■ 投稿論文 ■

The Othering of Japanese "War Brides" in Postwar Japan :

Their Representations in *Asahi Shimbun* and Popular Media from the Late 1940s to the 1970s

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Abstract

This article examines how Japanese "war brides" have been imagined and represented in various media in Japan in the postwar era. These women married servicemen, mostly American GIs, working for the Allied Forces during the occupation period of Japan and the succeeding years in the 1950s, as well as in the early 1960s. The empirical data used here include their coverages in *Asahi Shimbun,* a major newspaper in Japan, from the late 1940s to the 1970s. In addition, other primary and secondary sources that have taken account of them in one way or other are picked up and analysed. While the data examined here may be limited to a certain degree, it is suggested that the "war brides" had consistently been imagined as Japan's "others," or the outsiders of Japanese society, by various media throughout the time under study, as their deviance and extraordinariness tended to constitute the major theme of their media representations since the 1950s and thereafter. It is also contended that, from the mid-1960s to the 1970s, Japanese media even imagined them as strangers who had lost their Japanese-ness due to their long-term absence from Japan.

Key words : representation ; othering ; occupation period ; war bride ; fraternity

1. Introduction

To date, a dominant tendency in the discussion concerning war and "race" has been to look at the fierce confrontation between different "races"[1] as enemy groups. Thus, in the case of the Asia-Pacific War, it is well known that Japan's rulers during the war period fanatically demonized American and British people with the notorious phrase "*Ki-Chiku-Bei-Ei* (Devil-Beast-American-British)," while at the same time adamantly attempting to unite other Asian "races" under the rubric of the "Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."[2] On the other hand, the fact that war can actually promote "racial" mixture under some circumstances is under-

1 ）By this bracketing of "race" and "races", I mean that race as a category that grounds racial discrimination on biological or genial differences of peoples with different skin colours is not universally accepted any longer. Also, for the reason of my interest in war and "race", see the acknowledgement attached at the end of this article.

2 ）A prime example of this is Dower (1986).

researched. Particularly important here is the issue of fraternization, i.e., association of military service members with natives of a conquered country or enemy groups. If this takes place, a new social cleavage tends to be constructed within the conquered country between those who have become intimate with enemy groups and those who cannot accept them.

I am concerned about this complicated cultural consequence brought about by fraternization that goes beyond the simple binary of allies and foes. In view of this, I will discuss the case of intermarriages that took place between Japanese women and American GIs after the Asia-Pacific War. The defeat of the Japanese Empire in August 1945 caused the Allied Forces, mainly constituted by the US military, to occupy the entirety of Japan and deploy about half a million GIs throughout this devastated country until it regained its independence in May 1952. This led to an increase of encounters between Japanese women and GIs around the areas where the US bases and related facilities were constructed. As a result, thousands of Japanese women fell in love with and married GIs during and after the occupation period. Soon after such intermarriages became known to the Japanese public, the women concerned started to be called *Sensō Hanayome*, or "war brides"[3] Not surprisingly, they were against the grain of Japanese society at that time, where the general hatred toward Americans as a former enemy and current occupier still pervaded, and the conservative attitude toward miscegenation was still common.

Based on the above observation, this article will examine how Japanese "war brides" have been actually imagined and represented in Japanese media from the late 1940s, an immediate aftermath of the Asia-Pacific War, to the 1970s ; I will also briefly highlight overviews of more recent situations surrounding them in the 1980s and thereafter in the latter part of the fifth chapter. By doing so, I am going to contend that their media representations throughout the time under study involved the desire of Japanese society to construct "others." While I am not going to delve into philosophical inquiry regarding the concept of "others," I follow its broad definition as used in postcolonial studies as referring to those people who are separated out from a certain community as "different" and regarded as "inferior" to the community members concerned. In addition, following postcolonial studies, I regard "othering," or the mental process of constructing "others," as something that makes it possible for the community members to secure and maintain their stable and coherent identity in relation to the downgraded "others." My point is that Japanese "war brides" were exactly the target of this "othering" by postwar Japanese society until around the 1970s ; their deviance and extraordinariness from Japanese society tended to be stressed both on the level of daily life and on the level of dissemination in various kinds of media.

