Normalising the Japanese Child:

Imagined Childhood in Institutional Photographs since the Second World War

Aurore Yamagata-Montoya

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of photographs of childhood and children in regulating the Japanese postwar 'imagined community'. Such representations, especially photographs, with the exception of images of young girls within Japanese pop culture, have attracted little scholarly interest. Equally, the link between the pervasive circulation of photographic images of children and formations of Japanese national identity has been neither recognised nor explored. I make an original contribution to knowledge by addressing these absences and by asking: how discourses of childhood are nuanced by the concerns of the Japanese state; in what ways such images are embedded within the formulation of a Japanese 'imagined community' as set out by Benedict Anderson (1983); to what degree the dominant photographic images offer and promote normative representations of childhood; and whether a homogeneous representation of childhood throughout the post-Second World War period can be identified.

I demonstrate that a range of dominant discourses about childhood in postwar Japan have disciplined the child in specifically "Japanese" ways and have helped to construct a wider national identity. Thus, state apparatuses use photography to construct a privileged "truth" about childhood and the imagined community through the production of discursive formations. I highlight in the different chapters three such discourses of childhood, each of which articulates some historically specific formations while contributing to an overarching discourse around the nation and the child. The first is that of the healthy child born to a young married couple and raised by a devoted mother, the dominant discourse of state apparatuses concerned with the so-called "fertility crisis" of the 1990s-2000s. The second is the child of the Second World War whose innocence and playfulness were used to define a new postwar Japanese identity of victimhood. The third is the child as model pupil and future 'little citizen', socialised into appropriate gender roles and hierarchical relationships through the regulatory experience of schooling. The various discourses explored in the thesis, each dominant in different contexts while also sharing common elements, have provided the state with a pool of available representations which shaped and regulated Japan's national identity and its sense of belonging throughout the last sixty years.

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Introduction: Overview

At the birth of the Princess Aiko in 2001, the Japanese nation rejoiced. The firstborn of the Crown Prince became the centre of media attention, which reported the joy of the Imperial family as well as that of government ministers and anonymous citizens throughout the country (Scanlon, 2001, n.p.). Seemingly, everybody in Japan was celebrating the Imperial birth, either organising the traditional drum festivals or queuing to sign the official congratulations book (BBC News, 2001, n.p.), and the birth was celebrated not simply as an addition to a family, but as a gift to the nation. The optimism that was felt was so strong that there was talk of a possible

Figure 1- Princess Masako holding her new born baby, Princess Aiko, 2001

economic upturn as a consequence (BBC News, 2001, n.p.). Although the Japanese Emperor has had no real political power since the defeat of the Second World War (1939-1945), the Imperial family remains a powerful symbol of Japanese national identity. Indeed, as Benedict Anderson suggests, 'the unique antiquity of the Japanese imperial house (Japan is the only country whose monarchy has been monopolised by a single dynasty throughout recorded history), and its emblematic Japanese-ness (contrast Bourbons and Habsburgs), made the exploitation of the Emperor for official-nationalist purposes rather simple' (Anderson, 1983, p.96). On this occasion, because all Japanese citizens were supposed to feel re-connected to their nation through this imperial lineage, what Anderson (1983) would term the 'imagined community' of Japan was made powerfully and visibly evident.

Indeed, the birth of the Princess had followed lengthy media debate about the absence of an heir to the throne, as well as highly gendered assumptions that it was due to the infertility of the Princess not the Prince that had led to eight childless years of a marriage

that was duty bound to produce an heir. At a time when government pronouncements equated Japan's falling birth rate to a "crisis of fertility", the birth of an Imperial baby reaffirmed the desirability and supposed naturalness of women giving birth. Indeed, at the press conference following the birth of the Princess, the new mother confirmed that motherhood's desirable state: 'I was truly grateful for the birth of our child' (Imperial Household Agency, 2002, n.p.).

If the birth of the Imperial Princess was a highly mediatised event, as have been the successive steps in her life, such as her first birthday or her first day at school, other images of Japanese children have attracted less critical attention. This is noteworthy because, in Japan, official images of childhood are everywhere, from the display of school albums in family homes, to advisory government posters in train stations, and exhibitions on childhood at prefectural and national museums. In this context, the use of children and childhood as part of the national imaginary is undeniable. However, whilst the place and importance of children, especially young girls in Japanese pop culture, has been extensively researched (Kinsella, 1995; Spencer, 2007; Galbraith, 2011; Miller, 2011), the wider representation of childhood, especially through photography, has attracted little scholarly interest. Equally, the link between the pervasive circulation of photographic images of children and the formation of Japanese national identity has been neither recognised nor explored. This thesis will make an original contribution to knowledge by addressing these absences and by asking how discourses of childhood are nuanced by the concerns of the state; in what ways images of childhood are embedded in the formulation of a specific Japanese imagined community; and whether the dominant photographic images offer and promote normative representations of childhood; it will also consider to what extent there has been a homogeneous representation of childhood since the postwar period.

These questions will be answered through my analysis of popular photographic images of children produced for private and public consumption, since the Second World War. That war marked a rupture in Japanese history because it ended the political form of Japanese imperialism and introduced new, Western-style democratic structures. Japan's enormous military defeat cast doubt on the nation's hitherto presumed superiority on which wartime propaganda had relied. The defeat was earth-shattering for the Japanese.

It questioned the construction of the Japanese nation as it had developed since the 1860s as an imperialist and superior power.

In this context, the figure of the child took on a new symbolism, not just as an emblem of modernity, but as an image of innocence and peace, as will be shown in Chapter Three. In Japan's standard "national history" the postwar and successive years are conventionally presented as a time of peace, in contrast to the pre-war period, with the cultural hegemony of Western and particularly American ideologies in Japan. This era was a period of reconstruction, not only of the infrastructure and organisation of Japanese society, but of national identity (Smith, 1991, p.25).

In his account of the construction of such identities of belonging, Anderson is especially focussed on the role of print media in the creation of the discursive formation he calls 'imagined community' (1983). His theory can be applied to subsequent and ongoing redefinitions of an imagined community through time. A national identity is not fixed but a developing concept redefined through events and changes in ideology and culture. In this thesis, I therefore consider the imagined community of Japan not as a monolithic bloc but as an evolving construction. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki points out,

> the policies of assimilation used to turn the people of the frontier into Japanese citizens involved a sharpening of the official definition of what it meant to be Japanese. But that definition itself was not constant or stable. Instead (...) it was contextual and changing, shaped both by circumstances within Japan and by the nature of relations between the Japanese state and the societies of the periphery (1998, 10).

This is central to the consideration in this project of a redefinition of Japanese identity following defeat in World War Two, and the establishment of new international diplomatic and power relations.

The American postwar occupation started as a period of radical change in politics and remodelling of Japan's institutions, alongside the establishment of liberal democracy (Seizelet, 2011, p.11). The 'postwar', is more than a historical period, it is an expression of Japanese identity. It involved a process of (re)creation at a time when the dominant identity was being questioned from inside and threatened from outside. The proclamation of a new era, a period of deep socio-political change, enabled the Japanese

people to detach themselves from the militarism of wartime ideology. The guilt at wartime actions was thus relegated to the past and explained by the mentality of a bygone period. This proclamation of a "new era" highlights both the intervention of the state in the formation of postwar national identity and the fluidity of such formations.

As I will argue, photographic images of children were central to these changes. Photography has played a distinctive and vital role in the development of Japanese national identity since 1945. After the war, it underwent a speedier economic recovery than many other cultural practices (Iizawa, 2003, p.210). Restrictions on film stock and photographic paper were lifted, and photographers focused on recording the return to peace in a devastated and starving country. The photo-realism movement of this period, led by Ken Domon (1909-1990), has become the dominant representational paradigm of postwar Japan, and, as I show in my analysis of museum exhibitions in Chapter Three, it plays a pivotal role in the construction of national identity. Consistently, images of children – playing, working, eating – were placed at the centre of these photographic practices, and thus became a locus of tensions between state power, cultural knowledge and formations of identity

By exploring these practices and other examples of the centrality of photography to the construction of a national imaginary, this thesis offers an innovative approach to research within the cultural and historical field. The project focuses on primary sources that have attracted little scholarly attention hitherto, although as I will elaborate, they are highly revealing of the relationship between images of childhood and the construction of the imagined community in the circulation of nationalist discourse. It addresses several gaps in current research on childhood and photography. First, it explores photography and childhood as apparatuses of discourse about national identity in the Japanese context and identifies the construction of a distinctive Japanese identity linked to the postwar experience. Second, its stress is on visual representations of contemporary childhood beyond the more widely researched media of Japanese pop culture of anime and manga, or the analysis of pre-modern art forms, such as woodblock prints.

Third, and crucially, Japan's unusual and unstable position within the East and West dichotomy, between developed and developing countries, between colonisers and

colonised societies, has made it difficult for foreign researchers to situate themselves and their subject of study. With the exception of global childhood studies (Stearns, 2005 and 2011), research has focused on culturally specific aspects of the Japanese story, hence contributing to the widely accepted (both by Japanese and foreigners) myth of Japanese uniqueness. Very recently, scholars have started to analyse and therefore critique this construction of uniqueness, and homogeneity of the Japanese nation articulated through the concept of *nihonjiron* (Dale, 1986; Yoshino, 1992). I think that it is only with the deconstruction of this myth that foreign scholars such as myself can legitimately research Japan and Japanese culture, and focus on the importance of international influences, without denying Japan its own identity. We will then be able to question aspects previously accepted as specifically and "naturally" Japanese, and as such, unquestionable and unexplainable. My position as a foreign researcher has given me the opportunity to reflect on the specificity of Japanese use of images of childhood while remaining outside the dominant framework of *nihonjinron* that pervade the academia on Japanese studies. I avoided considering Japanese culture as "naturally" unique and inscrutable. In addition, as a 'Third Culture Kid' (Pollock and Van Reken, 1999), my own relation to national identity enabled me to move between different discursive positions, without losing sight of the necessary critical distance. My multicultural (French-Spanish) background helped me see culture as a social construction. Such an approach also enables me to use Western derived theory without imposing a Western cultural model on Japan. The methodology and theories used in this thesis could therefore be applied to other nations with their specific national imaginings. Moreover, other nations also claim uniqueness yet share characteristics with Japanese culture. In Chapter Three, I illustrate how exhibitions construct Japanese national identity in relation to other nations.

