improvement and Extension Works of the Prefecture – March 21 to April 20, 1951.” Undated but presumed from late April/early May 1951. NARAI, RG 331, Box 2644, Folder: Monthly Info. Activities Reports – Aomori Prefecture.

³⁶⁶ Partner, “Taming the Wilderness,” 508, and Dore, 188, and Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State,” 40.

³⁶⁷ Okado, 51-52.

³⁶⁸ Dore, 188. See also Garon, “Meiji to Heisei,” 59.

³⁶⁹ Maclachlan, 74.

³⁷⁰ Morita Shiro, *The Development of Agricultural Cooperative Associations in Japan*, trans. Hideya Akagi (Tokyo: Japan FAO Association, 1960), 74. See also Tiana Norgren, *Abortion Before Birth Control: The Politics of Reproduction in Postwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 99.

³⁷¹ Partner, “Taming the Wilderness,” 508. See also Okado.

³⁷² Ibid., 509. Quote from Partner’s translation of *Fukyuin*. Norinsho, 1955.

³⁷³ Ibid., 511. Quote from Partner’s translation of “Watakushi.” *Shakai Kyoiku* 10, no. 4 (April 1955): 35-39.

³⁷⁴ Shunya Yoshimi, “Consuming America, Producing Japan,” trans. David Buist, in *The Ambivalent Consumer: Questioning Consumption in East Asia and the West*, ed. Sheldon Garon and Patricia L. Maclachlan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 79.

³⁷⁵ Murase, 75.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 76.

³⁷⁷ Robbins-Mowry, 153.

³⁷⁸ Gail Lee Bernstein, *Haruko’s World: A Japanese Farm Woman and Her Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 110. Also contrast pages 51 and 52 where Haruko recounts her dislike of her father because he would not enable her to pursue further education to become a schoolteacher and insisted she help with the farming with pages 68 and 69 in which educated boys will want to become ‘salaried men’ and girls will want to marry them instead of farmers. Also see page 106 and 108 – Yoko, Haruko’s daughter, was rarely expected to assist in house or farm chores. Haruko was adamant about not wanting her daughter to farm.

³⁷⁹ Norbeck, 210. Many of the American anthropologists in Japan during the 1950s were from the University of Michigan. This was partially due to Michigan's long involvement in Asian and Japanese studies, which had led the U.S. Army to establish a Japanese language school at the main campus in 1942. In June 1947, the Center for Japanese Studies was established with an intended program of area studies. This incorporated language training, education in social science theories, and finally field work, which took place in Okayama, Japan. University of Michigan, "Center for Japanese Studies: History," Hosted by the University of Michigan, <http://www.i.umich.edu/cjs/aboutus/history> (8 April 2010).

³⁸⁰ Beardsley, 337.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 69.

³⁸² Bernstein, "Women in Rural Japan," 39.

³⁸³ Koyama Takashi, *The Changing Social Position of Women In Japan* (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), 81.

³⁸⁴ See Bernstein, *Haruko's World*. Page 71 – Although machinery had freed both women and men from most of the arduous work of rice cultivation, many other farming chores remained and they usually fell to the women. In addition, once the harvest season was over, Haruko, like most other women in Bessho, sought part-time wage-paying work nearby. Page 74 – In addition to being a homemaker, Haruko was the family's chief farm worker. Page 76 – One of Haruko's principal farm chores was feeding the pigs, which were housed in a wooden structure several hundred yards from the house. Page 87 – Haruko's wages, in other words, went towards attaining a middle-class lifestyle for her farm family. Page 88-89 – Would machinery eliminate altogether the need for female labor in the fields or would it simply tie the women to other crops, while removing their husbands from the farm? Over one-third of farm women already farmed on their own. Again, would farm households become dependent on the wage labor of women as well as men, and would enough non-agricultural jobs be available?

³⁸⁵ Koyama, 82-83. See also Bernstein, "Women in Rural Japan," 41-42.

