<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>項目</th>
<th>内容</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>タイトル</td>
<td>関西学院大学社会学部紀要</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>エディション</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>タイトル</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>キーワード</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>キーワード</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>キーワード</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How was Anime Institutionalized?*

Mayumi YUKIMURA**

1 Introduction

In recent years, commercial animated films have been produced in large quantities using a proper production system. However, at the initial stage of making animation films, there were only a limited number of cartoonists being engaged in producing these films on a small scale as a second job.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify why industrial bases of animation were established in wartime in different countries around the world, especially though an analysis of the process of industrialization in Japan. Special attention is given to clarify the birth of animators as professionals, and specialized careers for the production system in order for these films to be possible.

It is the intention of this paper to clarify the relationship between war and animation by analyzing interviews and notes written by animators and articles that appeared in movie magazines between 1928 and 1945. Most government documents related to making animated films were destroyed by fire just after the war.

2 Before World War II

How animated films were produced before World War II in Japan?

The cinema advertising on the Japanese movie magazine Kinema jumpo 1935. 11. 1 (Fig. 1) shows that Popeye and Betty Boop animation films were screened in full color. The animated films made in the U.S. had garnered popular support at that time. Especially when talkies had been introduced as a new cinema technology, animation films such as Disney’s and Fleischer’s were recognized as one of the most popular programs at cinemas specializing in foreign films.

At that time the animated films made in the U.S. dominated the market all over the world. On the other hand, domestic animated films were produced on a small scale, at the initial stage of making animations before World War II, only a lim-

Fig. 1 Cinema advertising in the movie magazine *Kinema Jumpo* 1935.11.1

---

*Key Words: Animation, War, Institutionalization*

**Assistant Professor, School of Sociology, Kwansei Gakuin University

1) This study uses a database which lists the titles of articles about animation from 1928 to 1945 in movie magazines (Sano 2006: 13–100).
ited number of cartoonists were engaged in producing these animated films; animation was considered worthless and not under the patronage of the government.

The three traits of the authors who engaged in producing animated films are discussed here. Firstly, they did so as a second job. In Japan, the first animation film was made in 1917. The founders, Oten Simokawa and Zyunichi Kouchi, were cartoonists, and Seitaro Kitayama had the main job of putting the subtitles in the film. Secondly, they had to do everything; drawing, editing, playing, and marketing by themselves (Kitayama 1933: 17). Thirdly, animation production took place within a simple apprentice system just like in the case of other traditional arts or jobs in Japan. There were no professional schools which could teach special skills for making animation in a systematic process. The negative effects of industrialization of animation was pointed out not only by a lack of funds, but also the shortage of manpower (Kitayama 1933: 16–18), where the disciplined and well-organized labor force was missing for animation making.

3 The first animated feature film “Momotaro no Umiwashi” (Momotaro Sea Eagle) in Japan

The military press officer, Tadao Yoneyama realized the efficiency of animated films in enhancing the appeal of National Mobilization, legislated in 1938, and the strategy of the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, among the common Asian people, by eliminating a kind of language barrier. Animated films be found to be good tools to achieve the purpose above and had the increased attention by the military and the film reviewers. So, not live-action films but animation films, including shadow picture films, came to be preferred (Yoneyama 1942: 84–85).

During World War II, around ten animated films were produced with extended assistance by the military. In 1942, the animated feature film “Momotaro no Umiwashi” was produced and screened as the main program for the first time in Japan. The purpose of this film was to justify the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941. Before the war, animation films had been screened only as a supporting program which followed a main film. According to the director Mitsuyo Seo, the film could be shown in theaters under pressure from the military. Thanks to the unification of film distribution by Eiga Haikyusha under the control by the government, the military increased its impact on not only production but also distribution of the films. According to an advertisement in *Eiga jumpo* in 1943, the film was recommended by the Ministry of Education (Fig. 2). It was a huge hit at the box office taking in more than 650,000 yen in a week, and children became a new audience at the theater (*Eiga jumpo* 1943. 4. 21: 49).