For this project, I have selected several primary photographic sources from both private and public domains: private photographs, government posters, artistic photographs, historical documents, reproductions in catalogues, school yearbooks. They have been chosen because they have not previously attracted scholarly interest yet powerfully articulate Japanese national identity. Equally, these sources offer useful snapshots of the shifting ways in which photography, childhood and imagined community variably intersect across the postwar period. The material was gathered from archives, both private and

public, as well as from online databases. Much of the material was accessed during several research visits made to Japan as part of the initial scoping and execution of this thesis.

While in Japan, my research into the school albums involved conversations with yearbook owners. I use the word "conversation" in order to signal informality and their marked difference from social science interview methodologies. These meetings with yearbook owners were never intended to form part of the research, though inevitably, they provided invaluable contacts as well as insights into the personal value placed on the albums. Equally, research into the museum exhibitions led me to informally contact curators from all three institutions to obtain additional information regarding curatorial choices. More importantly, these "conversations" highlight that several languages – English, Japanese, French, and Spanish – were used interchangeably when conducting the research and that the thesis owes much of its originality to my ability to translate Japanese into English. The knowledge of Japanese language also enabled me to consider "portmanteau" phrases and words such as *shōshika*, *sarariman*, or *ikumen*, among others. Such concepts often do not have an equivalent in Western thought and can only be translated by periphrases, like *shōshika shakai* which is translated as "society with fewer children". They point to a very distinctively Japanese way of constructing not just language but ideology. As I develop in the next chapters, these kinds of terms work to regulate social behaviour and cultural thought by "closing off" alternative ways of understanding the world. By entering everyday discourse, they help to naturalise the discourses I identify, as is highly visible in Chapter Two with the terms *bakonka* and *bansanka*, which naturalise discourses on women's reproduction.

A brief chapter summary will now help to explain the specific details of the sources used and to introduce the structure and theoretical framework of the thesis in advance of a fuller discussion.

Structure and Theoretical Approaches

Chapter One begins my analysis by examining the mother and child handbooks which have been widely circulated through official sources since 1942 and which are still available for all pregnant Japanese women today. Examining these handbooks will establish how national identity and childhood are firmly intertwined in Japan. By developing the history of Japanese discourses around childhood and family in the postwar modern period I will also show how reconfiguring these practices as "traditional" helped them become dominant. I argue that the imagined community of Japan was built around such figures, especially through the family-state model, and that state disciplinary powers have acted upon the family and its members to create normative models. Drawing on Michel Foucault (1975), I explore two main disciplinary apparatuses, the *koseki* and the mother-child handbook noted above. These flag up the main themes that will be reiterated in subsequent chapters: the focus on "naturalness", the regulation of gender roles, the concern with a normativity of the body, and the disciplining of individual behaviour in relation to a national imaginary. The historical background provided by this chapter sets up a further context for the analysis I develop in the following chapters.

I then move on to discuss how photography developed as a social and cultural practice in the Japanese context and its importance in building the imagined community of Japan. I highlight the mechanisms of power that are behind the use of photography in state and private use and why this is important. This chapter thus establishes some of the key issues addressed in subsequent chapters by emphasising the characteristics of the dominant representations of children.

Chapter Two presents a systematic analysis of some of the official posters featuring children, mothers, and families observed in public spaces during my visit of 2014-2015, and which are now available on-line, via the Diet (Parliamentary) online library, or on the websites of the specific government bodies which produced them. Despite the development of new technologies, posters are still widely used by government agencies in Japan, often in conjunction with their digitalised versions, or when not in the same form, the written content is available online. The main corpus studied in this thesis is

composed of posters featuring photographs. However, these are paralleled with the use of art-based images to highlight the specific impact of photography. The diversity of sources from a range of Government Ministries, Offices and Bureaux, enables me to examine the homogeneity of the state discourse and of its representations.

Importantly, these posters have been used in Japanese government campaigns to encourage reproduction since the *shōshika* period - literally meaning "society with fewer children" - starting in the late 1980s, when the birth rate began to decline. It is striking how such campaigns consistently conflate the falling birth rate with declining female fertility, despite lack of scientific evidence to support this. The highly gendered discourses are reproduced in the ideology of blame. Two related campaigns can be identified from the 1990s to the 2010s, one exhorting Japanese families to have more children; the second focusing on the "proper" way to undertake childrearing. The visual analysis of those materials contributes to understanding how notions of private and public are intertwined and how they define the child as an object of surveillance for Japanese society as a whole. Interestingly and importantly, those posters position the body within dominant gender roles. The different posters analysed reaffirm dominant ideologies that encourage a family model based on young nuclear heterosexual families, and discourages children born out of wedlock. Womanhood is thus conflated with motherhood, whereas fatherhood is more easily renegotiated and is being affirmed as essential for the future of the imagined community.

Chapter Three is concerned with the centrality of public photography exhibitions of childhood images to the idea of Japanese national identity in the postwar period, and examines three different examples of these (2006-2011, 2011 and 2012). The first was a triptych exhibition curated by the Japanese Metropolitan Museum of Photography in Tokyo in 2011, and it presented photographs of Japanese and non-Japanese children together, as well as the work of Japanese and Western photographers. I was able to visit the first of the three series of exhibitions, *Children and War*, in June 2011. For the other two series, my analysis is reliant on the exhibition catalogue (Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Children, 2011, *Kodomo*) lists of exhibited artworks and other data available on the Museum website.

The second focus of analysis in this chapter is Domon's famous series of photographs exhibited at the eponymous museum, using both the published photobooks (Domon, 1958, 1960, 1995 *Kodomotachi*, 2000, 2002 and 2006) and private correspondence with the museum staff (Otake, 2012) about the way the different photographs are articulated in the exhibition space. The third exhibition, *Scenes of Childhood: 60 Years*, travelled worldwide from 2006 until 2011, and was exhibited thirty-two times in nineteen different countries. I used the Japan Foundation website and annual reports as my main resource. I was able to see the catalogue (Japan Foundation, 2008, *Scenes*) and leaflets (Japan Information and Culture Centre, 2009) of two of the exhibitions in the United States and Germany. This chapter explores how childhood is represented in the cultural and patrimonial field as a symbol of the nation. Here I highlight a dominant representation of the Japanese child as victim that contributed to the construction of a new, non-aggressive postwar national identity. Indeed, by positioning the child as emblematic of the nation the Japanese postwar state was able to turn itself from aggressor to victim.

In Chapter Four, my primary sources are five school albums or "yearbooks" belonging to three generations of the same family: the grandparent's albums cover the years 1942 and 1951, the mother's 1977 and the sons' 2005 and 2010. Whilst schools were contacted in order to gather more information about their history, to request access to their photographic archives and to talk with the current staff in charge of the school album, this was denied because of child protection issues. However, my analysis of the yearbooks was enriched when the family agreed to share other family photographs depicting the members as children and young persons. Access to these documents enabled me to consider intergenerational changes in representations of the schoolchild as well as divergences within the same generation, and to locate these changes within some significant shifts that took place in the Japanese state's approach to representations of childhood from the mid-twentieth to the early twenty-first centuries.

This chapter explores the discourses around the child as pupil. I examine how such school photographs construct, compose and restrict the child's body within the frontiers of the school/the uniform/the photographic frame and what kinds of conventions determine this. I focus on identifying two supposedly uniquely "Japanese"

characteristics: "traditional" gender roles and the respect of hierarchy and the elders. As I will show, the school albums present a rigidly hierarchical model of citizenship and social identity in visual form.

Any analysis of photographic images needs to address the materiality of the photograph (its historical status) as well as the subject it represents, through the application of visual analysis tools: both cultural (that is the codes of real life that are indexed in the photographs through the mimetic ability of photography, e.g., body posture, garments, facial expression, etc.) and photographic conventions (e.g., frame, lighting, composition, viewing point, depth of field, scale, etc.). John Berger has highlighted the importance of the indexical capacity of the photograph: 'the language in which photography deals is the language of events. All its references are external to itself' (1967, p.20). Images cannot then be considered merely for their artistic conventions and need to be placed within the contexts of production and/or consumption. Berger himself uses both cultural and photographic conventions in his analysis of Kertész's picture. He illustrates how 'we need to know something of the history of the past' (1967, p.75) to understand the meaning of the photograph. Stuart Hall further affirms that,

> representation can only be properly analysed in relation to the actual concrete forms which meaning assumes, in the concrete practices of signifying, 'reading', and interpretation; and these require analysis of the actual signs, symbols, figures, images, narratives, words and sounds - the material forms - in which symbolic meaning is circulated. (1997, *Work* p.9)

Throughout this thesis I therefore consider photography as a 'representational system' (Hall, 1997, *Work,* p.5). In Chapter Three, I also extend this definition to the exhibition, 'since it uses objects on display to produce certain meanings about the subject-matter of the exhibition' (Hall, 1997, *Work,* p.5). The term "representation" refers to 'an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture (Hall, 1997, *Work,* p.15). Hall's concept of representation is itself directly linked with national identity and regulation (1997, *Work,* p.1-5), two ideas central to this thesis and developed through the theoretical frameworks of Anderson (1983), Anthony Smith (1991) and Foucault (1975; 1980).

