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# **Roundtable: the Position of Women in Post-War Japanese Cinema**

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## **Introduction**

Western film thinking, by which we mean European and North American, dominates the canonical histories of cinema and film theory, as well as the academic discipline of Film Studies. The hegemony of Western thought is particularly evident and problematic in the study of non-Western cinemas, such as that of Japan, which have traditionally been mere objects over which some scholars have applied or demonstrated the effectiveness of Western theories without any critical interrogation of the power relations at work in the production of knowledge. As studied by Yoshimoto Mitsuhiro,<sup>1</sup> Japanese cinema occupies a complex position in this asymmetrical relationship between Western theory and non-Western cinemas and cultures.<sup>2</sup> Through the authorial figures of Japanese directors such as Kurosawa Akira (1910-1998), Mizoguchi Kenji (1898-1956) and Ozu Yasujirō (1903-1963), Japanese cinema was one of the first non-Western national cinemas to be appreciated and theorised in the West.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the study of Japanese films ‘played a significant role in the establishment of film studies as a discrete discipline’,<sup>4</sup> hence legitimising the idea of cinema’s universal value and consolidating the auteuristic approach in film studies. However, as part of a non-Western culture, Japanese cinema has often been studied by invoking orientalist discourses of Otherness, ‘national character’ and cultural essentialism that frequently use Western theory to read Japanese texts without taking into consideration the socio-historical and cultural specificities of Japanese cinema and of the theory itself.<sup>5</sup>

In turn, the assumption that ‘the very notion of theory is alien to Japan’<sup>6</sup> has been problematised in recent years by scholars such as Aaron Gerow<sup>7</sup> and by research projects such

as *The Permanent Seminar on Histories of Film Theories*, which in 2012 held the first-ever conference devoted to the histories of film theory in East Asia.<sup>8</sup> For Gerow, the problem is not merely one of uneven representation (where European and North American authors and their work monopolise the practice of theorising cinema, including Japanese cinema) but it is also a question of defining what is considered film theory.<sup>9</sup> In this regard, he speculates whether film criticism in Japan could not be regarded as a different kind of theorising:

[...] film criticism offered some Japanese thinkers an imperfect alternative to the constraints of theory because it was a practice less defined by theory and thus freer of its monopolization by the so-called West. Talking about individual films, it did not assert as much command of the universal “capacity” of film, which Europe or America always seemed to claim. Weaving between the particular and the general thus became a way to both elude the usual pretensions of ‘general’ knowledge on the part of Western theorists or academics as well as question definitions of theory.<sup>10</sup>

Gerow also points to the work of the Japanese film critic and historian Satō Tadao (1930-) who questions the existence and definition of film theory in Japan by proposing the practical knowledge produced, experienced and transmitted on set as the Japanese way of theorising film:

Where do we find Japanese film theory? Perhaps the succinct words passed in casual conversation from a director’s mouth to the ear of an assistant director, or another member of the crew, have been of the greatest consequences to film theory.<sup>11</sup>

Although, as Gerow suggests, the ideas of Satō are problematic because they naturalise a nationalistic view of Japanese cinema,<sup>12</sup> Satō’s interrogation of the content and the concept of

film theory in Japan could contribute to a reconsideration of theory which gives voice to other forms of film thinking.

In this regard, the format of the roundtable discussion that we present here provides another example of film thinking inscribed in the everyday practices of Japanese filmmaking and criticism.<sup>13</sup> Called *zadankai* in Japanese, the transcription of roundtable meetings as written texts was introduced in the pre-war era and remains very popular in journals and magazines today. Among the main characteristics of the *zadankai*, a format also employed in other art and media criticism in Japan, one could highlight its quasi-informal conversational style.<sup>14</sup> The participants, usually between three and six people, know each other professionally and often, to a certain extent, on a personal level. In a relaxed atmosphere, they discuss a broad topic proposed by the magazine's journalist, who subtly leads the roundtable by highlighting themes or asking specific questions. However, the discussion does not have a fixed structure and is not based on a question-answer format; rather it develops through the intertwined comments of all participants, who can propose new questions and change the topic of the conversation. This impression of a relaxed and private environment is reasserted in the photographs of the *zadankai* that many Japanese film journals commonly included over the course of the 1950s and 1960s. Participants were indeed typically shown sitting around a table usually laid out with drinks, cigarettes, and sometimes alcohol and food. Since these journals publish the complete transcriptions of the *zadankai*, the texts may include introductions and diversions from the topic, references to people or events which are left unexplained to the readers, or poorly articulated comments. This, however, reinforces the sense of spontaneity, sincerity and actuality of the film discussion.

The particular case of *zadankai* translated in the following pages appeared in a 1961 issue of *Kinema junpō*, one of the oldest and most prestigious Japanese film magazines. It presents a casual and friendly conversation between four of the most influential women in the

post-war Japanese film industry: Kawakita Kashiko, Yamamoto Kyōko, Tanaka Kinuyo and Takamine Hideko. Kawakita Kashiko (1908-1993) was a film producer, distributor and programmer. Having been the beneficiary of an elite education, Kawakita entered film distribution as a secretary for the Towa Trading Company and would marry its president, Kawakita Nagamasa (1903-1981). Since the early 1930s, together with her husband, she played a pivotal role in the promotion of film culture both in Japan and abroad, and in establishing international relations for the Japanese film industry. They brought to Japan works by filmmakers such as Leontine Sagan (1889-1974), Fritz Lang (1890-1976) and Orson Welles (1915-1985); and marketed Japanese films, including works by Kurosawa Akira, Ōshima Nagisa (1932-2013) and Ichikawa Kon (1915-2008), to international film festivals.<sup>15</sup> The fact that she curated programs at the BFI in London and was selected as a member of the jury for the 1963 Cannes Festival demonstrates her prestigious position in the international arena, where she was known as Madame Kawakita. Working together with their daughter Kazuko, the Kawakitas also intensively promoted the preservation and archiving of films in Japan, an endeavour still pursued today by the Kawakita Memorial Film Institute.<sup>16</sup>

Alongside Kawakita, film critic and magazine editor Yamamoto Kyōko (1906-1996) participates in the discussion through a different perspective on film, outside film practice. She intensively wrote for both highbrow journals such as *Kinema junpō* and *Eiga geijutsu* (*Film Art*), as well as for popular magazines like *Eiga monogatari* (*Film Story*) and *Eiga fan* (*Film Fan*); and worked as an editor for the successful magazine *Eiga no tomo* (*Film Friends*). However, little is known about Yamamoto. This roundtable therefore constitutes a valuable source of information about this pioneer Japanese female film critic.<sup>17</sup>