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3) Hereafter, I will maintain the principle of bracketing the term "war brides" both in its singular and plural forms except in the cases of quotation. It is due to my recognition that these women do not generally like to be called this way for the stigmatising connotation it entails.

2. Scope of Analysis and the Representability of Empirical Data

Before starting the discussion, I should explain the materials cited in this article and their representability in analyzing the images of Japanese "war brides" constructed in Japanese popular media. In fact, there was a vast number of publications in Japan during the postwar era that contain information about them in one way or another. Among these are those materials that could be used as primary sources, such as articles about them in newspapers and magazines, as well as fiction and non-fiction that illustrated them, both published at the time under study. Secondary sources could include the academic works published largely in and after the 1990s authored by scholars and intellectuals doing research on culture and society in Japan during and after the occupation period in general, and the fraternization between GIs and Japanese women in particular. Additionally, both autobiographic accounts and interview comments by Japanese "war brides" themselves started to appear at the turn of this century, which could be utilized as sources of invaluable information for this article.

Sorting out all the above sources and making critical observations of them will require an enormous amount of work and a more detailed analysis than a single article could ever cover. In view of this, I will confine the scope of analysis in this article to those primary and secondary sources that I had collected at the time of this research[4]. For a newspaper, I use *Asahi Shimbun* as a primary source to examine how Japanese "war brides" have been represented. As one of the major newspapers in Japan, it is widely regarded as having great influence on the formation of public opinions in Japan. It is selected as a focal point of my analysis also partly because its past articles were relatively accessible through its online database, *Kikuzō II Visual,*[5] unlike those in other major Japanese newspapers at the time of the research. Thus, I will examine the articles in *Asahi Shimbun* that covered "war brides" ranging from the 1940s to the 1970s. Indeed, the coverage of "war brides" has continued to appear even after the 1980s to date in *Asahi Shimbun.* However, they will not constitute the major scope of analysis in this article, as most of them are either retrospective, describing the experiences or hardships of "war brides" *in the past,* such as in the 1950s or the 1960s, as fragments of Japan's postwar era in broader terms ; or, in other cases, they are indirect and highlight those intellectuals who authored books about "war brides."

In addition to the articles in *Asahi Shimbun,* my observation will make use of literary and cinematic works that illustrate either Japanese "war brides" or the fraternization between GIs and Japanese women. Some are primary sources, such as books, magazines, or films featuring them that came out at the time under study. Others are secondary sources published more recently that take account of the experiences of "war brides" from more intellectual

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4）About the background of this research, see the acknowledgement inserted at the end of this article.

5）This archive will be referred to as *Kikuzō* hereafter.

perspectives.

In fact, I do not have enough data to testify about the degree of circulation and social influence each of the above-mentioned selected primary sources in Japan at the time of their appearances. However, as they are the major works on Japanese "war brides" most often cited in secondary sources, I am certain that they represent the typical ways in which "war brides" have been imagined in the various media of postwar Japan.

I should also note that covering the entire period from the late 1940s to the 1970s in a single article admittedly looks like a rather sketchy description and may concomitantly entail the risk of simplification. However, my aim in doing this is to detect some long-term trends or shifts in the general patterns of how Japanese "war brides" have been represented in, and thus understood by, Japanese society over the decades spanning the postwar era. Given the scarcity of information available in English about these women, this approach is expected to lay the groundwork for further investigation of them by scholars and intellectuals, not only in Japan but also around the world.

3. Envied but Hated : Imagining the Intimacy between Japanese Women and GIs in the Late 1940s

The fraternization between GIs and Japanese women in the immediate aftermath of the Asia-Pacific War, namely the time around the late 1940s, took different forms. Some of them led to intermarriages, yet many others were nothing but ephemeral relationships, either as friends or as lovers. Either way, these relations drew public attention in a large measure in Japanese society at that time. This chapter will first overview the social background of the emergence of these fraternizing relations. Then, it will move on to analyze the typical images representing them in such newspapers as *Asahi Shimbun,* as well as in popular media, such as literary fiction and magazines. Through this, it will be highlighted that the media tended to emphasize the affinity between two different (but sometimes overlapping) groups of women concerned with fraternization, namely, prostitutes and "war brides."