³⁸⁶ Koyama, 96.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 97.

³⁸⁸ Norbeck, 300-302. See also Bernstein, *Haruko's World*, 169.

³⁸⁹ Bernstein, "Women in Rural Japan," 46-47.

³⁹⁰ Bernstein, *Haruko's World*, 162.

³⁹¹ Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State," 40. See also Bernstein, *Haruko's World*, 131-137.

³⁹² Bernstein, *Haruko's World*, 164.

³⁹³ Tamanoi Mariko Asano, *Under the Shadow of Nationalism: Politics and Poetics of Rural Japanese Women* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 203. See also Iwao, 66.

³⁹⁴ Takemae, 545.

³⁹⁵ The Ie no Hikari Association is a charitable organization derived from the Japan Agricultural Cooperatives group and derives its title from the magazine of the same name, which it continues to publish.

³⁹⁶ Okado, 57.

³⁹⁷ Ann Waswo and Nishida Yoshiaki, "Whither Rural Japan?" in *Farmers and Village Life in Twentieth-Century Japan*, ed. Ann Waswo and Nishida Yoshiaki (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 289. See also Daman Prakash, "Rural Women, Food Security, and Agricultural Cooperatives," Speech given at the *Rural Development and Management Centre* (New Delhi, India, February 2003). Prakash emphasizes the need for all rural women to join agricultural cooperatives to promote their own welfare. He also notes that in Japan, despite being relegated to women's auxiliary sections, agricultural cooperatives have set apart a space in their shopping areas exclusively for women's associations and even individual female farmers to sell their products. Pages 8-12.

³⁹⁸ Akira Iriye, in the Introduction to Van Staaveren, *An American in Japan*, page xvi, reminds the reader that "Today, in very different circumstances, we are apt to be critical of the occupation-initiated reform of Japan and to forget the genuineness and uniqueness of that experiment, when America was full of confidence, good will, and sense of mission, and when Japan, while protstrate, was also eager to do anything to overcome the sense of grief and shame over the defeat." The author agrees with his statement and encourages her own readers to weight the success or failure of the democratization of rural Japanese women from just such a perspective.

³⁹⁹ Partner, "Taming the Wilderness," 506; Quoting from Mark B. Williamson, *Agricultural Programs in Japan, 1945-1951*. Vol. 148 of *Natural Resources Sections Reports*. Tokyo: GHQ, SCAP, 1951.

⁴⁰⁰ Bernstein, *Haruko's World*, 169.

⁴⁰¹ The following paragraph represents to a small degree such an assessment and comes from Tamanoi, 186:

"When the Kanae village authorities told the housewives to remodel their kitchens, they tiled their kitchen floors. Shining tiles covering dirt floors represented great improvements, as did clean white sheets on worn-out mattresses. Indeed, the immediate postwar years seem to have generated many symbols of democracy, such as square dancing, games, pencils and notepads, shining tiles, and white sheets. And what the members of various women's groups talked about were not so much the abstract notions of democracy but its tangible symbols...Furthermore, so-called feudalistic customs had to be corrected under the slogan of rationalization. Saemi decided not to make and put away her mother-in-law's bed, because she was told at a village meeting that the elderly had to attend to their personal needs by themselves to stay healthy. Yumiko decided to rent a wedding gown from the agricultural cooperative office rather than spend a fortune for it. She was told by a cooperative employee to stop publicly displaying her trousseau, an act now considered 'feudalistic.' She also said members of her county's women's association decided not to speak ill of their daughters-in-law or mothers-in-law behind their backs, because it was 'feudalistic.' It was not that all these 'feudalistic' customs disappeared overnight. Some disappeared more quickly, while other customs persisted longer or still persist. However, the rationalization movement gave the rural women in Nagano at least alternatives to traditional ways."

-Regarding the National Archives, a great deal of information is contained in the weekly and monthly reports submitted by Civil Affairs teams. The author only skimmed the surface of this material and would hope that others may one day devote the necessary time to fully using it.

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