We have moreover to be careful when talking about photography. Roland Barthes outlined the difficulty of defining and classifying photography (1980, p.14). John Tagg further affirms the lack of definition by highlighting the heterogeneity of the photograph:

> Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it. Its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work. Its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence, and its products are meaningful and legible only within the particular currencies they have. Its history has no unity. It is a flickering across the field of institutional spaces. (1988, 63)

We cannot then talk of the "history of photography" but of "histories of photographies", in which the diversity of the different contexts of emergence, evolution, and practices of production and consumption, are taken into account. The chapters of this thesis each consider a different institutional context in which photographs are produced and consumed. Each one, then, has a specific history and relation to photography. This perception of photography as plural also helps to explain divergences between the discourses and methods of display of the different institutions involved (government ministries and bureaux, museums, schools).

My primary research for/of photographic images of Japanese children in the shifting contexts of the extensive postwar time span was intertwined with a study of scholarship into biographical/anthropological studies and their insights into Japan's social history. Central to this strand of research is Gail Lee Bernstein's (2005) portrait of a rural Japanese family. Bernstein retraces the Matsuura family lineage over thirteen generations, from the end of the sixteenth century to the present day. Her account of the Matsuura gives us an insightful overview of how social and political changes influenced the individuals, including children, and their experience of childhood.

Further research also includes several accounts of Umeko Tsuda's life, among them Barbara Rose's important contribution (1992), which provides an insight into early modern experiences of schooling, gendered expectations, and the imagined community of Japan. She was among the first Japanese women to defend women's education. Following a childhood spent in America, Tsuda fought to establish American-style

women's education in Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and was part of the modernisation process which brought Western attitudes and practices to Japan, including photography, during the Meiji era (1868-1912). She was one of the five girls sent to America in 1871 as part of the Iwakura mission to be instructed in the "Western ways". The mission and her ten-year stay interestingly highlight the construction of Japanese national identity, and women's identity within the new gendered spaces of modernity (Yamagata-Montoya, 2017). Additionally, I visited the museum at Tsuda College, in the Tokyo prefecture, where I was able to talk with one of the curators about Tsuda's life in America. Unfortunately, and contrary to my hopes, I was not able to obtain any information that could help me understand how and when school photographs developed in Japan. Nevertheless, Tsuda's experience of schooling abroad (and of school photographs) could provide an entry point into further historical research on the development of school albums in Japan.

More recently, the childhood memoirs of television star Tetsuko Kuroyanagi, *Totto-Chan: The Little Girl by the Window* (1981) offer an unusual account of schooling in an experimental school during World War II. I also relied on the work of Morris-Suzuki (1984) who compiled individual stories of growing up in the immediate pre-war period. Finally, Beate Sirota Gordon's narration (1997) of the American occupation and her role in the drafting of the new Japanese constitution sheds light on the postwar rupture and Western influence on changes in Japanese society, and especially on the way women and children were perceived and represented. Sirota Gordon was among the first civilians to be sent to Japan after the defeat because of her knowledge of the Japanese language and culture, which she had acquired from growing in Japan where her father was a famous musician.

Methodology: Theoretical Approaches

This thesis adopts an interdisciplinary approach located at the intersection of childhood studies, cultural studies, cultural history, Japanese studies, and photography. More importantly, perhaps, it seeks to establish a dynamic, a dialogue, between theories of childhood and theories of national identity in its analysis of photographic imagery. If childhood is central to this project, it is so in the measure that childhood is constructed as emblematic of a Japanese identity. There is thus a double discourse to consider: Japan as an imagined community and childhood as part of this imagined identity. Initially, I wish to establish that, following Allison and Adrian James' definition, I use the terms, "the child" to signify a constructed ideal of childhood (2004, p.15).

Thus, this project takes as its starting point that "childhood" is a social construction that has developed over time, primarily since the eighteenth century, and that it is a category which continues to reflect and articulate different ideologies of national identity and behaviour. In Japanese culture specifically, Western ideals of the nuclear family and of childhood as a separate identity have been instrumental in the re-mediation of images of children and ideas about childhood from the mid nineteenth century onwards, when the encounter with Western modernity became fully engaged (Hwang, 1996; Hashimoto and Traphagan, 2008). This process, partially halted by the rise of Japanese militarism in the 1930s and 40s and by the Second World War, re-emerged in the postwar period via American influence during the Occupation years (1945-52). This period saw the successful rebuilding and development of the Japanese economy, and especially for the purposes of this thesis, of photographic equipment with a rise in sales of cameras (Nelson, 1998, p.8). This shift was aided by the US Occupation forces which developed the Japanese economy, including photography which strongly progressed during the 1930s and 40s for military use, to relieve the tax burden that it represented on Ally powers, and used Japan's economic stability to fight Chinese communism (Nelson, 1998, p.11).

At the same time, the child became the privileged subject for both professional and amateur photographers as a symbol of postwar survival and national legitimacy, as in Domon's photographs of children. More importantly for this thesis, as I further develop in Chapter Three, its non-threatening innocence was appropriated by the imagined

community of post-war Japan in ways not dissimilar to the process described by Jacqueline Rose in relation to the alignment of 'Englishness' and childhood innocence in public debates when the decline of the British Empire instigated a reconfiguration of national identity defined through discourses of innocence and new beginnings (1984, p.xii). Crucially, the attributes of "childlikeness" are not always fixed on the "child" and can be extended to other members of the imagined community, such as the old and women. The equation of women with children is a residual cultural element (Groothuis, 1997, p.167) that was reworked in postwar Japanese popular culture through ideas of *kawaii* or "cute", which as Sharon Kinsella suggests essentially means childlike; and celebrates feminine social behaviour and physical appearances as being 'sweet, adorable, innocent, pure, simple, genuine, gentle, vulnerable, weak, and inexperienced' (1995, p.220). The similarity between the adjectives used in relation to *kawaii* are Anne Higonnet's account 'innocent child' (1998) and Mark Jones' 'childlike child' (2010) is striking.

Given that this thesis is based on the presupposition that both childhood and visual representations are cultural constructions, it is legitimate to wonder how and why both were so regularly articulated together. Before considering the representation of childhood and children, however, it is necessary to set out some of the main issues concerning childhood as a cultural construct.

While comprehensive discussion of these topics is beyond the scope of this work, I will summarise the major points of relevance. Philippe Ariès (1960) began the work of mapping childhood in historical terms. Focusing on French society, he develops the claim that childhood did not exist until the eighteenth century. Critically for this thesis, Ariès bases his arguments on visual representations of children: 'medieval art until about the twelfth century did not know childhood or did not attempt to portray it. It is hard to believe that this neglect was due to incompetence or incapacity; it seems more probable that there was no place for childhood in the medieval world' (1960, p.31). Thus, the absence of a 'particular nature of childhood' (Ariès, 1960, p.125) was proof for Ariès of the lack of an idea of childhood as a separate stage of life, as different from adulthood.

Although Ariès' theory has been subject to debate, his work opened up the discipline of childhood studies. He was the first to consider childhood and the family as the product of cultural influences rather than of nature, thus evolving through time and space. However, it should be noted here that Ariès' study is entirely Euro-centric; Japan has always had a different pictorial and cultural tradition in which the child occupied an important role much earlier in its history (Koyama-Richard, 2004; Kami, 1998). So, Ariès' work is of limited value, despite setting up the basic issues.

From a sociological tradition, Allison James, Chris Jenks and Alan Prout developed the theoretical framework to deconstruct 'those very discourses that have established taken-for-granted "truths" about childhood' (1998, p.9). The authors identify the development of theoretical models of childhood in three steps: first, the 'presociological', i.e. those that 'have become part of the conventional wisdom surrounding the child' (1998, p.3), which are the visual representations of childhood highlighted by Higonnet (1998); second, the 'transitional' models that resulted from the 'awakening of social theory's concerns with childhood' (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.4); and lastly, sociological approaches informed by theoretical work. These latter amount to four main typologies: the socially constructed child, the tribal child, the minority group child and the social structural child.

My approach to the discourses of childhood here is informed by the idea of the 'socially constructed child', which 'suspend[s] a belief in or a willing reception of its taken-for-granted meanings' (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.27). In this constructivist perspective, politics have come to occupy an increasingly large space in childhood studies. Indeed, 'children are now at the centre of political strategies in late modernity, but strategies designed to govern the individual through the capture of the inside, rather than constraints of the outside. So doing, it illuminated the subtleties of new forms of power-knowledge' (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.8). The Foucauldian concept of modern discipline (discussed in more detail later) is used by James, Jenks and Prout here to explain the construction of childhood as culturally differentiated from adulthood and limited to specialised spaces and timetables (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.45 and p.63; Foucault, 1975, p.141-2 and p.149). I go further to argue that Japanese childhood is not only constructed by the state through those mechanisms of modern discipline

defined by Foucault but also within the context of a specifically Japanese history. Here I identify a structure of childhood with a national identity that is both local in its specificities and global in its "naturalness".

The dominance of social constructivism in childhood studies has however fostered debate about the risk of 'abandoning the embodied material child' (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.28). After all, this theoretical model, like the presociological theories it attempted to replace, has limits,

> Social constructionism stands in danger of replacing one reductionism with another: in brief, the body and the child appear as effects of social relations, leaving little room for the body/child as a physical or corporeal entity. In the social constructionist version, the body/child becomes dissolved as a material entity and is treated as a discursive object - the product not of an interaction between "nature" and "culture" but purely an effect of discourse. (1998, p.146)

In short, 'the (material) body should be understood as at least the limit or constraint on the possibilities of infinite and diverse constructions of childhood' (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.147). However, as Hall develops, language, i.e. representation, creates meaning (Hall, 1997, *Work*, p.1), including the material body. This stand goes against the foundationalist view that 'the body is a real, material entity which is not reducible to the many different frameworks of meaning to be found cross-culturally' (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.148-9). However, a basic premise of this project is that discourse frames our material experiences, including those of the body. Anti-foundationalist considerations thus indicate that 'it is these discourses, or ways of representing the body, that structure and shape our experiences of it and the meanings we give to it' (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.149). James, Jenks and Prout illustrate this assertion with the example of the development of paediatric practices: 'childhood bodies were not so much discovered as invented and, in the postwar years, paediatricians have increasingly claimed that their object of attention is "normal" childhood, usually expressed as a concern with positive health rather than merely the treatment of disease' (1998, p.151). Thus power relations, including representations of mental "good health", directly affect the bodies of children. Moreover, in the last twenty years, research has provided ample support for the assertion that childhood is socially constructed, as I develop below.