The third participant at the roundtable is Tanaka Kinuyo (1909-1977), who belongs to the same generation as Kawakita and Yamamoto and had a similarly long career in the film industry. Since her debut as a teenager in 1924, Tanaka collaborated with all of the so-called

masters of Japanese cinema, including Ozu Yasujiro, Mizoguchi Kenji, Naruse Mikio (1905-1969), and Kurosawa Akira. She subsequently became one of Japan's most legendary stars. The media extensively covered her private life and career, sparking controversy on more than one occasion. Tanaka's prolific filmography extends from silent to sound films, from monochrome to colour, and from pre-war to post-war Japan, illustrating the history and technological development of the national cinema. She starred, for instance, in one of the earliest Japanese talkies, *The Neighbour's Wife and Mine* (*Madamu to nyōbō*, Goshō Heinosuke, 1931); and later in her career she played roles of suffering women in several Mizoguchi's films, such as *The Life of Oharu* (*Saikaku ichidai-onna*, 1952) and *Ugetsu monogatari* (1953), which brought international recognition to both actress and director. In addition to her multiple award-winning acting career, Tanaka debuted as a film director in 1953, becoming the only woman director in the Japanese studio system of the time.<sup>18</sup>

Lastly, the roundtable includes another celebrated actress. Takamine Hideko (1924-2010) debuted at the early age of five and, like Tanaka, has worked with the most acclaimed directors of Japan. Although she played an impressive variety of roles, her stardom is especially associated with the work of directors Naruse Mikio and Kinoshita Keisuke (1912-1998). The latter was the director of the first Japanese colour motion picture film, *Carmen Comes Home* (*Karumen kokyō ni kaeru*, 1951), and of the successful post-war film *Twenty-Four Eyes* (*Nijū-shi no hitomi*, 1954), both of which starred Takamine in emblematic roles. These films and the fact that she was able to become a freelance actress in 1950, at the peak of the strictly contracted studio system, illustrate her popularity. In 1955 she married director and writer Matsuyama Zenzō (1925-2016) and her decision not to retire from acting after marriage received wide coverage in the media. At the time of this roundtable, Takamine was one of the top stars in the industry and had also begun a career as an essayist.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the disparity in their professional and personal profiles, these four women share a prominent position in the 1960s Japanese film industry.<sup>20</sup> During the *zadankai*, each one of them openly discusses their gendered experience in production, promotion, distribution and criticism. Their thoughts not only shed light on the wide range of opportunities available to women involved in film-making inside and outside of Japan, but also the professional and personal constraints and concerns which they felt came along with their gender. In this regard, the interest of this roundtable resides not only in its content, but also in the ways such content is articulated. Underneath the surface of comments that may at times seem redundant or ambiguous, one can appreciate the ways in which these women simultaneously challenge and reinforce hegemonic ideologies of gender and nation. An attentive reader may also perceive the humour emanating from a sense of self-consciousness, the internal tensions between them, and the implications their different backgrounds, ages, and personal lives have on their experiences of being women and in the ways they relate to each other.

Through the discussion of those experiences, significant themes arise in the conversation. In the first place, these women's comments and opinions, along with those of *Kinema junpō*, point out at the dichotomised construction of Japan's national identity and modernity against the Western other. They discuss the position of women in Japanese society and the Japanese film industry in relation to their American and Western European counterparts, which are not only considered as the modern standard against which to define and measure themselves but also as evidence of the shared unfavourable conditions for women in male-dominated fields such as cinema. In this sense, by highlighting the scarcity of women filmmakers and critics outside Japan, the four women at the roundtable emphasise their own professional achievements and their roles as pioneers within Japanese cinema and beyond.



Secondly, their discussion and overall position as women film professionals is mediated by, and reflects on, gender discourses, social transformations and legal reforms, which occurred after Japan's defeat in the Asia-Pacific War (1931-1945). In the early post-war period, in particular during the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-1952), women's liberation and sexual freedom were considered and promoted as symbols of democracy<sup>21</sup> and the new post-war Constitution (1947) legally introduced gender equality in the realms of the family, employment, education, and political representation, amongst other areas.<sup>22</sup> As Kawakita, Tanaka et al. explicitly remark, these post-war changes provided women with new opportunities and public positions, but did not fully transform the patriarchal mentality and social dynamics determining gender relations in Japanese society. For instance, the pre-war ideal of the "good wife, wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*) remained influential in Japan for many decades<sup>23</sup>, reinforcing domesticity as the core of normative femininity.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, in the context of the consolidation of a prosperous economy in the 1960s, educational politics and labour regulations discouraged Japanese women from working outside the household.<sup>25</sup> In the film world, the representation of women's liberated bodies and sexuality, here also publicised as a sign of democracy and modernisation, was often a projection of the desires and anxieties of male filmmakers and audiences,<sup>26</sup> while the myth of romantic love imbedded in many studio system productions re-inscribed women into traditional roles of passivity and sacrifice.<sup>27</sup> In this sense, these women's comments on both marital relationships and the social attitudes the film industry confronted them with reflect, but also participate in, the gender discourses and contradictions of 1960s Japan.

Finally, the conversation reveals overlapping layers of gender discrimination at work. As these women discuss, certain positions, such as that of director or film critic were essentially monopolised by men, and women entering those fields were often considered as a feminine 'Other'. Even women themselves struggled with essentialist ideas of being different

to men and, as emerges from the discussion, have contradictory feelings about it. For instance, Tanaka leads discussions on resistance against the marginalisation of women (she feels that the title of ‘women filmmakers’ is a reductive category), but at the same time the group does not seem to question problematic assumptions such as that film directing is an unsuitable job for women. From a historiographical perspective, this roundtable reminds us that historians and critics have traditionally disregarded or overlooked the work, voices and legacy of outstanding female film professionals, such as the four discussants here. This marginalisation is neither exclusive to Japan, nor a problem of the past now completely overcome. It is a well-worn fact that an increasing number of filmmakers, scholars and critics, continue to challenge elitist, western- and andro-centric forms of representation and new research avenues on ‘World Cinema’ have emerged at a great speed.<sup>28</sup>

In this light, translating this piece of self-reflexive criticism aims to expand on the existing research on both women’s filmmaking and non-hegemonic film thinking practices, as well as advancing alternative approaches to the study of cinema and giving voice to figures sidelined by history.