Producing animation films continued until just before the end of World War II. On April 1945, the animated feature film

---

2) According to an interview with Seo (Ozaki 1986: 220)
“Momotaro Umi no Shimpei” (Soldier of the Sea) was screened. Surprisingly, the film was 70 minutes long. But only few people went to the cinema due to the air raid on big cities such as Tokyo and Osaka. Ironically, the subject of the film is the first success of the airborne forth of the Japanese army in Menado, Indonesia. Momotaro (depicting Japan) calls for the devil (depicting the U.S.) the unconditional surrender in the last scene of this film. A few months later, the reality of the war moved in the opposite way.

4 The basic system of animation production supported by the government during World War II

For expediting production, the actual production system was established with strong support from the government. In 1944, Hidezo Kondo, the cartoonist, inspected the Asahi Manga studio which made animated films backed by the military, and reported on the process of making animated films as follows.

The fact was amazing and fantastic that the stately building like a bungalow with many windows was built for only production of animated films, where many animators and other people were moving to and fro (Kondo 1944: 51).

This report showed that the animated films were produced not individually but collectively in large buildings. Before World War II, the artists made the animated films in their own houses without governmental support. Furthermore, Kondo mentioned that large buildings were divided into many rooms and processes for animation production divided into separate processes.

The process was divided into five sections as follows (Aoki 1942: 18).
(1) Production and creating a scenario
(2) designing
(3) drawing
(4) inking (transferring to the celluloid)
(5) Shooting the film

Briefly, first, the director makes up the whole of the animation film while creating a scenario. Next, the design and layout of the scenes were specified in the clips of film. According to the clips, many pictures were drawn by animators, then transferred to the celluloid (inking) (Figs. 3 and 4). Finally, each picture was shot and edited.

It was imperative for an animation production system to train a lot of animators, since the animators with special drawing techniques were required. They drew the figures within fixed rules according to the specified design and layout and the movement of all the characters or images.

During the war, a technical college for animators was not established, but, with the assistance of private companies supported by the government, animators were trained systematically for a short time. For example, when the film company Shochiku made “Momotaro Umi no Shimpei”, some people were gathered together in the animation department from other departments such as publicity and
art departments, or by advertisements in the newspaper, and they were trained to be animators within a short period of only a month. Thirty out of seventy persons who engaged making this film then were not professional at first.

Additionally, animators and other people involved in the animation production became new professionals for the women during the war (Eiga jumpo 1943. 6. 11: 5). Especially in the drawing room, many young women engaged in the processes (Fig. 4). It was difficult for men to continue the work as animators because of their being called away on active duty.

A number of animated films were also created and used for military training, for example aircraft maneuvers and bomb drops. Since the animation-making for this purpose required a high-quality technology, animators were no longer simple cartoonists but rather experts who knew how to draw animation figures according to the movement of objects (Yukimura 2007: 97–98).

5 Origins of the modern system of animation production

The production system established during World War II further developed in the consumption society after the war. In recent years, commercially produced animated films have been made in large quantities in a modern system of production (Fig. 5). As shown here, the system is divided into six processes of the producing animations.

The first process of the animation production is to create a scenario, followed by drawing the storyboard of every single scene. According to the storyboard, many pictures are drawn by animators. For making animations, it is required for the animators to draw animation figures according to the movement of objects. In the next process, tracing/scanning the pictures drawn by animators, coloring and shooting the film can be edited on computer. Even today, the ability of animators is indispensable for animation industrial base, as it is difficult to mechanize their technique.

In an interview with Koichi Murata, a previous representative of Oh Production, Suginami, Tokyo, he mentioned that animators should draw the movement of all the things not only every living thing,

3) According to an interview with Seo (Ozaki 1986: 218)
but also nature like the wind, fire and waves. Animators today should still require the same expertise and know-how as those required of animators during World War II.

6 Ordering the cultures of “other countries” in relation to “Japan”

Why did the government or military support the making of animated films during the war? To clarify the reason, in terms of a comparison between cultures of one’s own country and cultures of other countries, articles written by people engaged in producing animated films were analyzed as follows. They referred to the effectiveness of animation as propaganda for the Asia-Pacific region.