3.1. The Emergence of "Pan-Pan"

One of the most prevalent images about the fraternization during this period was largely associated with the image of prostitution. As a matter of fact, soon after the occupation had started, many impoverished women fell into a situation where they had no option but working as prostitutes if they expected to earn a high income. As GIs were generally much wealthier than the average Japanese men at that time, the women regarded them as important targets. Thus, they would often be sighted in the night accompanied by GIs in the areas surrounding US military facilities.

It did not take long before these women―"pan-pan," "women in the night," or "women in the dark," as they were called―drew public attention. As several researchers point out, they evoked contradictory feelings that concurrently involved envy, hatred, and pity among the Japanese[6]. The envy felt toward them stemmed from the fact that their costumes and belongings, often given to them by GIs, symbolized the wealth of the USA. Their typical images, wearing American-style clothes, smoking American cigarettes, putting on high-heels, carrying a handbag, and wearing heavy facial make-up and manicured nails, were circulated to the public through photos, newspaper articles, and so on. In fact, these items all appeared very luxurious to most Japanese people, who were struggling to make ends meet.

The other cause of this envy was the sense of defeat and impotence shared by the Japanese. This was the case with men in particular, as they felt they could not protect the young women of their own nation from becoming targets of the sexual desire of Americans, their former enemies. This feeling was well captured in a short novel entitled *Ogon Densetsu* (The Legend of Gold, 1946) by male author Ishikawa Jun (1899-1987). It depicts a man searching for a certain woman who was the wife of his friend but whom he could not resist loving. She had been missing since losing both her husband and fortune in the Great Tokyo Air Raid. When he finally found her in a cafeteria in Yokohama, she had completely lost the courteousness that had characterized her charm. In fact, she had drastically transformed herself into a bold and defiant prostitute. At last, she turns her back to him and runs away to her beloved black GI, who is tall and seemingly strong.

Japanese women who flirted with GIs, including "pan-pan," also became targets for hatred among the Japanese. According to Yasutomi Shigeyoshi (2005 a : 24), as early as a few months after the occupation period started, *Asahi Shimbun* began to post articles about them in a tone that lamented their lack of good manners and discipline. As he also notes, their representations in the newspapers tended to reproduce similar stories, lamenting the "moral decay" of Japan or the loss of the "chastity of Japanese women" (*ibid.* : 15).

Considering all of the above, it is possible to see the ambivalent status conferred to "pan-pan" by the Japanese during this period. On the one hand, they were objects of envy and adoration who embodied American richness. On the other hand, however, they were also abhorred and separated from Japanese society as defiled people. Either way, their extraordinariness from Japanese society tended to be emphasized.

It should also be noted that some novels and films were created during this period that illustrated the decadent lifestyle of prostitutes in one way or another. For instance, a novel entitled *Nikutai no Mon* (Gate of Flesh, 1947) by male author Tamura Taijiro (1911-1983) depicted the everyday lives of such prostitutes tainted with sex and violence. It gained great

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6) See Dower (1999) ; Molasky (1999) ; Yasutomi (2005 a) ; Yoshimi (2007).

popularity at the time of publication as a work broadly categorized as decadent literature that captured the "culture of defeat" of the occupation era (Dower 1999). On the other hand, Mizoguchi Kenji (1898-1956), male film director known since the 1930s for his excellence in illustrating the delicate feelings of women, made a film entitled *Yoru no Onnatachi* (Women in the Night, 1948). Here, he illustrated a tragic story concerning the degeneration of a decent housewife in Osaka, bereaved of her husband as a result of the war, to the status of prostitute. Indeed, these stories were based purely on Japanese settings and seemed to have nothing to do with the Americans, apparently. Considering that the General Headquarters (GHQ) had exercised censorship of Japanese media throughout the occupation period to restrict any criticism against the Allied occupation, it would hardly have been possible to illustrate the actually existing sexual relationships of GIs with Japanese prostitutes in literary and cinematic fiction. However, these stories likely caused the Japanese of that era to imagine the prostitutes that they encountered in their everyday lives, including "pan-pan," as miserable and pitiful women.