## 映画における女性の立場 - 座談会

### Roundtable: the Position of Women in Film

This discussion was originally published in: *Kinema Junpō*, No. 283, April 1961: 65-68.

Participants:

- Kawakita Kashiko
- Takamine Hideko
- Tanaka Kinuyo
- Yamamoto Kyōko

### The Intrusion of Women

KINEMA JUNPŌ – So, I would like to start our conversation gently. For our roundtable today, we wanted to gather a group of women who have worked in cinema for a long time. We have from the side of the film industry, Mrs. Kawakita, who is involved in the importing and distribution of foreign films in Japan; Ms. Tanaka who, starting as an actress, has already directed a number of films and become the only woman director in Japan; Mrs. Takamine, who has wholeheartedly dedicated her life to acting; and finally Ms. Yamamoto, who works in the field of film criticism.

You belong to different fields, but all of you have dedicated your lives to the world of film. That's why I imagine you might have experienced many hardships as women, and so you certainly look at films from a different perspective than men. I think what you do is a matter of self-assertion as women and you must be constantly reflecting on the position of women in the film industry. This is what I would like us to discuss here today.

So, kicking-off the conversation, tell us, Mrs. Kawakita, how far has women's participation increased in the film industry outside Japan?

KAWAKITA – Among actors of course there need to be women. However, when it comes to directors, there are very few. Active nowadays there's Jacqueline Audry<sup>29</sup> in France and Ida Lupino<sup>30</sup> in the US. But both make films only very occasionally.

YAMAMOTO – That's right. There might be one or two more, but that's about it.

KAWAKITA – They are really extremely scarce. That's why when I talk about Tanaka Kinuyo abroad everyone is very surprised. I hope she works to the best of her potential; I have high expectations for her.

TANAKA – Thank you for your words.

KAWAKITA – There is a relatively high number of women working in the industry. The most active is Madam Kubaschewski,<sup>31</sup> who presides over a distribution company called Gloria Film in West Germany. She started in the business of distribution after the war, achieving extraordinary results and now Gloria has become West Germany's top distribution company. Although not as company presidents, there are many women working as company secretaries and there are also producers such as Betty Box<sup>32</sup> in the UK who is making very profitable films. Recently she has teamed up with Ralph Thomas<sup>33</sup> and established an independent production company. As a director, there is also Muriel Box,<sup>34</sup> who is the wife of Betty Box's elder brother, the producer Sydney Box.<sup>35</sup>

Well, the Box family are like the Makinos in Japan,<sup>36</sup> a cinema family, and this Muriel Box is very prolific. Therefore, on the surface, there are comparatively few women standing on the front line, but if you step into the film industry, the position of women as wives is actually very strong. It's very common that instead of talking to the producer, issues will get settled faster if you talk to his wife. That's why when you go to a preview all the wives are there, sitting in a row. You can deeply feel the power of the remarks of these women.

TAKAMINE – In Japan that virtually never happens.

TANAKA – Despite women's emancipation being proclaimed after the war, even fifteen years later it still remains the custom for women to stay at home. So, maybe, that's why it's still thought that women entering and working in male dominated fields are going too far; even us, women, think so...

TAKAMINE – To begin with, when it comes to previews they only send one invitation addressed to the husband. The wife is an appendix, so it's like they are saying 'otherwise don't come'.

TANAKA – Unless this changes, you can't say that women's space is fully recognised. So that's why each time I direct a film, I always hate that what women do is considered as

something special. There is this kind of idea. Every time I think of this, I feel much frustration. The position of women is emphasised only when convenient.

YAMAMOTO – I would like the intrusive image of women to disappear soon. But there is also intrusion in a good way... right? Mrs. Kawakita is a particularly good example of this.

TANAKA – If a wife goes ahead of her husband in Japan, she is soon criticised, isn't she?

YAMAMOTO – As Mrs. Takamine just pointed out, this is a problem of etiquette that must certainly be corrected by making sure that the wife is also invited to previews and meetings.

TANAKA – Something has to be said to women too. Because even if the invitation arrives, women tend to feel reluctant to accept it.

TAKAMINE – They're timid and retiring...

TANAKA – The wife is convinced she's a burden, that she shouldn't go with him. Because that's how she's been educated, after all.

TAKAMINE – Even if it happens that husband and wife go together as a couple to a party, she will stay in a corner, or even if she's introduced to someone she quickly disappears. That's not good.

KINEMA JUNPŌ – Before the war, it was even worse, right?

KAWAKITA – Absolutely, much worse. Since the war, in general terms, everything has improved.

TAKAMINE – Nevertheless, it's still easier to work abroad.

KAWAKITA – Because in foreign countries it's commonplace that a married couple will attend events together. But for me, in the pre-war era, it was very difficult to play a public role. So I couldn't meet the people I wanted to. It's only been after the war that I've been able to meet everybody.

TANAKA – Even if you knew the person, it was not possible to meet someone directly.

TAKAMINE – But in your case, I feel that both of you, the Kawakitas, have always been something socially accepted. Even to the extent that it would feel very strange seeing only one of you. Actually, my husband and I also get that often. Like a *manzai* comedy duo.<sup>37</sup>

KAWAKITA – Yours is really the ideal image of a married couple. Well, one cannot but have high expectations for young people. I think things will gradually improve.

### Tenacity

KINEMA JUNPŌ – Just now, it came out in the conversation that there are only a few women directing, but does it mean that work on set is- hard labour and thus impossible for women?

KAWAKITA – Well, I think that might be true. Leontine Sagan, for instance, has directed only one film, *Girls in Uniform*.<sup>38</sup>

YAMAMOTO – That's right. There aren't many women who direct more than one film.

KAWAKITA – There are extremely few women who continue to make a second or a third film.

YAMAMOTO – Even doing one film is exhausting, isn't it, Ms. Tanaka?

TANAKA – Yes, very exhausting.

YAMAMOTO – Because it's a kind of physical work.

TANAKA – Even someone as tenacious as Ozu *sensei*<sup>39</sup> becomes tired for that reason.

TAKAMINE – First of all, you need to be in good health. If you're tired it shows in your work, right?

KAWAKITA – Because if you're tired, you might slight your own work and so on.

KINEMA JUNPŌ – Drawing on this, I would like to ask Ms. Tanaka, what was your motivation to become a director?