Notwithstanding these tensions, this thesis actually places the body of the child at the centre of its argument through its focus on visual media, and on Foucauldian discipline. It is not possible to assess to what extent the material body of the child is imposed - or self-imposes - the same constraints once the photographer has turned away. Such concerns fall, instead, within the field of the sociology of childhood, which lies outside the scope of this thesis.

Drawing on social constructivist models, Chris Jenks defines histories of childhood as an 'erratic evolution of the image of childhood and its changing modes of recognition and reception' (1996, p.5). He highlights the social factors that have composed the idea and ideal of childhood and identifies several model that have become dominant within Western discourse: the 'savage child', the 'natural child' and the 'social child'. Crucially for this thesis, Jenks stresses the plurality which emerged from specific historic and cultural discourses of childhood but which also exists simultaneously:

> different forms of discourses (...) move in and out of focus according to the different aspects of the subject that are being considered. Sometimes this occurs in parallel but sometimes in competition, and often such discourses are arranged hierarchically, for example the child-discourse of social workers or juvenile magistrate has a power and efficacy in excess of that of the sibling or parent. But all such discourses contribute to and, in turn, derive from the dominant cultural image of the "normal" child. (1996, p.61)

In this thesis, through the framework of Raymond Williams' theory of dominant, emergent and residual cultural formations (1977), I add to Jenks's position by identifying those dominant representations of Japanese childhood, which are used to create a social norm. Instrumentally, I note how there are 'shifting patterns of normality' (Jenks, 1996, p.60) that have informed the Japanese perception of the child throughout the modern period and especially the postwar and later years. Specific changes in government policies, such as compulsory education or the state of warfare have strongly affected the ideal of childhood and the normative child, and this explored in relation to *shōshika* period posters in chapter Two and in the school album photographs in Chapter Four.

Childhood, argues Jenks, has been institutionalised: 'the child emerges in contemporary European culture as a formal category and as a social status embedded in programmes

of care, routines of surveillance and schemes of education and assessment' (1996, p.5). Indeed, he relates two models of childhood to Foucault's account of the historical shift in disciplinary modes (Jenks, 1996, p.68). The 'Dionysian child' to whom was ascribed an 'excessive and triumphant zeal' in need of control (Jenks, 1996, p.68), was replaced, with the development of modern power structures, by the 'Apollonian child'. This change in perception, formalised in the late eighteenth century by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *Emile*, states that children should not be 'curbed nor beaten into submission; they are encouraged, enabled and facilitated' (Jenks, 1996, p.65). The Apollonian child is thus monitored 'in mind and body' (Jenks, 1996, p.68). This pervasiveness and interiorisation of regulation is enabled by Foucauldian discipline. Such 'public accountability for children' is, in Jenks's view, linked to the perception of the child as 'public property' (1996, p.133). In fact, it is not possible to consider state discourses of childhood without this sense of "belonging", which by defining childhood and monitoring the child appropriates it. In this thesis, as I already indicated, I define the child and childhood as a product of 'national imagining' (Anderson, 1983), and thus as much a 'public property' as history or the cultural habit of *sakura* viewing. Such ideas are central in the Japanese dominant formation of childhood discourses. Indeed, *Emile* is in Japan still today a compulsory reading for all future-teachers and thus highly inform the regulation of the Japanese child.

Along similar lines, James and James argue that childhood is not 'a natural biological phase' (2004, p.13) but rather is constructed by cultural determinants and discourses. They analyse how the 'cultural politics of childhood' are entangled in the 'links between the theories, policies, and practices through which childhood unfolds for children' (2004, p.6). James and James (2004) identify three main constituting elements of the 'cultural politics of childhood'. First, there is a need to 'understand the cultural determinants of childhood' (James and James, 2004, p.6). These include,

> family structure, the nature of kin and gender relations, the structure of the school system; conceptions of the educational process and the child's health and welfare; secular and religious discourses about what children are or should be; and the economic and political conditions which underpin such discourses as, for example, those which exclude children from the world of adult work and confine them, instead, in the school room in the role of non-producers. (James and James, 2004, p.7)

Second, 'social policies facilitate the regulation by the state of the relations between the various different cultural determinants and discourses' (James and James, 2004, p.7). Hence, specific national politics, or particular political regimes, can influence the cultural politics of childhood, as I stress in this thesis through the specific example of postwar Japan. Third, 'an examination of the ways in which children themselves experience these cultural determinants, the processes of ordering and control and the regulatory framings of who they are' is necessary, they argue (2004, p.7). This thesis gives special importance to the first two features, showing how social policies within the specific cultural determinants of modern Japan have shaped the perception of childhood.

Like Jenks (1996), James and James (2004) deploy a Foucauldian approach to the construction of childhood. Foucauldian thought is central to childhood studies, first in its consideration of childhood as a discourse built in a specific cultural and historical framework, as I mentioned above with Jenks (1996); but also in the application of Foucauldian discipline to childhood and children. As James and James develop,

> the family and the child within the family are at the centre of a complex of overlapping policies and regulatory frameworks. Each family, in the context of its own community, is affected, to varying degrees by health policy, education policy, family policy and criminal justice policy. (2004, p.217)

James and James outline how the different mechanisms shape particular images of childhood, through several case studies, of which two are of particular interest for this project: education and health. They show how in Britain, the school experience constructed a 'national childhood' through nation-wide tests and curriculum (2004, p.121), thus contributing to the creation of an imagined national community.

School "disciplines" children into appropriate behaviours and shape their identity as "pupils" and as "future citizens" (James and James, 2004, p.123). One of the mechanisms employed is the national curriculum which erases all regional and class differences, to enhance instead a national shared identity. As Anderson argues, school is central in the construction of imagined community (1983, p.121). In chapter Four, I discuss how school photographs also act as a disciplining mechanism. In the second case study, James and James define health regulation and promotion as a form of 'social control and state regulation' (2004, p.140), i.e. in Foucauldian terms, of discipline. The normalisation of

the physical and mental growth and development of children through close monitoring acts as a mechanism through which the state exercise its power over the body of the child, as well as that of the pregnant mother, as I demonstrate with the use of the mother-child handbooks in Chapter One and the analysis of posters in Chapter Two.

My approach thus carefully draws on "Western" theories of childhood to examine Japanese cultural practices and, especially the integration of Western ideals with Japanese concepts of tradition. Whilst these theories are useful in that they disconnect the child from biological and/or essentialist discourses, unlike this thesis, they neglect the national specificities - although James and James do indicate the need to define 'the precise manner in which [the incorporation of the status and rights of children in the thinking and social practices of nation states] occurs in each particular context' (2004, p.32). Thus, my research does not simply question how childhood is constructed in an abstract sense, but asks how a "national" childhood comes about.

The main theories of childhood reveal a strong Euro-centrism, as I noted above in my reference to Ariès. They rely on a history of childhood and on perceptions that are strongly culturally determined by Western thought. With that said, it is therefore necessary to inform, enhance, these "Western" understandings of childhood with scholarship focussed more directly on Japanese childhood.

Several sociological works have focused specifically on the perception of Japanese childhood(s). Harold Stevenson, Hiroshi Azuma and Kenji Hakuta's work (1986) gathers articles considering both the perception of the child (White and Levine, 1986; Kojima, 1986), its relationship to other members of society (Yamamura, 1986) and the institutions within which children develop, such as the family (Morioka, 1986) and school (Inagaki, 1986).

This project's interest in postwar representations of childhood is rooted in modern discourses which dominantly inform the contemporary child. Nonetheless, Brian Platt (2005) goes against the common idea developed by modern Japanese commentators that childhood emerged from the encounter with the West (2005, p.967). Like critics of Ariès's theory (1960), Platt argues that while modern Japanese childhood is the product of this cultural encounter, a previous model of childhood already existed. This pre-

modern childhood is of little relevance for this thesis and only mentioned when some residual aspects are visible in the construction of Japanese modern childhood.

The evolution of childhood in nineteenth century Japan was part of modernisation, and emerged as a political consequence of its encounter with the West. Japan tried to adapt itself to the Western nation-state, believing that the force of this model was the capacity to gather human resources (Platt, 2005, p.965). The new Meiji government had developed a project to mobilise Japanese children as the future generation of citizens, and school emerged as one of the major institutions to fill this aim. As in the West, with the democratisation of schooling came the idea that childhood was a separate stage of life. Schooling, by becoming a political issue, placed the child at the center of public debate (Platt, 2005, p.974). Interest in the child arose from educators who followed the developmentalist theory imported from the West. They criticised Japanese methods as not being appropriate for children. From this concern emerged, in Japan, two specificities that characterise childhood as a separate state of life: the idea of childhood as a series of stages of development, and the notion of the vulnerability of the young child.

A key publication which gives a contextual framework for the representations of childhood in modern Japan is Jones's *Children as Treasures: Childhood and the Middle Class in Early Twentieth Century Japan* (2010). He identifies three successive and dominant visions of childhood from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s: the 'little citizen', the 'superior student' and the 'childlike child', each one emerging from a specific socio-cultural context. He defines them as products of the emerging Japanese middle class and its associated ideology.