3.2. The Emergence of "War Brides"

Let us now turn to the case of "war brides." In fact, the marriage of Japanese woman to GIs started to appear as early as March or April of 1946 (the precise month is unclear). One of the cases most cited in the mass media (and possibly the earliest case) took place in Tokyo in April 1946 between the actress Miura Mitsuko and a Japanese American GI. After this, similar cases of intermarriage ensued and became public knowledge (Yasutomi 2005 a : 34-6).

According to Takeshita Shuko (2000), there are four major reasons that explain the emergence of this phenomenon in the immediate aftermath of the Asia-Pacific War. The first is the expectation of Japanese women that they would live a better life with the Americans, who were generally much wealthier than were their Japanese contemporaries. The second is the shortage of young Japanese men, as many of them lost their lives during the war. Facing the difficulty of finding a Japanese partner, women naturally searched for one among the GIs, who were mostly young and single. The third is the attractiveness of American men to Japanese women. While Japanese men had lost confidence and suffered from inferiority complexes because of their war defeat, American men appeared more handsome and confident. Moreover, the Americans tended to behave gently and kindly to Japanese women, customs to which Japanese men were not really accustomed to at that time. The fourth is the expanded opportunities for Japanese women to encounter GIs in and around the US military facilities. Faced with financial and material difficulties, many women had to work outside their homes to make ends meet. The US military offered various jobs for them, such as secretary, typist, clerk, waitress, housekeeper for American families, and so on.

As is clear from the above explanations, one can see a certain degree of similarity in the

backgrounds of "war brides" and the prostitutes outlined previously. As a consequence, Japanese society had a general tendency to lump together the identities of these two groups of women, regarding them as a "social problem" brought about by the specific circumstances of the Allied occupation. A negative image of "war brides" was also constructed partly as a result of the conservative attitude of the Japanese toward intermarriage. As Yasutomi Shigeyoshi (2005 a : 34-6) pointed out, the April 1952 monthly journal *Maru* (Circle)[7] featured the pros and cons of intermarriage according to the Japanese intellectuals of the day. It shows that most of them were against it.

4. Miserable and Pitiful : Images of "War Brides" in the 1950s and 1960s

4.1. GIs as Perpetrators, Japanese Women as Victims

The 1950s was the time when the already prevalent images of "misery" associated with those Japanese women who had sexual relationships with GIs were reproduced and consolidated in various media and fiction. Moreover, such images started to add some new colors. In the late 1940s, as outlined in the previous chapter, the perceived degeneration of the Japanese women had not been framed as violence caused by the Americans but rather as a matter of the decadence of Japanese society itself. However, as Japan regained independence in 1952 and the GHQ's censorship of the press was lifted accordingly, moral indignation toward the GI's violation of the chastity of Japanese women started to constitute a major theme in the new narratives on this cross-border intimacy.

In general, they show a strong tendency toward chauvinism and sexism, in terms that GIs were illustrated almost exclusively as ferocious perpetrators of sexual violence and Japanese women as pitiful losers who spoiled their entire lives through these erotic relations. A book entitled *Nihon no Teisō* (The Chastity of Japan, 1953) was a case in point. Here, male editor Mizuno Hiroshi presented, with a tone of anger towards Americans, a series of memoranda written by those Japanese women themselves who had become intimate with GIs during the occupation period and had eventually been victimized through their sexual violence. While the episodes highlighted were mostly concerned with the experiences of former prostitutes, he also made a point that many "war brides" likely followed a similar path.

The book caused a sensation when it was published and was reprinted many times. It paved the way for similar accounts to appear thereafter[8]. In fact, as Michael Molasky (1999)

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7) A monthly journal published since 1948 from *Rengō Puresu*. While the publisher changed to *Ushio Shobō* since 1954, it still keeps publishing issues on the monthly basis. It started as a journal that dealt with wide-ranging topics related to current affairs, but it increasingly came to strengthen its characteristics as a military journal in the 1950s. While Yasutomi (2005 a) notes that this feature was published in April 1949, I confirmed that it was actually published in April 1952.

8) Notable among them are Goshima (1953) ; Tanaka (1957).

speculates, the sensationalism and erotic descriptions that characterized this kind of book were probably aimed at satisfying the desire of male readers. In this way, the suffering of women who had fallen in love with GIs during the chaotic period of occupation ironically emerged as a dramatic story that drew the attention of the Japanese, who had started to recover from the trauma of the war and to live in a society that was gaining greater stability than ever before.