TANAKA – Simply speaking, I guess I felt like doing it because I like it. Moreover, after the war, it became possible for women to do, to a certain extent, many things which they've wanted to do. I also wanted to try something new and one of my motivations was precisely that feeling.

TAKAMINE – I think the most fascinating role is to be a director of course. I think that, regardless of how good actors are, when eventually acting in front of the camera becomes unsatisfactory, actors want to become directors. Is that right?

TANAKA – As an actress I have never considered acting unsatisfying. Because, after all, directing and acting are completely different things.<sup>40</sup> But I love cinema, and I realised I couldn't stop myself from wanting to become a director. I guess my ambitions came to the surface.

TAKAMINE – I think acting in front of the camera, and seeing that from behind the camera are two completely different things.

TANAKA – Indeed, very different.

TAKAMINE – That's why I think I could never become a director. Although I do understand why it's interesting.

KAWAKITA – But Ms. Tanaka is so admirable. She has gone so far as an actress and now that it seems that she has reached a comfortable position, she steps into a new challenge. It takes considerable courage to do such a thing.

TANAKA – Certainly...courage was needed. At the same time, I felt sadness at the disadvantages of being a woman. I mean, let's be clear, I don't have an education so when someone brings that up, I can't do anything about it. Although, in the end, it's a world I know well. As Mrs. Takamine pointed out, acting and directing are different in action, but neither can be learnt just at school nor can be performed just with theory. Well, I have confidence in this point, so I started to direct.

YAMAMOTO – Was working as a director something you wanted to try a long time ago?

TANAKA – After the war, for example, many female Diet members appeared, right?<sup>41</sup> Of course, I can't be a Diet member. If I had graduated even from a vocational school, I might have become a candidate; but since I didn't have either the talent or enough education for it, there was nothing but directing for me if I eventually wanted to do something a little new as a woman. So that's how I got started. After acting, directing is certainly the thing I could say I know best. I don't know anything else beyond that.

TAKAMINE – But it must have been very hard, right? Even when male actors become directors they are not particularly praised. But when it's an actress, people make a fuss about it just because of the fact that she's a woman.

TANAKA – I hated that. Until now there have been two times in my life in which I've thought 'Should I stop doing films?', and the second one was when I became a director and much was said about it. Being a woman is just so... But no, actually the reason was not the fact of being a woman, but that I had no confidence in myself.

KAWAKITA – That's remarkable; to overcome all that.

TANAKA – However, trying to combine both, acting and directing, can be a problem. In the future, my career will gradually come to an end. But in your case, Mrs. Takamine, you are still fine.

TAKAMINE – Please, don't say such things. I'm also approaching the end of my career.

TANAKA – In my case, the fact is that I wasted the most productive period of my career due to the pause caused by the war. Because in the cinema world, one or two years is a long time. So after the war I tried to make up for those lost years all at once. This feeling was also at the base of my decision to become a director. As in the case of Mrs. Takamine, the thirties is the most productive age for an actress and also the time for succeeding as a person. I guess directing is my way of rebelling against having lost such an important time period.

KAWAKITA – So it was all that frustration...

TAKAMINE – Such a strong determination.

KAWAKITA – Women have indeed great tenacity of purpose. But often their life goes by without being able to fulfil such strong purpose. But it is necessary to do it, and I think those who do achieve it like Ms. Tanaka are admirable.

TAKAMINE – Because without fulfilling her implacable purpose, a woman can still live on.

TANAKA – Well, if I had a family, it would be like 'the hateful age'.<sup>42</sup> Being hated by my daughter and my son-in-law...

KAWAKITA – On the other hand, an actress makes more money but for a director, despite all those long days of heavy labour, the remuneration is low. It's by no means easy to decide to accept such big sacrifices and plunge in.

YAMAMOTO – Clearly, it requires tenacity.



## The Difficulties of Women Directors

KINEMA JUNPŌ – Mrs. Takamine, have you thought of becoming a director?

TAKAMINE – I get that question often. Being in front of the camera and behind it are clearly two different things so if I go into directing I would have to study again. But I don't really feel like putting so much effort into it.

YAMAMOTO – I have wondered myself if you would also become a director...

TANAKA – I would be pleased if Mrs Takamine did so, because the conditions are so favourable for her.

YAMAMOTO – Doesn't your assistance as his wife contribute significantly to Mr. Matsuyama's work?<sup>43</sup>

TAKAMINE – Not at all.

YAMAMOTO – Although you say you stand in front of the camera, in terms of actual experience aren't you thinking about stage direction while you are acting?

TAKAMINE – I guess that's also true.

YAMAMOTO – That's why I think that, of course, you can also direct.

TAKAMINE – But rather than keeping an eye on everything on set, I've always pursued exclusively my own role. So I don't think I could.

KINEMA JUNPŌ – However, the practical work of directing is hard, right?

TANAKA – Ms. Mochizuki<sup>44</sup> has also become a director and talking from her experience she thinks that after all it's not a job for women because it's very hard, not only physically but also psychologically.

TAKAMINE – There are many enjoyable things, but first of all, to lead a crew of fifty or sixty people for a month must be very hard...

KAWAKITA – Yes, at the end it is the director who must keep a tight rein on the set.

YAMAMOTO – Only people working on set can understand this.

TANAKA – Because it's a question of leadership.

YAMAMOTO – Long ago, before directing *Love Letter*,<sup>45</sup> I met you once, Ms. Tanaka and you already told me then that you wanted to direct. On that occasion, I told you that as a woman director I was sure you would depict women very well, but you answered that it was natural for a woman to understand women and that what you wanted to depict was men from the point of view of women. I was very impressed with your reply and I still remember it very well.

TANAKA – However, I haven't gone that far yet. It didn't go as I thought it would. I can hardly depict women.

KAWAKITA – It must be so difficult to direct men's performances. I'm sure you observe them closely, but yet I guess there are many things about men's habits and moods that you don't understand.

TANAKA – This was at the beginning [of my time directing] but, for example, at some point working with Mori Masayuki<sup>46</sup> I couldn't stop thinking that his tie was a little crooked. So, I went to try to fix it myself and to take it with my hands, but they started to shake, trembling as if I had received an electric shock. I had a strange sensation in my hands and I couldn't move them. And I thought if I still have this feeling, that's not good. Considering the male actor as...

KAWAKITA - Mrs. Takamine, you have co-starred with Mr. Mori in many films, haven't you?

TANAKA – When directing, one should not consider male actors as persons of the opposite sex. If one is too conscious about it, that's not good. Actually, because I was feeling that way, the situation became so uncomfortable for me that I ended up returning in silence to my position behind the camera.