Jones' models are particularly useful for this project as all three conceptions of childhood were state-approved and promoted in the pre-war decades. The emphasis on schooling as a way of forging the future citizens of the country developed a peculiar representation of childhood: the little citizen or *shōkokumin.* Jones affirms that the little citizen was the first public image of childhood in modern Japan, and was centred on the cultivation of the child's character and moral discipline (2010, p.149). The educational system previously used for the formation of the little citizen became a social ladder, and the

child became the means to gain social success. As a consequence, a new representation of the child emerged during the 1910s and 1920s: the y*ūtōsei* or superior student. This new childhood was exclusively focused on educational achievement, symbolised by the entrance examination to middle schools and girls' higher schools which became a new rite of passage for the child. Even though it never fully repudiated the child as *shōkokumin,* the Ministry of Education was equally drawn to the representation of the *yūtōsei* for more discreet nationalism, inculcated through school discipline. The *yūtōsei* became then the dominant representation of childhood during the Taishō era (1912-1926) and well into the twentieth century. In the school albums of Chapter Four, I will talk of the child as pupil rather than *yūtōsei* because Jones' model (2010) is strongly linked to middle class ideology and social elevation. Moreover, where Jones emphasises the educational achievement, this is visually not predominant and only sanctioned by the graduation ceremony. What is highly noticeable, and is the focus of this last chapter, is the construction of the child's identity as pupil and future citizen.

In the 1910s and 1920s, the basis of Japan's supposedly meritocratic society came under scrutiny. Another new model of childhood appeared as a challenge to the *yūtōsei*: the childlike child (*kodomorashiii kodomo*). This version is dominated by the importance of leisure and symbolised by play and laughter. This representation of childhood was promoted by the child psychologists and progressive educators, following Western new knowledges, as a response to the emergent conflicts linked to the social aspirations of the middle class. This model of leisure and playfulness developed by well-off families required free time and resources. Sunday and summer holidays became times of Japanese cultural pursuits and family togetherness centred on children. Through play, consumption became a sign of parental love and care. The new model legitimised the established status of the social elite and subordinated the middle class to the pursuit of wealth to reach the same. The *kodomorashiii kodomo* did not replace the *yūtōsei*, but it left over it a shadow, as an emergent model (Williams, 1977).

Although the models described by Jones (2010) emerged and became dominant in the early twentieth century, they remain central in the construction of official discourses of childhood. Through my analysis of campaigns for an increased birth rate, exhibitions of photographs of children, and school photographs, I demonstrate how those three

models of childhood were constantly renegotiated in postwar perceptions. I also note how such models are not always constructed through the same cultural form. For example, whereas in Chapter Three I point to the dominance of the 'childlike child' in the museum's discourses of childhood, in Chapter Four it is, alternatively, the child as pupil who represents the dominant image. Thus, there is not one but several childhoods, negotiated as oscillating representations co-existing in time and space but developed by different state apparatuses for specific nationalistic goals at different times, yet each overlaps with the other.

Here, Williams' concept of culture as emergent, dominant or residual (1977) can help me to show how elements of previous historical models do not simply become completely obsolete. They contribute on the contrary to creating overlapping discourses that define a dominant image of childhood in a specific time and place which is also informed by alternative or oppositional perceptions. Models of childhood are not homogeneous blocks appearing in succession but are instead informed by residual and emergent images. Indeed, 'apparently contradictory understandings of the child continue to be mobilised' (Holloway and Valentine, 2000, p.4), as I show in this thesis by highlighting different available discourses of childhood.

Drawing on Marxist theory, Williams develops a model to explain cultural change and the role of hegemony. He explains how the process of cultural change involves issues of inclusion and exclusion, and incorporates meanings and practices of the past into the present. Williams's thesis rests on the assumption that history is not a succession of periods, each replacing the previous one, but rather that each stage is characterised by relationships in dominant, residual and emergent forms. Williams' model stresses that culture is not a single monolithic bloc but that different elements cluster to form it. This process of selection and incorporation then composes the dominant culture (1977, p.121).

Crucially, Williams argues that the dominant culture is continually re-composed through the incorporation or exclusion of alternative and oppositional forms of culture (1977, p. 42). These forms of culture can be either residual or emergent. A residual aspect of culture has 'been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process,

not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present' (Williams, 1977, p.122). They are reinterpreted, diluted, projected, included or excluded from the dominant culture (1977, p.123). I identify residual elements in the construction of an identity around "tradition" and a supposedly common past, contributing to the creation of a national community united by a common past (Anderson, 1983, p.205). Chapter Four focuses rather on residual representations, visible from the continuity between the wartime and postwar school albums.

Cultural elements could also be emergent, bringing 'new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationships [which] are continually being created' (Williams, 1977, p.123). Those can be incorporated or not into the dominant culture. This is highly visible in Chapter Two, which explores recent socio-political concerns about birth rates in Japan. I highlight how the *Ikumen* campaigns develop an emergent perception of fatherhood as nurturing constructed as an answer to the "fertility" crisis. Nonetheless, it does not replace the dominant gendered roles promoted in other campaigns. In brief, the hegemony of the dominant culture has to be considered within a set of negotiations of emergent and residual elements.

Here I apply Williams' concept to the Japanese context while remaining mindful of my earlier points about the application of Western theory. As Williams argues, educational institutions are central to the transmission of the dominant culture. In this thesis, I develop and enlarge this statement to include other institutions such as government agencies and ministries (Chapter Two), as well as museums (Chapter Three). These institutions thus create an "official" discourse of the dominant culture.

Focusing more specifically on a generalised "Japanese identity", several scholars have explored Anderson's concept (1983) while redefining the 'community' as the family institution. Among them, Merry White's *Perfectly Japanese: Making Families in an Era of Upheaval* (2002) maps the field from a sociological perspective. White challenges the conception of a "traditionally Japanese" family model, expressed by 'official scripts' of the 'national family' that are often opposed to the lived experience of individuals within familial relationships (2002, p.2-3). My research also critically examines this official discourse and how it scripts a "Japanese" childhood but does so through the visual

imagery unexamined by White. Furthermore, although White affirms that children 'are, above all, the most "perfectly Japanese" ingredient in the construction of family after the war' (2002, p.100), her approach remains mainly concerned with children as recipients of parental care rather than examining the direct role of the state in fashioning childhood. In an earlier work, White (1994) carried out a comparative study of Japanese and American teenagers highlighting the construction of nationally specific discourses of childhood and adolescence.

Akiko Hashimoto and John Traphagan's *Lived Families, Imagined Families: Culture and Kinship in Contemporary Japan* (2008) explores the divergence between official ideology and social practice in relation to the Japanese family as a mutable institution (p.3). However, as Carol Gluck (1985) points out and I have already indicated, the Meiji era (1868-1912) invented its own "traditions", including those of the family. And although Hashimoto and Traphagan define it as complex and variable (2008, p.11), the dichotomous organisation of the book simplifies the intricate relationship between 'imagined' and 'lived' families.

Offering a larger overview, Hiroko Hara and Mieko Minegawa's article 'From Productive Dependents to Precious Guests: Historical Changes in Japanese Children' (1996) shows the changing role of the Japanese state in twentieth century childrearing. Hara and Minegawa point to shifts in childbirth under the influence of government policies and new institutions, as well as emerging conceptions of citizenship during the postwar period. Again, this work offers useful contextual material while not focusing on visual imagery in particular.

Interestingly for Chapter Two, Muriel Jolivet's *Japan: The Childless Society?* (1997) is focused on the *shōshika* crisis and considers the social implications of motherhood and the place occupied by young children in women's lives and preoccupations. She highlights how the low statistics put forward by the government in the construction of the so-called "fertility" crisis actually correspond to an increasingly more central importance given to children. In this thesis, I defend similarly that children are pivotal, not only within the family, but also for the imagined community of Japan.

As noted above, a wide range of research exists on Japanese teenagers and popular culture, focusing especially on young girls. There is also ample research on schooling, considering the different levels: preschool (Hendry, 1986), elementary school (Cave, 2007), middle school (Fukuzawa and LeTendre, 2001) and high school (Yoneyama, 1999). Historical works have established the development of the school as institution from the pre-modern to the contemporary period in the Japanese context (Platt, 2005; Roden, 1980; Lowe, 1992; Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999). Importantly for this thesis, several works show how school discipline contributed to the creation of a 'modern' Japanese national identity (Simmons, 1990; Lewis, 1995; Lowe, 1999; Lincicome, 2009; Khan, 2000; Fukuzawa, 1994). Unlike these researchers, here I consider visual materials, which have attracted little attention. Indeed, Japanese school photographs have not been analysed as discourses, but rather treated simply as illustrations, when they mentioned at all.

Such visual analysis of school photographs that has been undertaken has primarily developed in the field of the history of education and has been Western focused. Ian Grosvenor (1999), Ian Grosvenor and Martin Lawn (2000 and 2001) and Kate Rousmaniere (2001) have attempted to theorise the relationship between visuality, photography, schooling and history, mostly in the British and North American contexts. As Rousmaniere (2001) points out, all school photographs resemble each other in their aesthetic style. They carry the label 'school'. Their differences are erased behind the dominant symbol. Comparing a poor and a wealthy school, Rousmaniere asks: 'by calling them both "schools" do we emphasise an institutional definition over a very real difference? What, in fact, do these two groups of children have in common?' (2001, p.110). Although my concern in Chapter Four is not with class differences but with generational divergences and continuities, Rousmaniere's question remains essential. What does a Japanese middle school pupil in 1942 have in common with a junior high schoolgirl in the 1970s, or with a teenage student forty years later? The question can also be reformulated in terms of cultural identity. What do all Japanese children have in common in those photographs? What makes them distinctively Japanese? Or more pertinently, how have disciplines ordered them into appropriate national behaviours and turned them into Foucault's 'docile bodies' (1975, p.138)?