Let us now turn to the representation of Japanese "war brides" in the 1950s. In fact, this decade was the peak time of their emergence, as their intermarriages with GIs counted no fewer than some forty or fifty thousand cases by the early 1960s (Yasutomi 2005 a : 37). Accordingly, their coverage in popular media became more prominent than that in the previous era. However, similar to the case of the prostitutes discussed earlier, these women tended to be stereotypically imagined as leading "unhappy" and "miserable" lives. It was not only the above-mentioned case of *Nihon no Teisō*. In fact, such images had emerged even earlier, when the marriage of actress Miura Mitsuko (see the previous chapter) failed in the USA and she returned to Japan in November 1951. This episode became a great target for popular magazines and widely known to the public. As Yasutomi Shigeyoshi (2005 b : 112-3) remarks, the story of a celebrity's failed intermarriage satisfied the curiosity of the public and left them to associate "war brides" in general with "failed marriage" and "downfall." To substantiate his point, he also analyses the coverage of Japanese "war brides" in Japanese popular magazines in the 1950s. Of the forty-two articles he found, those that reported them positively account for eight, ten report neutrally, and the other twenty-four report negatively.

In addition to the above, I searched the online archive *Kikuzō* of *Asahi Shimbun*. Out of the eight articles that I found via the keyword "war bride" in the issues published throughout the 1950s, six were about those Japanese women married to GIs, while the other two were about those married to Australian servicemen[9]. Out of the six articles concerned with the American cases, the first was not directly about "war brides" themselves but about the release of the Hollywood film *Japanese War Bride* in New York[10]. It reports that the film critics did not evaluate it highly but that actress Yamaguchi Yoshiko, who performed as the "war bride," won acclaim[11]. On the other hand, two other articles mentioned "war brides" positively ; one story was about a "war bride" living happily with her husband[12], and the other about a "war bride"

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9) Besides Japanese "war brides" married to American GI, it is estimated that there are about 650 Japanese women who married Australian servicemen stationed in the western part of Japan as the members of the Allied Forces. It is interesting, and worth exploring, that they have generally been represented in a more positive way in Japanese media than those 'war brides' married to GI. For those "war brides" migrated to Australia, see Tamura (2002).

10) *Japanese War Bride* (1952) is a film about a Korean war veteran (white man) who falls in love with and marries a Japanese nurse and brings her home to California. Also, *Sayonara* (Goodbye) (1957) is another Hollywood film about the love romance between white GI and Japanese woman that takes place during the Korean War.

11) "Performance of Yamaguchi Yoshiko Favourably Received : 'Japanese War Bride'," *Asahi Shimbun,* January 31, 1952, accessed from *Kikuzō.* All the articles from *Asahi Shimbun* hereafter were originally written in Japanese and translated into English by the current author.

12) "A Happy War Bride : The Case of Bāchu Yoshiko, Passing the US Naturalization Test," *Asahi Shimbun,* July ↗

who had earned money in the USA and sent presents to interracial children living in a welfare center in Tokyo[13].

By contrast, I found two other articles that illustrated "war brides" negatively. One refers to them as "today's 'Madame Butterfly,'" who followed her beloved husband all the way to the USA but later suffered from various troubles, such as exclusion from American society, marital discordance, loneliness, culture gap, language barrier, and so on[14]. The other reports on the increase of Japanese immigration to the USA in recent days as a favorable trend but adds that "most of them are 'war brides,' however," who have "caused a lot of tragic divorces" there[15].

Indeed, the number of positive accounts about "war brides" in *Asahi Shimbun* during this decade equated with that of negative ones. However, the former two accounts are about specific cases, while the latter two are concerned with reporting the general tendencies of "war brides." In this sense, it may well be argued that, as a whole, their negative images are emphasized more.