### **Being Husband and Wife**

KINEMA JUNPŌ – Mrs. Takamine, do you give your opinion on Mr. Matsuyama's work to him?

TAKAMINE – Contrary to expectations, I'm actually quite old-fashioned. I don't really feel like thinking of new acting styles or studying new things. There's not so much time left for my career, so I'd rather stick to old things. That's why I don't complain about old-fashioned things in scripts, though I don't know what he thinks about it...

TANAKA – Isn't that actually more progressive? It's not so easy to remain detached.

KAWAKITA – Having a say in another person's business is not always good or always bad.

YAMAMOTO – I thought that having someone like Mrs. Takamine by his side would be of great assistance in Mr. Matsuyama's work.

KAWAKITA – Most certainly she is. Even without directly saying anything, but certainly tacitly.

TAKAMINE – That might be true. About the clothes and the wording of things.

YAMAMOTO – Well, it would be a waste to limit you to the tasks of a wife!

KAWAKITA – Your environment wouldn't allow such a thing, right?

TAKAMINE – But he often uses me as a copyist. Even late at night he makes me write.

KAWAKITA – That is tough assistance work, isn't it?

TAKAMINE – He wakes me up in the middle of the night. And all for free. Whenever he feels like writing, at midnight or whenever, he just does it.

TANAKA – Isn't that also true about Mrs Kawakita?

KAWAKITA – Oh, yes, he also has made me work very hard for him. Even at night, whatever small thing comes across his mind, he says I want to do this or I want to write a letter and for each thing that occurs to him he makes me help him. There's no such thing as a Labour Standards Act for this, is there?

TANAKA – That's being husband and wife, right?

TAKAMINE – It seems he feels uneasy if he has to ask someone else. But on top of that, after making me do all that writing, he tells me 'I'm hungry so cook some rice porridge (*okayu*)'. Actually, even when he's not writing, I keep him company until two or three in the morning

while he tediously drinks. It seems as if he doesn't take me for his wife. Maybe he thinks of me more as a friend, a friend with a slightly lower status. Not a rival! (Laughter).

KAWAKITA – It is from there that good ideas come to mind. A married couple that can treat each other as friends is ideal.

YAMAMOTO – That might be the first step in the liberation of women.

KAWAKITA – In my case, we're from an older generation so it's difficult to reach that point yet, but the family of Mrs. Takamine is young.

### **Women's Eyes**

KINEMA JUNPŌ – Ms. Yamamoto, when you review a film, are you aware of the female point of view?

YAMAMOTO – I'm often questioned about that, but my life is very different from the standard domestic woman. I feel at a loss in that. Because, after graduating from school, I went straight to work non-stop, and I haven't experienced married life. The environment around me is rather masculine, so if I try to comment about the subtleties of a wife's mind I unconsciously end up taking the man's side. Why are women so easily suspicious of others? Why are they jealous? That's the kind of thing I perceive.

TANAKA – I see.

YAMAMOTO – However, from now on it should be the case that women must be able to write film reviews, while they have a family and take care of their children as housewives. I know this must be extremely hard, but that's the way I think it should be. Something different will come out of that; something different truly from a woman's perspective. Lately they often call me a film theorist, but it gives me the chills. I consider myself a film critic.

KINEMA JUNPŌ – Mrs. Kawakita, are there many women critics outside Japan?

KAWAKITA – There are many women journalists, but surprisingly few proper critics. In France there is France Roche.<sup>47</sup> She's a real beauty and she also acts in films, but more than a critic she is a journalist with very good interview skills. But she also writes critiques. Actually she writes some acidic reviews about Japanese films. According to Roche, Japanese cinema is

either so beautiful that one can forget about its dullness or so dull that one cannot notice how beautiful it is. It is a sharp criticism, isn't it? This woman is probably the best in France.

YAMAMOTO – There were excellent female critics also in United Kingdom, right?

KAWAKITA – In *The Observer* and *The Sunday Times*, two of the main Sunday newspapers, there are two contrasting women running the cinema review sections. One is Lejeune,<sup>48</sup> and the other Dilys Powell.<sup>49</sup> With thirty years of experience, they are such good critics that no man equals them.

KINEMA JUNPŌ – So, for example, in the reviews of those critics, can one appreciate a female point of view?

KAWAKITA – Yes, you can. They are both very different. Lejeune is a sturdy old woman and her writing too is solid like that of a man. Dilys Powell is probably 55 or 56, a very beautiful woman, and has impeccable fashion sense. Powell writes her reviews from a feminine perspective. Sometimes she is prejudiced and subjective... and that probably clicks with women.

YAMAMOTO – That's right. Also in my case, I have to maintain the male quality level pretty much as the standard. But, as there are many male critics I also have to distinguish myself as a woman doing film criticism.

KAWAKITA – I see.

YAMAMOTO – But so far, my ability is not enough.

KAWAKITA – I think your reviews, Ms. Yamamoto, do have that kind of thing. One senses an attentive and sensitive eye.

YAMAMOTO – The important thing is not to write only from a feminine and emotional perspective. You need to have a solid foundation. For some reason or another, I have managed to be considered a film critic but I think it would be good if more and more women could achieve a solid education and start working outside.

## Requests to Men

KINEMA JUNPŌ – In France, do many people desire to become filmmakers, or more precisely, young women with a passion for cinema?

KAWAKITA – Do you mean as directors?

KINEMA JUNPŌ – I mean in all fields. For example, among the students at the IDHEC.<sup>50</sup>

KAWAKITA – I heard that there are very few in the position of director. The only aspiring director is Ms. Takano,<sup>51</sup> who is now studying there. But there are many women in departments like set design and costume.

TANAKA – All this conversation is making me realise what I've achieved.

KAWAKITA – You're an invaluable example, even worldwide.

TANAKA – In many fields, it takes a longer time to achieve things in Japan. Especially, when it concerns women's progress.

KAWAKITA – Even in office jobs, people presume women will marry off and quit in the near future. That's why they are not considered for jobs with responsibilities as men are.

TAKAMINE – For a while everybody was talking about the two-income model. But lately, the trend of stay-at-home wife is becoming strong again; we're right back where we started.

TANAKA – The status of women in different fields is not necessarily improving year after year.

YAMAMOTO – In this sense, the case of Mrs. Takamine is ideal, moving freely in and out.

KAWAKITA – Your husband must be very understanding.