Despite the visible signs of docility in the Japanese school albums few scholars have taken up this aspect and explored its significance. That is one of the distinctive features of this research. Betty Eggermont (2001) and Eric Margolis and Sheila Fram (2007) have highlighted the disciplining role of photography within the school, nonetheless they do not link the regulation of the body of child with larger discourses of childhood, as other scholars have done as highlighted above, nor the construction of national identity.

Studies of the larger field of visual representations of childhood have covered all media from painting to film, in private and public images of children in both the West and Japan. Key works concerned with the representation of childhood in Western imagery include Higonnet's *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (1998), and Patricia Holland's *Picturing Childhood: The Myth of the Child in Popular Imagery* (2004). Higonnet's ground-breaking historical analysis of the evolution of such images in Western history links photography to painting, drawing and sculpture. Her identification of the figures of the 'innocent child' and the 'knowing child', while not contiguous with the Japanese model, nonetheless offers useful examples of the construction of children as crucial symbolic figures within an imagined community. Indeed, because both Western imagery and its cultural conception of childhood have a deep presence in Japan, some of the characteristics of those models can be found in the Japanese ones identified by Jones (2010), as mentioned above.

Holland (1992 and 2004) uses a similar approach, here based on the concept of 'resonant images' which forms the basis of an "imagined" childhood. I extend Holland's analysis to identify how and why those photographs are 'resonant images' of Japanese identity; for example, Holland's analysis of the representation of the nuclear family in England (2004, p.53) can be found in Japanese government posters (Chapter Two), as the representation of the ideal 'cereal-packet family' (2004, p.52), which is depicted with European facial features. Studies of Japanese representations of childhood with such a large temporal or thematic scope have not yet been undertaken in a European language, although recent research groups have been focusing on this theme. My research thus contributes to an emergent and increasingly important field of knowledge.

Figure 2- A Mother Reading Books to her Child (boshi-e), Keisai Eisen, 1830-1844

Two main studies have attempted to map representations of Japanese children specifically. However, in both works, image reproductions occupy a substantial place at the expense of textual elements. Nonetheless, by mapping the range of representations, these works open up the possibility of large-scale analysis of the traditional medium of woodblock prints which have relevance for my project. In *Kodomoe- L'Estampe Japonaise et l'Univers des Enfants*, Brigitte Koyama-Richard (2004) identifies recurrent themes in these prints. Focusing on the high visibility of children in woodblock-prints (*ukiyoe)*, she demonstrates that children were already a source of artistic imagery in pre-modern Japan and before photography was introduced. In *Children Represented in Ukiyoe- Japanese Children in the 18th- 19th Centuries* (1998), both Hideo Kuroda's and Shin'ichi Inagaki's essays focus on the Edo period (1603-1868), widely seen as the moment of emergence of a 'culture of childhood' in Japan, with the development of commodities aimed specifically at children (Kami, 1998, p.8). These included toys as well as books and *ukiyoe*.

A specific type of image is the *boshi-e* (mother and child *ukiyoe*) that depicts everyday life and ritual events. Such images commemorate a child's growth and development. In the same way that some children's *ukiyoe* have an educational function, those *bijin-ga* (images of beauties) might have been used to instruct mothers. Thus, these images were used to discipline and normalise the behaviours of mothers and children, as well as establishing that there was a widespread life cycle, common to all Japanese children. So, although my focus is primarily inscribed in the rupture represented by the Second World War defeat, it is important to note that pre-modern images of disciplining children already existed.

As I have indicated, there are currently few scholarly studies on the representations of childhood and children in Japanese photography despite the proliferation of exhibitions, so this thesis is breaking new ground in important ways. A range of different Japanese collections featuring photographs of children over several decades have been published, among them *Kodomotachi no Shōwashi* [Children of the Shōwa Period] (Taira, 1984), *Nihon no Kodomotachi- Kodomo no Ayumi* [Japanese Children - The Evolution of the Child] (Iwamoto, Suzuki and Nagashima, 1996), and *Shashin ga Kataru: Kodomo no 100 Nen* [Photographic Stories: Children in the Past Hundred Years] (Murakami, 2002). Others, following a similar focus, are catalogues of exhibitions: *Nihon no Kodomo: 60 Nen [Children of Japan: 60 Years*] (Japan Professional Photographers Society, 2005), *Kodomo no Jyōkei [Photographs of Children*] (Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 2011). Although each of these represents a valuable source because of their exhaustive aspect, they are not primarily scholarly works but rather a visual compilation of Japanese history through its childhood. Indeed, they also constitute the *prima facie* evidence for my thesis, since it is the collection of such images under these rubrics that suggests the centrality of the discursive work around childhood that is being undertaken.

The photographs of children that form the core of this work are not the ones that generally come to the mind of the Western public. Under the term "Japanese photography", Western experts have systematically included and excluded certain types of photographs. Indeed, the expression "Japanese photography" is one that has changed and has referred to different realities at different times. It first referred to photographs taken in Japan and of Japanese people and landscapes by Westerners such as Felice Beato, Raimund von Stillfried, and Aldolfo Farsari (Kinoshita, 2003, p.16). Only later was it used to refer to images taken by Japanese photographers. Thus photography developed, as in many colonised countries, as a foreign gaze imposed upon Japan which also rendered its people exotically "other". In the early days of photography this gaze was not returned, and, other than the elite, the Japanese had little access to the image being produced Very quickly, however, Japan understood the importance of representation, and offered alternative ones which opposed the foreign "exotic gaze".

Japan also used other Western techniques and ways of communication, such as World Fairs, to present itself as both modern and exotically traditional. The mechanism of the

World Fair, introduced in the mid-nineteenth century, sought to "show off" a country's past, present and future treasures through artworks, artefacts and agricultural and industrial products, thus contributing, as Anderson explains, to the creation of a nation's imagined community through an imaginary and unbroken linkage with the past that was then displayed to others (1983, p.11). The development of state sanctioned and state promoted installations like World Fairs and national museums contributes to the creation of an official discourse of display. In Japan, this also operated inside its own frontiers in *hakurankai*, a semi-official form of exhibit in the Meiji era with a double goal: education of the people and promotion of the national image (Kornichi, 1994, p.195).

Today, the work of institutions such as the Japan Foundation is not dissimilar. They display the richness of Japan's cultural and industrial heritage to the external world, both materially through the objects exhibited and ideologically through the themes explored. In Chapter Three, I consider a travelling photographic exhibition from the Japan Foundation. It is one of the many exhibitions of "Japanese photography" exported abroad. However, such denomination raises issues.

Julia Adeney Thomas, considering the works of postwar photographers, revisits the question of defining "Japanese photography" which 'appears to be a cultural (and economic) category mapped rather rigidly upon a particular place and a particular people' (2001, p.137). Today, Japanese photography is associated with the black and white documentary style of individual works by artists such as Takashi Homma, Masahise Fukase, Daido Moriyama or Rinko Kawauchi. We encounter photographs of children that belong to this "Japanese photography" genre, such as Homma's imaginary daughter (2006). Some of these images are considered in Chapter Three. They tend to focus on subjective narratives, while displaying certain characteristics of Jones's 'childlike child' model of childhood (2010).

Unless otherwise specified, when talking of "Japanese photography", I refer to this common definition. To clarify the vocabulary, throughout, I use some terms in an interchangeable way to avoid linguistic repetitions. The words "picture", "image" and "photograph" are always equivalent.

The institutional photographs produced by the state and the school that I consider within this thesis (especially in Chapter Two and Chapter Four) do not match this definition of "Japanese photography". It is however here that I explore expressions of national identity. These photographs have attracted little scholarly interest because they are widely available, as mentioned before, and not aesthetically specific to a country or culture. We would be mistaken, however, to think that the school images or the staged photographs of welfare posters are not culturally shaped to resonate in the imagined community of its viewers.

National Identity and the Imagined Community of Japan

As I suggested earlier, this thesis is underpinned by the dynamic between images of childhood and the formation of Japanese national identity. Anderson defines the nation as an 'imagined community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (1983, p.6). First, it is imagined because its members cannot all know each other, 'yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (1983, p.6). The 128 million people who today share Japanese nationality have not met, talked or heard of all their fellow citizens. Nonetheless they recognise themselves as fellow Japanese; this is perhaps especially visible when abroad.

Second, the imagined community is also limited because its frontiers are delimited by other nations (Anderson, 1983, p.7). However, those boundaries are not fixed (as the two world wars made clear) and the processes of inclusion and exclusion of individuals and groups are in constant evolution. The period that frames this project starts when the boundaries of the nation were redefined after the defeat of the Japanese Empire in 1945. Japan had always defined itself not just in comparison, but in opposition to other nations, and especially from the modern period onwards with those of the West.

Third, Japanese sovereignty has always been expressed through a "natural" justification of national essence. Modern Japan was 'born in an age in which Enlightenment and

Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm' (Anderson, 1983, p.7). In 1867, the Shogun abdicated and the Meiji Emperor became the acknowledged father of the nation, providing an emblematic symbol of "Japaneseness" (Anderson, 1983, p.96).

Lastly, the nation 'is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 1983, p.7). In the Japanese case the nation is perceived as one big family with the Emperor as its father, and all Japanese citizens as its children, united through family links entailing rights and obligations for all members. Indeed, the (supposedly) unbroken imperial lineage, in addition to being a useful symbol of nationalism, contributed to create a notion of a specific "Japanese race". This built on the double identification of the Emperor as father of all Japanese and as descendent of the Gods. As I develop in Chapter One, the family-state model largely contributes to the feeling of community and contributes to the permissibility of state interventions within the private sphere.

Although 'nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time' (Anderson, 1983, p.3), it is also a 'cultural artefacts of a particular kind' (1983, p.4). As such, it is created through a specific process in specific contexts. Japan as an imagined community emerged, according to Anderson, during the movements of 'official nationalism' in the second half of the nineteenth century that also produced a united Germany and italy (1983, p.95). The Japanese nation developed following Western examples in a relentless wish to, as a slogan of the time affirmed, "catch up with the West": '[official nationalisms] were picked up and imitated by indigenous ruling groups in those few zones (among them Japan and Siam) which escaped direct subjection' (Anderson, 1983, p.110).