4.2. Illustration of "War Brides" with Cosmopolitan Intent and Its Consequences

It was in the 1960s that the first prominent attempt was made in literary fiction to represent Japanese "war brides" in ways that went beyond chauvinism, sexism, and the stereotypical accounts that simply stressed their "misery." This took the form of the novel *Hishoku* (Not Because of Color, 1964), the first in Japan that primarily focused on Japanese "war brides." Therein, female writer Ariyoshi Sawako (1931-1984) illustrated the story of Emiko, a Japanese woman who married an African American GI in Tokyo in the 1940s and moved to New York. Indeed, Emiko's life after the migration is depicted as full of hardships ; she has to live in Harlem with her husband, who retired from the US military, only to find that he had no job prospects other than low-wage labor. She has to rear four children in spite of impoverishment ; also, as she is engaged in a series of part-time jobs as a waitress in Japanese restaurants or as a housemaid, she is constantly cast a cynical gaze from the customers and employers as a "war bride" and as the wife of a "negro."

While the above story may well be interpreted as a "tragedy" on the surface, it is rich enough to allow readers to find various other themes. It may first be read as a story of Emiko's self-growth as an independent woman. In fact, she never shows any sign of weakness—note that the "spirit of independence" is depicted as a force that always drives her—and accomplishes her

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↘ 11, 1953, accessed from *Kikuzō*.

13) "Sending Presents to Mixed-blood Children with Love : By Money Earned through Working in a Restaurant, From a 'War Bride' in the USA," *Asahi Shimbun,* December 4, 1953, accessed from *Kikuzō*.

14) "Today's 'Madame Butterfly' Never Disappears : Throng of Waitresses Whose Hopes are Gone," *Asahi Shimbun,* December 3, 1952, accessed from *Kikuzō*.

15) "Good Record in the US Immigration : Most of Them are 'War Brides', However," *Asahi Shimbun,* November 17, 1954, accessed from *Kikuzō*.

role as a strong wife and mother of her family. The story may also be interpreted as raising the issue of how to live in harmony with people from different cultural backgrounds. Through her experiences of living in a melting pot like New York, Emiko finds that there exist multi-layered hierarchies not only between whites and non-whites but even among whites (such as the distinction of Jews and Italians), as well as among non-whites (such as the discriminating attitude of blacks toward Puerto Ricans). As a result, she reaches a conviction that it is not the epidermal difference that constitutes the root cause of racial discrimination, but human nature's desire to construct hierarchy between different people—thus the title of the novel.

In fact, the above themes have an obvious connection with the childhood experiences of Ariyoshi Sawako herself. As her father was a banker who had to move frequently for work globally, she spent most of her childhood abroad, including in New York and Java, before the Asia-Pacific War broke out (Hinuma 1967 : 358-9). This probably played a decisive role in nurturing a cosmopolitan sensibility within her that led her to identify with "war brides" to a great degree and thus to illustrate their conviviality with people from different cultural backgrounds.

However, the novel does not seem to have contributed greatly to improving the image of "war brides" in Japan during the 1960s. On the online archive *Kikuzō,* I found nine articles that include the word "war brides" in *Asahi Shimbun* issued throughout this decade. Two are positive illustrations of Japanese "war brides" married to Australians. Of the other seven articles, which refer to those Japanese "war brides" living in the USA, none provide an account that can be classified as wholly positive. The first one was about a "war bride," who had divorced two years prior to attempting suicide in a prison cell in the State of New Jersey after being arrested for vagrancy[16]. The next one was issued subsequently about a week later and reported that a charitable organization in San Francisco would soon start an investigation into the problems of Japanese "war brides" arising out of "the differences of race, language, manners and customs with American husband."[17]

Even around the time of the publication of *Hishoku,* miserable and negative images associated with "war brides" did not cease. It could even be argued that they became more prominent than before. This was the case in a report that a "war bride" was killed in the State of Indiana[18] and in news about another war bride arrested in Osaka for repeatedly smuggling jewels into Japan[19]. On top of these, another narrative on "war brides" started to appear in the

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16) "War Bride Attempting Suicide : In a Prison Cell in the City of Trenton," *Asahi Shimbun,* April 16, 1960, accessed from *Kikuzō.*

17) "Investigating the State of War Brides : Two Years Plan, Charitable Organisation in the USA," *Asahi Shimbun,* April 24, 1960, accessed from *Kikuzō.*