TAKAMINE – That is very true.

TANAKA – After all, it is up to the partner.

KAWAKITA – If a man considers his wife as a friend or a colleague, he would also be happy if she does a good job. It is a mistake to think of a wife only in terms of domestic chores.

TAKAMINE – I think it's a matter of how you manage each other's vanity and pride. And also it's important to look to at the husband and wife dynamics from other people's perspectives.

YAMAMOTO – The most important thing is, after all, the education of men.

KAWAKITA – From this perspective, you, Ms. Tanaka, are so free. You can make all the decisions alone, based exclusively on your own resolutions.

TANAKA – But, from another perspective, you don't come up with much good wisdom when being alone, either. It's a vicious circle.

TAKAMINE – But even in marriage, when it comes to final decisions you make them alone, by yourself.

TANAKA – That's right too. Probably things would not have gone this way if I had a husband or my parents protecting me. However, the freedom of being alone can sometimes mean doing things freely without knowing oneself well.

YAMAMOTO – Having someone stopping you can sometimes be bad. You might remain like that, unable to move.

TANAKA – However, when I look at someone who has been working on equal terms with men since before the war like Mrs. Kawakita, I feel so encouraged.

YAMAMOTO – From a non-equal position and yet working on an equal basis.

KAWAKITA – We're old-fashioned.

YAMAMOTO – That's also the case of Mrs. Takamine. Although it looks like it's not on equal terms, it is in fact.

TANAKA – It's a matter of personal strength.

KINEMA JUNPŌ – So, our conversation ends here. Thank you very much.

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## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Yoshimoto Mitsuhiro, 'The Difficulty of being Radical: The Discipline of Film Studies and the Postcolonial World Order', *Boundary 2* 18:3 (Japan in the World, Autumn, 1991), 242-257 and *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Japanese names are given in the Japanese order of surname and given name.

<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of the 1950s, several Japanese films such as Kurosawa's *Rashomon* (*Rashōmon*, 1951), Mizoguchi's *Ugetsu* (*Ugetsu monogatari*, 1953) and *The Gate of Hell* (*Jigokumon*, Kinugasa Teinosuke, 1953) won important prizes in international film festivals in Europe. Following this success, Japanese cinema was 'discovered' by Western film criticism and gained a prominent place in Western film magazines, publications and academic studies and, consequently, a somehow privileged position among non-Western cinemas. The work of film theorist Noël Burch, *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema* (1979), was the 'first major theoretical work on the non-Western cinema' (Yoshimoto 2000: 23), and became a foundational text in Japanese film scholarship. See Yoshimoto Mitsuhiro, *Kurosawa: Film Studies and Japanese Cinema*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>5</sup> Multiple scholarly works have called attention to this problem. Among them are the edited collection by Wimal Dissanayake (1993) and the work of Joseph A. Murphy (1993), which question the applicability of Western theories of melodrama to Asian and Japanese cinema and propose different approaches and methodologies. See Wimal Dissanayake (ed.), *Melodrama and Asian Cinema*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993, and Joseph A. Murphy, 'Approaching Japanese Melodrama', *East-West Film Journal*, 7:2 (1993), pp. 1-38.



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<sup>6</sup> Noel Burch, *To the Distant Observer: Form and Meaning in the Japanese Cinema*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, p.13. Re-published in 2004 by Ann Arbor, MI: MPublishing, University of Michigan Library, Accessed July 8, 2016: <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.aaq5060.0001.001>>.

<sup>7</sup> Aaron Gerow, 'Introduction: The Theory Complex', in Aaron Gerow (ed.), *Decentering Theory: Reconsidering the History of Japanese Film Theory, Review of Japanese culture and society*, XXII, (December 2010), 1-13.

<sup>8</sup> *The Permanent Seminar on Histories of Film Theories. Histories of Film Theories in East Asia*, conference programme, 2012, Accessed July 8, 2016: <<http://filmtheories.org/upcoming-conference-film-theories-in-korea-japan-and-sinophone-asia-university-of-michigan-2012/>>.

<sup>9</sup> Gerow, 'Introduction: The Theory Complex', pp.1-2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

<sup>11</sup> Satō Tadao, 'Does Film Theory Exist in Japan?', trans. Joanne Bernardi, in Aaron Gerow (ed.), *Decentering Theory: Reconsidering the History of Japanese Film Theory, Review of Japanese culture and society*, XXII, (December 2010), 14-23;15. Originally published in Satō Tadao, *Nihon eiga rironshi*, Tokyo: Hyoronsha, 1977, pp. 7-21.

<sup>12</sup> Gerow, 'Introduction: The Theory Complex', p.10.

<sup>13</sup> At the annual conference of the *British Association of Japanese Studies* in 2015, Maria Römer examined the broader category of published interviews (*taidan*) as an outstanding feature of Japanese film criticism and arguably as a site of film theory. BAJIS Conference, Programme at the British Association for Japanese Studies Conference, 2005, Accessed July 8, 2016: <<https://www.soas.ac.uk/jrc/events/british-association-for-japanese-studies-bajis-annual-conference-2015/file102356.pdf>>

<sup>14</sup> *Zadankai* were very common in film journals such as *Kinema junpō* (*The Movie Times*) and *Eiga geijutsu* (*Film Art*), but also in literary journals such as the renowned *Chūōkōron* (*Central Review*) and *Bungei shunjū* (*Literary Chronicle*) which covered as well subjects related to politics and culture.

<sup>15</sup> In fact, the Kawakitas sponsored the participation of Kurosawa's *Rashomon* at the Venice Film Festival where the film won the Golden Lion Award in 1951 and, as mentioned earlier, gave rise to the Western interest on Japanese cinema.

<sup>16</sup> See Kawakita Kashiko, *Kawakita Kashiko: Eiga hitosuji ni*, Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 1997; Jasper Sharp, *Historical Dictionary of Japanese Cinema*, Lanham, M.D.: Scarecrow Press, 2011; Kawakita Memorial Film Institute, 2016, Official website, Accessed June 29, 2016: <[http://www.kawakita-film.or.jp/kmfi\\_english.html](http://www.kawakita-film.or.jp/kmfi_english.html)>

<sup>17</sup> See 'Yamamoto Kyōko-san shikyo', *Asahi shinbun* (November 8, 1996), 39.