Considering Japan as a specific example of official nationalism outside Europe, Anderson identifies three factors that contributed to the formation of the Japanese modern state (1983, p.93). First, he names the high degree of ethno-cultural homogeneity and the use of a common language which facilitated the development of school and print media (1983, p.95-6). Second, he calls on the unique antiquity of the Imperial house which

enabled it to be used it as a symbol of national unity (1983, p.96). Third, he points to the sudden "opening" of Japan to the West which united the population against the "barbarians" (1983, p.96).

In addition to being created in a specific context, the imagined community is forever reinvented. Throughout this thesis I contend that the imagined community of Japan is an expression of a specific temporal national identity, in this case postwar Japan. I thereby rely on Smith's definition of national identity as

> the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the patterns of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identifications of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements. (2001, p.18)

Critically building on Anderson's theory, Smith argues that 'we cannot understand nations and nationalism simply as an ideology or form of politics but must treat them as cultural phenomena as well' (1991, p.vii). From a Cultural Studies perspective, Smith's separation of ideology, politics and culture is deeply problematic. Nonetheless, with his shift in focus from the growth of print culture that underpins Anderson's argument to the emergence of modernity, his approach offers some insights that are crucial for my own work.

First, where Anderson places less reliance on state intervention, Smith suggests that it contributes significantly to the creation of nations (1991, p.59) in that the modern state manages 'to regulate and disseminate the fund of values, symbols, myths, traditions and memories' (Smith, 1991, p.55). Smith therefore forges a connection between national identity and state regulation in ways that usefully extend Anderson's formulation of 'imagined community' (1983). Based on such arguments, I will outline how the Japanese state has regulated and normalised images of childhood through processes of 'reselection, recombination and recodification of previously existing values, symbols, memories and the like' (Smith, 2001, p.20) in order to (re)define the postwar imagined community.

Second, Smith argues that the imagined communities of Eastern Asia rely on ethnic identities in their formulations of nation. (1991, p.59). In the Japanese case, this is

expressed through the myth of a common ancestor (Anderson, 1983, p.96). As I will further develop in Chapter One and as briefly noted above, Smith proposes that,

> the nation is depicted as one great family, the members as brothers and sisters of the motherland or fatherland, speaking their mother tongue. In this way the family of the nation overrides and replaces the individual's family but evokes similarly strong loyalties and vivid attachments. (1991, p.79)

Moreover, and interestingly for this thesis, this ethnic link allows a stronger sense of solidarity in the creation of the imagined community, which can partially explain the difference of perception of public and private spaces in Japan and the stronger popular acceptance of political interventions into the latter (Smith, 1991, p.12) and 'participation in public life for the "national good"' (Smith, 1991, p.91). For Smith, the state contributes to the creation of those bonds of solidarity using other types of identity such as class, religion and ethnicity (1991, p.14). As I argue throughout this thesis, discourses of gender and age are similarly deployed in the formulation of an imagined community. Gender and age cohorts are constructed as nationally shared experiences expressed through rituals such as motherhood (Chapter One and Two) or junior high school graduation (Chapter Three).

Third, whilst foregrounding ethnicity, Smith lessens the importance of cultural artefacts based on literacy (novel and newspaper) in the creation of the imagined community (Anderson, 1983, p. 141), and instead highlights the role of other cultural artefacts including visual culture (Smith, 1991, p.92). That said, Anderson does recognise the role photography can exercise in its creation,

> the photograph, fine child of the age of mechanical reproduction, is only the most peremptory of a huge modern accumulation of documentary evidence (birth certificate, diaries, report cards, letters, medical records, and the like) which simultaneously records a certain apparent continuity and emphasizes its loss from memory. (Anderson, 1983, p.204)

Notably, for Anderson (1983), print culture is dominant and visual culture is merely an ancillary media. In marked contrast, Smith stresses the centrality of non-print media, arguing that 'the portrayals of the nation that stirred people into action were oral, audial and visual rather than literary, a matter of symbols, songs, images, reports and rituals' (1998, p.139). Thus, following Smith, we can see that photography is fully embedded in

the construction of the imagined community. By extension, the representations circulated, through photographic images, such as those of childhood, are similarly pivotal to national imaginings.

Indeed, the role of photography in the construction of an imagined community and nationalism more generally is exemplified by several exhibitions, among them *Faces of Britain* (2015-16) curated by Simon Schama at the National Portrait Gallery, *Strange and Familiar* (2016) by Martin Parr at the Barbican, and Judy Annear's curated work, *The Photograph and Australia* (2015) at the Art Gallery, New South Wales. All three exhibitions illustrated how understandings of the nation were constructed through individual portraits (painted or photographed) that are presented as emblematic of the nation as a whole. This thesis investigates portraits of children specifically, but does so in relation to the same kind of construction of national imaginings produced by official discourses.

In this thesis, I therefore argue that photography has been central to the creation of the imagined community of Japan since the mid twentieth century and that variable and shifting images of childhood are erected as part of a national imagining. Here, Foucault's account of discourse, discipline and power offers a useful framework to understand the relationship between photography, images of childhood and the national imaginary, since as Anderson suggests, the census, the map, the museum – and I can add, the photograph – act as a 'totalizing classificatory grid which could be applied with endless flexibility to anything under the state's real or contemplated control' (Anderson, 1983, p.184).

State Apparatuses, Discourse and Disciplined Bodies

The 'institutions of power' that Anderson identifies (1983, p.163) correspond to Foucault's apparatuses of power (1975) which can then help us to understand how the imagined community is imposed on all. The state secures its power through ideologies

reproduced through Ideological State Apparatuses. The 'body of institutions' (Althusser, 1970, n.p.) that I consider in this project – photography, the family, the museum, the school, the hospital – are Ideological State Apparatuses as defined by Louis Althusser (1970) and Foucault (1980). Althusser identified the Ideological State Apparatuses as an integral part of the State's power and opposed them to Repressive State Apparatuses (the police, the army, etc.) which impose authority by direct force rather than ideas. The Repressive State Apparatus tends to be deployed when the Ideological State Apparatus has failed to secure sufficient consent. This was particularly the case in Japan during the militaristic pre and war years when a more direct regulation was exerted, as I develop at the outset of Chapter One.

Interestingly, there is a '*plurality* of Ideological State Apparatuses' (Althusser, 1970, n.p.), including, for this thesis, the family, education, the media, and cultural institutions. Foucault further defines the (ideological) state apparatus to include,

> discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements. Philosophic propositions, morality, philanthropy, etc. […] The apparatus is thus always inscribed in a play of power, but it is also always linked to certain co-ordinates of knowledge […] That is what the apparatus consists in: strategies of relations of forces supporting and supported by types of knowledge. (Foucault, 1980, p.194-6)

When, throughout this thesis, I talk of state apparatuses I refer to this definition rather than to Repressive State Apparatuses. However, that is not to say that Ideological State Apparatuses do not exercise repression, but it is their secondary function 'even if ultimately, but only ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic' (Althusser, 1970, n.p.). The state apparatuses I consider in this thesis 'function massively and predominantly *by ideology*' (Althusser, 1970, n.p.).

Such ideologies are inscribed within a discourse that has a specific time period and social context, being thus constructs of the society in which they emerge. Foucault (1980) defines discourse as meaningful statements and practices: meaning does not exist outside of discourse. Hence "childhood", like the other discursive formations studied by Foucault – madness (1961), sexuality (1976-84), punishment (1975) –, 'could not meaningfully exist outside specific discourses, i.e. outside the ways they were

represented in discourse, produced in knowledge and regulated by the discursive practices and disciplinary techniques of a particular society and time' (Hall, 1997, *Work*, p.47).

Thus, statements about childhood, whether from scholarly research, the media or the layman's perception, produce knowledge, which is itself erected as "truth" and applied to the bodies of children. Childhood is thus 'constituted by all that was said, in all the statements that named it, divided it up, described it, explained it, traced its development, indicated its various correlations, judged it, and possibly gave speech by articulating, in its name, discourses that were to be taken as its own' (Foucault, 1969, p.32).

For this thesis, the discourses of childhood that dominated state institutions in postwar Japan disciplined bodies in specifically "Japanese" ways because they were also contextually specific. The repetition of similar discourses, rooted in particular socio-cultural contexts, and found across institutions and different media, point to the process whereby the same discursive formation is recast and reworked (Hall, 1997, *Work,* p.44). Jones (2010) illustrates thus how the little citizen, the superior student and the childlike child are oscillating discursive formations of childhood of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Japan.

Indeed, Foucault's very particular concept of discourse (1969 and 1980) has also crucially contributed to the relativisation of truth. There is no "absolute truth", but each discursive formation sustains a 'regime of truth' (Foucault, 1980), which is the product of a socio-cultural context,

> each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned […] the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, 1980, p.131)

Thus, the Japanese postwar state apparatuses erected a "truth" about childhood and about the imagined community through the production of repeated discourses that formed a discursive formation, itself sustaining a regime of truth about Japanese childhood. Even though, as I have stated above, the Ideological State Apparatuses are

not coercive, they exercise power over the subjects of the discourses. Indeed, Foucault's concept of discourse is inextricably linked to issues of power as well as knowledge and truth. Power, Foucault (1975) argues, is not only direct and brutal, as expressed through the Repressive State Apparatuses. In addition, it is productive, as knowledge produces power.

In fact, the regime of truth is an expression of the relationship between power and knowledge, in particular which statements are applied or not and by whom about whom. Thus, 'there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations' (Foucault, 1975, p.27). Then, discourses on childhood produce not only knowledge, but also power, which, 'used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practices' (Hall, 1997, *Work,* p.49). Following Foucault, we can say that the meanings of the child, the mother, the family, the imagined community, are all produced through discourse and its operation of power. It involves an exchange of power and is used as a regulatory regime that shapes behaviour (femininity, masculinity, motherhood, fatherhood).