18) " USA : War Bride Killed'," *Asahi Shimbun,* April 9, 1964, accessed from *Kikuzō.*

19) "Going Home with Jewels : War Bride Arrested for Smuggling," *Asahi Shimbun,* August 15, 1967,　accessed from *Kikuzō.*

mid-1960s, which depicted them as "strangers" who had lost their Japanese-ness due to their long-term absence from Japan. This was evident in an episode of a news correspondent coming across ten Japanese "war brides" living in the Midway Island of the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands. As he noted, "Their Japanese accents were a bit strange, probably because they haven't used them for ages."[20]

Regarding the tendency of the press to reproduce extraordinary images of "war brides" in the 1960s, Yasutomi Shigeyoshi (2005 b : 105) discusses how the publication of *Hishoku* may have even strengthened, in spite of the intention of Ariyoshi Sawako herself, the "miserable" image that they had been given. This indicates that Japanese society during this period was still not open enough to find progressive meanings in the cross-border lives and resultant hardships that were experienced by "war brides," and expressed by Ariyoshi Sawako.

5. Estranged, Forgotten, and Eventually Normalized? Transitions of "War Bride" Images in the 1970s and Thereafter

So far, I have highlighted that postwar Japanese society until the 1960s had a great tendency to imagine and represent Japanese "war brides" as "others" in one way or another because of their perceived extraordinariness. In this chapter, I am going to provide a brief overview of some transitions in these images in Japanese popular media after the 1960s. The materials used here include those newspaper articles and major literary works of fiction concerning them that were published after this decade. Although somewhat speculative owing to the relative absence of materials I have at this stage, this overview is aimed first at making the point that the fraternization of GIs and Japanese women after the Asia-Pacific War may have started to lose reality in the mindset of the Japanese in the 1970s. I will also add, as an important trend change after this decade, that they may be increasingly regarded as "ordinary" affairs in Japanese society from the late 1980s onward.

I will first discuss the images of "war brides" in the 1970s. By the beginning of this decade, some twenty years or more had passed since the painful period of the Asia-Pacific War and the subsequent occupation of Japan by the Allied Forces. This meant that an increasing number of younger generation Japanese now lacked firsthand experience of this period. As a result, curiosity about the "tragedy" of "war brides" seems to have waned in the media and popular imagery throughout this decade. In fact, this tendency can be discerned in *Asahi Shimbun*. In *Kikuzō,* I found only two articles that include the term "war bride" during this decade. While one is about a "war bride" living happily in Australia, the other, which is about another "war bride" living in the USA, stresses that she had become estranged from Japan over the course of

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20) "War Brides Turned Up, Too : Training Fleet Visiting Midway," *Asahi Shimbun,* August 3, 1964, accessed from *Kikuzō.*

time. It highlights an episode, which she shared with a correspondent, about her visit to Japan a year prior, after a long absence. When she went to a bank to change her US dollars to Japanese yen, a young clerk dubiously asked her, "Oh, are you American?" She then replied, "Yes, a war bride." "However," as the article reads, "it did not make sense to this young clerk."[21]

In fact, the above illustration of "war brides," in terms of their estrangement from Japan, has a significant resonance with literary fiction about them published in the same decade. A case in point is *Betty-san no Niwa* (Betty's Garden, 1973) by female novelist Yamamoto Michiko (1936-present). This tells the story of a "war bride" who had married an Australian serviceman in Tokyo in the early 1950s and subsequently moved to Australia. This woman, called "Betty" there, did not have a chance to go back to Japan for about twenty years. As a consequence, she is captivated by feelings of nostalgia and melancholia about Japan. As she starts to organize parties with Japanese fishermen who visit Australia regularly for deep-sea fishing, her relationship with her husband becomes strained. This certainly is not a story that overly emphasizes the misery and degeneration of "war brides," as was often the case in their representations in previous decades. However, the loneliness and alienation that characterize the everyday life of "Betty" may leave the readers imagining that intermarriage will lead to hardships in many respects.