<sup>18</sup> See Tanaka Kinuyo, 'Watashi no rirekisho', in Kobayashi Shunta (ed.), *Joyū no unmei: watashi no rirekisho*, Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 2006, pp. 289-389; Shindō Kaneto, *Shōsetsu Tanaka Kinuyo*, Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 1983; Furukawa Kaoru, *Hana mo arashi mo: Tanaka Kinuyo no shōgai*, Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 2004; McDonald Keiko, 'Married to Cinema: Actress and Filmmaker Kinuyo Tanaka (1909-1976)', *Asian Cinema*, 16:1, (2005), 184-204; Irene González-López and Michael Smith (eds), *Tanaka Kinuyo: Nation, Stardom and Female Subjectivity*, Edinburgh University Press (forthcoming 2016).

<sup>19</sup> See Catherine Russell, 'Three Japanese Actresses of the 1950s: Modernity, Femininity and the Performance of Everyday Life', *CineAction*, 60 (2003), 34-44; Jasper Sharp, *Historical Dictionary of Japanese Cinema*, Lanham, M.D.: Scarecrow Press, 2011, pp. 234-235; Takamine Hideko, *Watashi no intabuyū*, Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2012.

<sup>20</sup> In addition to Kawakita, Yamamoto and Tanaka, there were many other women working behind the camera in the Japanese cinema industry. Wada Natto (1920-1983), Tanaka Sumie (1908-2000) and Mizuki Yōko (1910-2003) had successful careers as scriptwriters, while the renowned actresses Kishi Keiko (1932-), Kuga Yoshiko (1931-) and Arima Ineko (1932-) established the production company *Ninjin Kurabu* (*The Carrot Club*) and produced emblematic films such as the epic trilogy *The Human Condition* (*Ningen no jōken*, Kobayashi Masaki, 1959-1961). On the non-fiction front, Tokieda Toshie (1929-2012) and Haneda Sumiko (1926-) directed several documentaries and educational films and one could highlight the work of Nakamura Kazuko (unknown) and Okuyama Reiko (193?-2007) in the field of animation. Moreover, among film critics, the work of Yajima Midori (1932-2011) deserves special attention although as in the case of Yamamoto, the relevance of her work is yet to be fully explored. For information on other women filmmakers in Japanese cinema, see the website *Japanese Women Behind the Scenes* (2016).

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<sup>21</sup> Kyoko Hirano, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema Under the American Occupation, 1945-1952*, Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992, pp. 154-170; Mark McLelland, *Love, Sex, and Democracy in Japan during the American Occupation*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; Koikari Mire, 'Exporting Democracy?: American Women, "Feminist Reforms", and Politics of Imperialism in the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 23:1 (2002), 23-45.

<sup>22</sup> Joanne Liddle and Sachiko Nakajima, *Rising Suns, Rising Daughters: Gender, Class, and Power in Japan*, London: Zed Books, 2000, pp.149-160; Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 120-143.

<sup>23</sup> Kathleen S. Uno, 'The Death of "Good Wife, Wise Mother"?' in Andrew Gordon (ed.), *Post-war Japan as History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 293-322.

<sup>24</sup> Although the phrase of 'good wife, wise mother' was no longer used in official discourses, the centrality of motherhood and domesticity encapsulated in this dictum was reproduced through movements such as the 'housewife feminism', which focused on certain social problems related to education, environment, and consumer issues, associated with the woman's roles as wife and mother (Matsui 1990: 444). In this regard, the so-called 'housewife debate' (*shufu ronsō*) in the late 1950s showed the theoretical and practical ambiguities and difficulties regarding women's domestic role in relation with their work outside home (Bardsley 2015:45-73). See Matsui Machiko, 'Evolution of the Feminist Movement in Japan', *National Women's Studies Association Journal*, 2:3 (July 1990), 435-449; Jan Bardsley, *Women and Democracy in Cold War Japan*, Series: SOAS Studies in Modern and Contemporary Japan, London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> Kyoko Hirano, *Mr. Smith Goes to Tokyo: Japanese Cinema Under the American Occupation, 1945-1952*, pp.172-177.

<sup>26</sup> Joanne Izbicki, 'The Shape of Freedom: The Female Body in Post-Surrender Japanese Cinema', *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal. English Supplement*, Special Issue: Gender and Imperialism, 12 (1997), 109-153; Saitō Ayako, 'Occupation and Memory: the Representation of Woman's Body in Postwar Japanese Cinema', in Daisuke Miyao (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Cinema*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp.327-362.

<sup>27</sup> Isolde Standish, *A New History of Japanese Cinema: A Century of Narrative Film*, New York and London: Continuum, 2005.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, the research reports on gender equality in the film industry made by the European Women's Audiovisual Network (2016) and the Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media (2016). In the field of film criticism as well, the dominance of male critics and its effects on the appreciation and interpretation of films has been questioned in regards to different historical and geographical contexts (Hori 2002; Mayer, Ostrowska and Sight & Sound eds. 2015, among others). The historical invisibility of women continues to be challenged by women's film festivals (International Women's Film Festival Network 2016), conferences (see, for example, DWFTH 2016), online projects (Gynocine 2016, Hong Kong Women Filmmakers 2016, Women Film Pioneers Project 2016) and publications (Yoshida et al. 2001; Kelly and Robson 2014, White 2015, among others) which aim to recover and make available the work and history of women in film.

See European Women's Audiovisual Network, 2016, Official website, Accessed July, 10, 2016:

<http://www.ewawomen.com/>; Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media, 2016, Official website, Accessed July,

10, 2016: <http://seejane.org/>; Hori, H., 'Eiga wo miru koto to kataru koto: Mizoguchi Kenji [Yoru no onna tachi] (1948nen) wo meguru hyōron jendaa kankyaku', *Eizō gaku*, 68 (2002), 47-66; Sophie Mayer, Ania Ostrowska and Sight & Sound eds., 'Seeing plenty: women on film', *Sight & Sound*, Accessed July, 10, 2016:

<http://www.bfi.org.uk/news>; International Women's Film Festival Network, 2016, Official website, Accessed

July, 10, 2016: <http://internationalwomensfilmfestivalnetwork.com/>; DWFTH Conference, 2016, Programme at the Doing Women's Film and Television Histories III: Structures of Feeling, Accessed July 8, 2016:

<http://www.dmu.ac.uk/documents/research-documents/technology/cath/dwftthiii220316.pdf>; Gynocine: History of Spanish Women's Cinema, 2016, Official website, Accessed July 10, 2016: <http://www.umass.edu/gynocine/>;

Hong Kong Women Filmmakers, 2016, Official website, Accessed July, 10, 2016:

<https://hkwomenfilmmakers.wordpress.com/>; Women Film Pioneers Project, 2016, Official website, Accessed

July, 10, 2016: <https://wfpp.cdrs.columbia.edu/>; Yoshida Mayumi et al., *Josei kantoku eiga no zenbō: Films of*

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*the World Women Directors*, Tokyo: Pado Uimenzu Ofisu, 2001; Gabrielle Kelly and Cheryl Robson (eds), *Celluloid Ceiling: Women Film Directors Breaking Through*, Twickenham: Supernova Books, 2014; Patricia White, *Women's Cinema, World Cinema: Projecting Contemporary Feminisms*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.