6–1 Asia-Pacific region

In 1939, the Japanese government established the Film Law to restrict the showing of films. In Article 1, film was defined as being “for the progress of the national culture”. This means that the film which had little cultural value was elevated up to the level of national culture.

Furthermore, the government aggressively used films as a tool for propaganda purposes. At that time, Japanese films were made only for Japanese nationals living abroad, and the foreign market had not yet been exploited. In other words, there was little opportunity to put a Japanese film on the screen across the border, or for Asian people speaking their language.

Since 1942, Japan has expanded its sphere of influence throughout the Asia-Pacific region. This increased contact with different cultures, not only in enemy countries but also in the occupied areas. During the war, this influence was institutionalized to gather and accumulate knowledge about these ethnic groups, such as Minzoku Kenkyusho (Research Institute of Ethnic Group) established in 1943.

The government has also looked into the local situation related to cinema. Tatsuo Hoshino, director of a Japanese Film Company (controlled by the government), said, “in Indonesia, the only propaganda is the movie, they love movies, and the power of the movie becoming bigger”. Heita Manako said, the producer of Cultural Films, existing Japanese cultural films could not be used for Indonesians. They preferred Kamishibai (picture-story shows), and Japanese films were considered to be difficult for them to understand the context of the films. With this in mind, he mentioned that producers were not needed to pursue high artistic quality, but had to penetrate the concept of the Great East Asia Co-

4) According to an interview on 7 October 2005.
Prosperity Sphere across to “immature” ethnic groups (Manako 1942: 74−75). Particularly, animation was considered to be the perfect tools for these ethnic groups in the really simple way.

Kiyohiko Shimazaki, an editor of the magazine *Eiga Gijutsu* (Cinematography Technique), had recognized that the degree of education of ethnic groups in the Asia-Pacific region was comparatively low. On the other hand, he pointed out the similarity between Japanese culture and Asian-Pacific nations’ culture.

As pointed out in another article “prospects for cultural film” (Shin Eiga 7: 74−75), ethnic groups in Indonesia liked shadow shows. A lot of shadow shows called *Wayang kulit* were performed there in Indonesia. *Wayang kulit* is one of Indonesia’s traditional performing arts using dolls made of leather. A white curtain that called *kuril* is stretched, and the performers play with dolls behind the curtain, while the audience watches the play on the other side of the curtain. Traditionally, it was a religious ceremony to welcome ancestral spirits.

The producers who engaged in making animation films discovered common ground between shadow shows and shadow picture films made in Japan, as discussed later.

6–2 Animation made in the U.S. and Japanese traditional culture

In the magazine *Eiga Gijutsu*, American animated films were appreciated for advanced camera technique and artistic images (Shimazaki 1942: 9). Their animated films already have been made in full color (The first Japanese animation in full color has been made in 1958). It was believed that animation producers ought to explore techniques used in the U.S. However, Japan was not necessarily able to catch up with the U.S. Taihei Imamura, who published *Mangaeiga Ron* (Theory of animation) during the war, mentioned; the more important consideration was that the technique of animation was based on Japanese traditional arts like *emaki* (the picture scrolls), *joruri* (Japanese puppet shows) and *kabuki* (traditional Japanese drama). As pointed out by Imamura, the picture scrolls of Japan are the oldest art which connects to a story. Animation differs from live-action film in that it does not show actual moving things, but creates the passage of time ideally. (Imamura 1941 = 2005: 129−130).

As for the old art forms like *joruri* and *kabuki*, these are some of the styles which express universal form by dissolving each action. Since a doll of *Joruri* is puppeteered by the limited fingertip, their performance is patterned. In the case of animation, many pictures are needed and are drawn by animators to express animation figures. Animation also expresses the simplified form for reduction in labor required for each picture. It could not take a lot of time to draw a picture like with other paintings.