It was in the late 1980s that Japanese "war brides" themselves started to make conscious efforts to create their positive images. Frustrated by the fact that they had always been represented as "miserable" women by Japanese media, some of them organized the Nikkei International Marriage Society in the State of Washington in 1989 (Hayashi 2005). In addition to providing them with opportunities to communicate with each other and strengthen their ties, the society has also played a major role in constructing their self-identification as "grassroots ambassadors" between Japan and the USA (Hayashi 2002). Based on this identity, they embarked on a campaign to make the public of both Japan and America recognize that their marriages to GIs are to be evaluated as great contributions to bridging the two nations. Since then, their voices started to be heard in Japanese society via introductions by concerned intellectuals, journalists, and authors, who either felt a strong affinity with them or were enthusiastic about handing down the memory of the Asia-Pacific War to future generations. As the number of intermarriages increased considerably at the end of the Twentieth Century, some such enthusiasts even started to argue that Japanese "war brides" should be respected as the pioneers of intermarriage in Japan[22]. In this sense, it could be argued that the cross-border lives

21）"Correspondent's Note : War Bride," *Asahi Shimbun,* October 7, 1975, accessed from *Kikuzō.*

22）See, among others, the series of works by woman non-fiction writer Hayashi Kaori (2002 ; 2005). Also, literary fictions on Japanese "war brides" published around the 1990s include the illustration of a respectful gaze cast by the then young Japanese toward elderly "war brides" as the forerunners of today's intermarriage. For such works, see the novel *Sekiryō Kōya* (Solitude Point, 1993) by male author Yoshimeki Haruhiko (1957-) and the short story *Sensō Hanayome no Kazoku* (A Family of War Bride, 1993) by then woman beaurocrat-cum-writer Ōizumi Hiroko (1950-).

and associated hardships experienced by Japanese "war brides" throughout the postwar era have come to be reframed and re-evaluated in the context of the Japanese people's increasing awareness of their interconnectedness to the world.

6. Directions for Further Research

In closing, I will consider some possible directions for further research on the subject of this article. First of all, it should be pointed out that the story of Japanese "war brides" outlined here finds an interesting parallel with research on fraternizing relations conducted in areas other than Japan. For instance, I find the work by cultural historian Mica Nava (2007) on the sexual and romantic relations between white English women and their "racial" and cultural "others" throughout the Twentieth Century particularly relevant. Drawing on some findings of psychoanalytic feminism[23], she attempts to explore whether women's relative openness to different "races" and cultures, or what she calls "visceral cosmopolitanism," in the former half of this century may have eventually paved the way for the contemporary normalization of difference in English culture. To substantiate her argument, she contends that the sexual and romantic encounters that actually took place between white English women and black GIs stationed in England in wartime from 1942 to 1945 created a positive change in the attitude towards "racial" and cultural difference in English culture. While both the similarities and differences should be well scrutinized between different cases, I think that associating the experiences of "war brides" with the concept of "visceral cosmopolitanism" may introduce new lines of inquiry into the discussion of war and "race," such as examination of the long-term consequences of fraternization in a postwar society that may have made positive contributions to cross-cultural understandings between former enemy groups.

From an empirical standpoint, there is no doubt that collecting and incorporating more available data on Japanese "war brides" will improve the reliability of the argument that I have attempted to elaborate throughout this article, namely, the point I made that these women were consistently framed to be Japan's "others" by Japanese media from the postwar era until the 1970s. As a matter of fact, in the process of this research, I encountered many articles published from the late 1940s until the 1970s, both in major newspapers other than *Asahi Shimbun* and in magazines, addressing "war brides" in manners other than those examined in this article. While I have not yet come across any materials that are sharply at odds with my overall argument here, a more focused and detailed analysis of each item may reveal more complicated and diverse experiences as well as illuminate the differences, if any, between the ways in which

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23) Focusing on the early mother/child bond in infant development, some of them attempt to maintain that men tend to construct a defensive ego by establishing strong boundaries between self and other, while women tend to develop 'a strong capacity for empathy, sensitivity and intimacy with other people' (Elliott 2002 : 130).

different media have represented Japanese "war brides" in different periods.

Acknowledgement

This article was originally prepared during the time that I was a research fellow at the Institute for Advanced Social Research, Kwansei Gakuin University, as a dissemination of the outcome of an international research collaboration project on "war and race" conducted jointly by the above institute and the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation. I would like to thank all those who were involved in the project at that time.

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