<sup>29</sup> Jacqueline Audry (1908–1977) was a successful French female director who worked in post-war French cinema, often directing costume films and literary adaptations. All footnotes are translators' own notes.

<sup>30</sup> Similar to Tanaka Kinuyo, Ida Lupino (1918-1995) was a famous English actress who became a director in the 1950s Hollywood industry. Lupino also produced and wrote several films, and in the following decades continued to work in front and behind the camera in the television industry.

<sup>31</sup> Ilse Kubaschewski (1907–2001) was a German film producer and distributor. After setting up Gloria Film, she also founded a production company, Divina Film, playing an important role in West Germany's post-war cinema industry.

<sup>32</sup> Betty Box (1915–1999) was an English film producer. Working with her brother Sydney Box, she became head of production at Gainsborough Picture's Islington studio in the late 1940s and produced many successful films during the 1950s and 1960s.

<sup>33</sup> Ralph Thomas (1915-2001) was an English film director mainly known for the so-called *Doctor* comedy film series, produced by Betty Box.

<sup>34</sup> Muriel Box (1905–1991) was an English scriptwriter and director. After collaborating with her husband Sydney Box in different roles behind the camera before and during the war, she developed a directorial career in the 1950s for London Independent Producers, which was founded by her husband in 1951.

<sup>35</sup> Sydney Box (1907-1983) was an English film producer and scriptwriter. He produced documentary films with his company Verity Films (1940-1945) and feature films for Gainsborough Pictures (1946-1949). In the 1960s, he combined filmmaking with a career in the television industry.

<sup>36</sup> Makino Shōzō (1878-1929), film director and producer, is considered a pioneer of Japanese cinema. Amongst his children, Matsuda Sadatsugu (1906-2003), Makino Masahiro (1908-1993) and Makino Shinzō (?-1982) became directors, and Makino Tomoko (1907-1984) an actress. In most cases, their spouses and children were, and sometimes still are, involved in the film business.

<sup>37</sup> *Manzai* is a very popular style of stand-up comedy in Japan, characterised by its frantic pace and jokes which usually revolve around mutual misunderstandings between two performers.

<sup>38</sup> In addition to *Girls in Uniform* (*Mädchen in Uniform*, 1931), Leontine Sagan (1889-1974) actually directed two other films, *Men of Tomorrow* (1932) and *Gaiety George* (1946). *Girls in Uniform* was one of the first films imported by the Kawakitas as a married couple.

<sup>39</sup> Tanaka is referring to Ozu Yasujirō (1903-1963), one of the most celebrated directors and scriptwriters in the history of Japanese cinema. Ozu and Tanaka worked many years together at the Shōchiku studio and Ozu supported Tanaka in her career as a director by offering her one of his scripts for her second film, *The Moon Has Risen* (*Tsuki wa noborinu*, 1955). The use of the honorific word *sensei*, literally meaning teacher but also master, was during this era a common polite term to address important film directors.

<sup>40</sup> The original Japanese reads 'being a director and being a woman'. However, we considered the Chinese characters a misprint because the word 'woman' does not fit, based on the sentence and the context.

<sup>41</sup> Japanese women voted for the first time in the 1946 general elections, in which thirty-nine female members were elected for the House of Representatives, the lower house of the National Diet of Japan.

<sup>42</sup> 'The hateful age' (*iyagarase no nenrei*) was a popular expression in the early post-war period taken from the 1947's homonymous novel by the Japanese writer Niwa Fumio (1904-2005). Niwa's novel describes the story of a poverty-stricken family taking care of their mentally-ill grandmother who requires many sacrifices and causes many problems to her three granddaughters and ends up being hated by the entire family.

<sup>43</sup> Matsuyama Zenzō (1925-2016) was the husband of Takamine. They married in 1955 when Matsuyama was initiating his career as a film scriptwriter and assistant director. He made his debut as director in January 1961 with *Happiness of Us Alone* (*Namonaku mazushiku utsushiku*), in which Takamine played the female leading role.

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<sup>44</sup> Mochizuki Yūko (1917-1977) was a Japanese actress who in 1960 also directed a medium-length film titled *Friendship Across the Ocean* (*Umi wo wataru yūjō*).

<sup>45</sup> *Love Letter* (*Koibumi*) was the first film directed by Tanaka in 1953.

<sup>46</sup> Mori Masayuki (1911-1973) was a Japanese actor and played the male leading role in Tanaka's debut film *Love Letter* and a supporting role in her third film *The Eternal Breasts* (*Chibusa yo eien nare*, 1955).

<sup>47</sup> France Roche (1921-2013) was a French journalist and film critic. She was also an actress, mainly during the 1950s, and wrote several film scripts, books and adaptations for theatre plays. In addition, Roche had a long career as a television journalist interviewing many celebrated actors and directors.

<sup>48</sup> Kawakita is referring to Caroline Alice Lejeune (1897–1973), an English film critic who worked for the newspaper *The Observer* between 1928 and 1960.

<sup>49</sup> Dilys Powell (1901-1995) was an English journalist and film critic. She began her career in *The Sunday Times* in 1939 where she worked until 1979. Afterwards she continued to write about film for different magazines and for television programmes.

<sup>50</sup> IDHEC is the acronym for the *Institut des hautes études cinématographiques* (Institute for Advanced Cinematographic Studies), now known as *La Fémis* (*École Nationale Supérieure des Métiers de l'Image et du Son*), which is the French State film school based in Paris.

<sup>51</sup> Kawakita refers to Takano Etsuko (1929-2013). Takano went to France to study cinema at IDHEC and to become a director. However, after returning to Japan she worked as the general manager of Iwanami Hall, a film theatre in Tokyo mainly dedicated to foreign art films. In 1985, she also established the Tokyo International Women's Film Festival to promote the cinema created by women.