It is not clear whether traditional arts such as *emaki, joruri*, and *kabuki* are actually the origin of animation or not. However, it is important that this idea in which these Japanese traditional arts are the origin of animation has been believed. Animation invented and progressed in foreign countries, is considered to have origins in Japan. This idea is not merely based on the return tradition, but the fact that animation should not be rejected as product from foreign countries, but rather actively used as products of one’s own country.
7 “Exclusivity” and “Inclusivity” in “Momotoro Umi no Shimpei”

The film gave images of other of various ethnic groups in the Asia-Pacific region, and introduced technique of shadow picture on scene 3 (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>The other</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hometown</td>
<td></td>
<td>A navy soldier comes home and they tell about the battle to the children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 An island in the Pacific</td>
<td>Ethnic groups in the Asia-Pacific region</td>
<td>The navy takes up Japanese position in the Pacific island with Ethnic groups. Japanese soldier teaches Japanese to the ethnic groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 “Goa” Ethnic groups in the Asia-Pacific region / Westerner</td>
<td>(shadow picture) Japanese army relieves an island in the Pacific Ocean occupied by Europeans.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Onigashima (devil’s island)</td>
<td>devils (English-speaking)</td>
<td>A Japanese army lands at the devil’s island and presses for unconditional surrender.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7–1 Representation of the Ethnic groups in the Asia-Pacific region

In Scene 2, the Japanese Navy pitched a camp on an island in the Pacific. The characters there could be divided broadly into two classes. One type is depicted as the dog, monkey, and kiji (Japanese pheasant) wearing a military uniform, subordinates of Momotaro, and the other type s depicted as elephants, kangaroo, leopards; animals considered to live in southern regions. Two different types of animals can thus show the relation between Japan and the ethnic groups in the Asia-Pacific region. It was described that both collaborate with one another to prepare for strikes against the devil.

In the Japanese classroom, the teacher is depicted as the dog. The dog writes Japanese words and teaches Japanese here. The students are animals considered to live in southern regions. In the Japanese language class, the teacher and students are also both depicted as animals, but both are plainly distinguishable as being of different species. However, because of the “cute” animal characters, this distinction becomes ambiguous, and the sense of rank could be covered up. According to this analysis, two different images of others about ethnic groups can be distinguished (Fig. 6). One considers their cultures underdeveloped, while the other focuses on common cultural features between Japan and other ethnic groups. This film was planned to be shown in Asia-Pacific region, but never screened. For cross-boundary propaganda, the acceptance of differences was considered more effective than discrimination against other ethnic groups.

7–2 Shadow picture animation

A shadow picture animation based on an Indonesian fairy story appeared in Scene 3. Although, this part was seen only for five minutes, it was very important that the author tried to show a common cul-
tural background of Asian countries. Furthermore, this story indicated the relationship between Japan, “Goa”, and the Western country. The king of Goa was deceived by western merchants, and the Islands were occupied by them. Japan is depicted as the deliverer who reclaims the lands from them.

The common structure of shadow shows as well as folk tales of various ethnic groups including Japan, could be well represented. It can be said that one theme of the popular Momotaro myth is a kind of conflict within the community and the other a conflict inside Japan. The original folk tale was being expanded on a global scale, including not only in Japan, but also in the Asia-Pacific area and the U.S. and this was represented in the animation film. The production of animation film was possible to be a part of a movement towards Japanese control of the entire world.

7–3 The emergence of the two borders

It is important that “the others” in “Momotora Umi no Shimpei” can be classified into two types. One is “the other” included within the boundaries of Japanese territory in the Asia-Pacific region, and the other type is “the other” outside of the boundaries as the enemy country. We call the first category as “the other included”, and second one as “the other excluded”. Then, what can we describe is the relationship between these two?

Particular attention will be paid to the two borders between Japan and “the other”, and between “the other included” and “the other excluded” (Fig. 7). As shown in Fig. 7, there are two lines (L1 and L2) which line out two borders between different two types of “the other”5). When L1 is focused, Asia-Pacific region become “the other excluded”, on the other hands, when L2 is focused, “the other included”. A position of Asia-Pacific region can be changed by the border focused. In that context, “the other” between L1 and L2 has ambiguity. It should be pointed out, however, that the enemy country is not “the other excluded” permanently, it can be “the other included” eventually. The conflict on the border will continue until there is vanishing away of the border all over the world.

As has been explained above, in Scene 2, the other (Japan) remains in a community (Asia-Pacific region), and no conflict is depicted between Japan and Asia-Pacific regions. On the other hand, in Scene 3, when the other (Western) comes and stays in a community (Asia-Pacific region), a conflict is generated between Western and Asia-Pacific region. In the former situation, ethnic groups in the Asia-Pacific region would be “the other included” for Japan, and they make peaceful coexistence inside the border (L2). Whether the other is included inside the border without conflict is dependent on whether identity with the others is recognized or not. Japan recognized the common ground of culture such as the shadow picture and fairy story in the ethnic groups in the Asia-Pacific region. Also, by describing

![Fig. 7 The emerge the two borders](image-url)

5）See Ogino (2009: 7) on the duality of border.
both Japan and the ethnic groups as animal characters, they are shown as belonging to one and the same group, and the cultural practice above can obliterate L1 and L2 and will be recognized strongly. The finding of the other outside the border enforces the alignment between Japan and Asia-Pacific region.

The conflict on the border indicates not only an expansion in space but also of cultural practice. By promoting ordering the culture of each country, the superiority of “Japanese culture” can be hegemonically established. Own culture could be reinforced by the fact that the government supported the production animated films.

8 Conclusion

As described above, taking the opportunity to have interaction with the other, producing animated films was supported by the war-time Japanese government. Japanese government pursued a cultural policy in the occupied region which it regarded as backward. Japan could establish ascendancy through ordering of cultures. By using animated films as an ideological apparatus of the state, Japan tried to put the Asia-Pacific area under its rule even more strategically. Animation was produced in a process of connecting the constructed images of the other for propaganda activities.

It can be concluded that animated films were produced on the basis of the representation of the other, and were developed through interactions with other ethnic groups. Animated films were produced as propaganda tools by accepting and discriminating against other cultures simultaneously.

In this way, the industrial production system was established and institutionalized by connecting animation with the military during the war. The last point which should be made is that the chance to have interaction with the different cultures might produce new cultural practices.

Reference

Kitayama, Seitaro, 1933, “Watashi no Mangakan” (My view of animation), Katsupei (Moving Picture), Augst: 16–18.
Kondo, Hideo, 1944, “Mane Mampo” (Animation, stroll), Nihon Eiga (Japanese Movie), 4: 50–52.
Manako, Heita, 1942, “Nampo Yushutsu Eiga no Mondai” (The issue of export films to Asia-Pacific region), Shin Eiga (New movie), 7: 74–75.
Ogino, Masahiro, 1998, Shihonshugi to Tasha (Capitalism and the other), Kwansei Gakuin Daigaku Shuppankai.
Ozaki, Hideo, 1986, Yume wo Tsunagu (To weave a dream), Mitsumuratosho Shuppan Kabushikigaisha.

How was Anime Institutionalized?

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to clarify why industrial bases of animation were established in wartime though an analysis of the process of industrialization in Japan. Special attention is given to the birth of animators as professionals and specialized careers for the production system to be possible. The present study aims at clarifying the relationship between war and animation, by analyzing interviews and notes written by animators, as well as articles that appeared in movie magazines between 1928 and 1945. Another aim is to clarify the reason the government or military had supported making animated films during the war, in terms of comparison between cultures of their own country and other countries, by analyzing these articles and the context of the film “Momotaro Umi no Shimpei” (Soldier of the Sea) screened in 1945.

The results of my investigation show that the Japanese government pursued a cultural policy in the occupied regions and regarded the cultures in the areas as backward. In doing so, Japan could establish its superiority through the ordering of cultures. It can be concluded that animated films were produced on the basis of the representation of the other, and were developed through interactions with other ethnic groups. Animated films were produced as propaganda tools through the simultaneous acceptance of, and discrimination against, other cultures. In this way, anime was institutionalized through its interaction with different cultures.

Key Words: animation, war, institutionalization