Foucault defines this as a modern, 'disciplinary power' linked to modern social formations. The shift in the nature of power is described by both Foucault (1975, p.137) and Anderson (1983) as taking place at the moment of emergent nationalisms in Europe, thus linking the two theorists' accounts of society. According to Foucault, 'many disciplinary methods had long been in existence - in monasteries, armies, workshops. But in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the disciplines became general formulas of domination' (1975, p.137). Indeed, the new disciplinary discourses enabled the emergence of the imagined community through the production of discursive formations of belonging and togetherness and the use of micro-physics of power to construct discourses of national identity. Anderson (1983) describes such modern disciplinary processes inscribed in the print market (novels and newspapers) or the development of a centralised administrative system. In his revised edition of 1991, Anderson added further mechanisms including the census, the map and the museum (1983, p.163). And, as I have already outlined, the photograph, a key product of modernity, links the public and private spheres, the state and the family.

Modern forms of discipline are based then on 'a meticulous observation of detail, and at the same time a political awareness of these small things, for the control and use of men, emerge through the classical age bearing with them a whole set of techniques, a whole corpus of methods and knowledge, description, plans and data' (Foucault, 1975, p.141). Photography has played a central role in the shaping of the imagined community through this exercise of disciplinary discourses.

The concept of power that I deploy in this thesis 'resides in all aspects of a knowledge system including the construction of archives, codification of information and communication chains through which it is disseminated' (Price, 2004, p.105). State apparatuses are not wholly monolithic, as implied in Althusser's original formulation (1970) but rather power works both through 'top-down' structures of ISA and within networks and knowledge systems as explained by Foucault, circulating at all levels of social existence (1980), such as the family. Indeed, power circulates in society, it 'is deployed and exercised through a net-like organization' (Foucault, 1980, p.98). It is the combination of these elements within a highly conformist society such as Japan's which is so important for this thesis.

The efforts to define "Japaneseness" through the intersection of ideological structures and institutions and the power-knowledge dynamic have produced a variety of discourses of childhood in relation to the nation: from concerns about health and growth, the desired number per family, education, the regulation of their behaviour, way of standing, sitting and smiling in different social contexts. It has produced health handbooks and government posters, school photos and albums, photography exhibitions and festivals. These are all part of the 'micro-physics of power' defined by Foucault (1975, p.27). While they operate in opposition to the overtly coercive power of the military or police, they still work to ensure conformity.

Crucially, Foucault's conception of such power is that it is not simply restrictive but productive: 'it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be thought of as a productive network which runs through the whole social body' (Foucault, 1980, p.119). Even when it is ostensibly

working to support or care for the child, it is also producing a conforming, disciplined subject. Such power is, by its nature, multiply mediated. As Foucault argues, it is,

> both absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individuals who are entrusted with the task of supervising; and absolutely "discreet", for it functions permanently and largely in silence. (1975, p.177)

This account of a plurality of powers, which entails a plurality of disciplinary discourses, is also an evocation of the panopticon and its surveillance mechanisms, of which photography can be a key mechanism. The photographs I examined in this thesis are rooted in a discourse of normalisation and regulation of the childhood through three main disciplinary mechanisms: the regulation of the space of childhood, the disciplining of the body of the child and the normalisation of the child.

As already stated, because of their emphasis on surveillance and discipline, Foucauldian concepts of power and control have been a central plank of childhood studies (Steedman, 1995; Jenks, 1996; James and James, 2004). James and James note that 'a "caring" state actively works to control all its members, both through regimes of surveillance of different kinds and through encouraging people to take on personal responsibility and self-regulation' (2004, p.36). As I will elaborate, the specific exercise of power on the body of the child can be recognised in representations of childhood through the three interlinked mechanisms mentioned previously, the regulation of a space for childhood (the family, the school), the disciplining of the bodies of children, and the normalisation of the image of the child. This imbrication of disciplinary techniques has created a 'regime of truth' (Foucault, 1975) around childhood in Japan that is constructed through these different, yet connected, apparatuses of the nation-state. It has helped create a permanent system of surveillance that permits the continuous monitoring of the social integration and academic success of the child, from the school itself (examined in Chapter Four), government campaigns around population increase and good childcare conditions (Chapter Two), and in the emphasis on continuity with the childhood of the past through the state-sanctioned archiving of particular photographs (Chapter Three).

The Foucauldian definition of discourse sustaining a micro-physic of power offers ample justification for my selection of primary sources. Indeed, if the mechanisms of disciplinary power that control all aspects of everyday life are to be recognised (Foucault, 1975, p.215), we need to consider "everyday" images; that is, those that do not attract attention due to their seemingly "natural" presence. Indeed, Foucault defines discipline as a 'glance without a face' (Foucault, 1975, p.215). I will further define the importance and role of such widespread images in Chapter One.

Whilst Foucault's formulation of discipline and power serves to justify my selection of primary sources, it equally offers a vital analytical tool, both for the images themselves, especially considering the positioning of the bodies in the photographs, and for the contextual frameworks of production and uses of such images. In fact, the application of Foucauldian concepts of discourse and discipline in visual culture, and more particularly in photography, is not new (Krauss, 1982; Tagg 1988 and 2009; Nixon 1997; Frizot, 1998; Burke 2005; Margolis and Fram 2007, among others). David Bates argues that 'photography might be constructed and conceived as a network of *discursive practices*, interlinked with contradictions, inconsistencies, and overlapping unities' (my emphasis, 2007, p.4). Applying Foucault to photography enables us to ask 'where and why it emerged as it did, what the photography was used for, and what regular objects appear across the surfaces of all these photographs' (Bates, 2007, p.2).

As a result, Foucault's concept of discursive formation has been central to redefining the scholarship on photography as developed, for example, by Rosalind Krauss (1982) and Tagg (1988, 2009), releasing it from the 'straightjacket of institutionally bound versions of its history' (Bates, 2007, p.5). This approach allows one to consider the way a variety of photographic practices and institutional contexts contribute to the construction of a discursive formation 'that traverses all points and supervises every instant' (Foucault, 1975, p.183).

Indeed, photography has been pivotal in the articulation of discourses of power since the nineteenth century (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001, p.95). Alan Sekula (1986) identifies its emergence as a central element in the establishment of state power from the mid to late nineteenth century onwards, from police 'mugshots' to hospital records

the photograph became a 'tool of a permanent exhaustive and omnipresent surveillance' (Foucault, 1975, pp.215). Photography offers a 'mean of social control: the camera's capabilities for documentation and surveillance … [have been] vital to the attempt to build a regulated society' (Bolton, 1989, p.xi).

These photographic techniques were part of new regimes of representation that extended 'supervisory and regulatory apparatuses into areas of social life never before subject to such intervention' (Tagg, 2009, p.xxxi). Childhood was one of those subjects, ranging from the nineteenth century Barnardo's Orphanages images of children "before" and "after" their "rescue" in the UK (Maitland, 2013) to the conventionalised form of the regulatory school photograph found in most industrialised countries (Margolis and Fram, 2007) or the images of disabled children treated in German hospitals (Osten, 2010). In each of those different fields, 'photography came to establish and delimit the terrain of the other, to define the generalised look – the typology – and the contingent instance of deviance and social pathology' (Sekula, 1986, p.345). The pictures produced a typology or "normality" and "deviance/sickness" toward which all children could be compare and classify. Gavin Maitland (2013) defines the representation of the child in terms of acceptance or rejection of social norms; Margolis and Fram outline the disciplining of the body of the pupil as a "civilising mission" with the example of American Indian boarding schools (2007, p.200); Philipp Osten (2010) outlines the images of sick children as deviances to the "healthy" normative child. Similarly, the mother-child handbook considered in Chapter One, through height and weight measurements of the baby and monitoring of the pregnancy, also compare mother and child to a nation-wide established norm. Chronologically, the sonogram, as I develop in the next chapter, is the first of such apparatus of measurement of normativity of the child. Photography was, and still is, a powerful tool in the discursive formation of a normative childhood.

Additionally, photography has played a pivotal role in constructing the 'regime of truth' of childhood itself. The claims of the objectivity of photography since its invention contributed to the establishment of photographic representations especially as documents of truth. Indeed, in Japanese, the term used for the photograph, *shashin*, literally means "copy of truth" (Kinoshita, 2003, p.26). Photography in Japan as

elsewhere was, until the early twentieth century, seen as 'reflecting truth' (Rousmaniere and Hirayama, 2004). Mikiko Hirayama even points out that Japanese photographers of the early twentieth century struggled to establish photography as a legitimate art form because of its indexical status (2004, p.98).

In contrast, today "Japanese photography" tends to be overwhelmingly associated with the subjective position of photographers themselves. It is, however, still part of the larger discourse of Japaneseness. The images considered in this thesis emerged from different photographic practices, most of them produced or used by the state to impose or secure the conformity discussed above. In his study of the production of such official records, Tagg (2009) emphasises how photographic technologies are instrumentalised by state discourse to construct a truth. In his earlier work, Tagg had crucially asserted that the power of representation does not come from the camera apparatus but rather from the 'state apparatuses which deploy it and guarantee the authority of the images it constructs to stand as evidence or register a truth' (1988, p.64). Consequently, understanding the contexts of production is essential to explaining how citizens have been regulated into normative behaviour, in this case through the photographic images of childhood that have circulated in Japan since the Second World War.

However, while this thesis foregrounds the importance of discourse in this process, we cannot make an abstraction of the material body of the child. First, the "real" child's body remains central because of the indexical characteristic of photography (Berger, 1967, p.20), which refers to an actual child who is exposed to the eyes of the photographer and viewers. Second, the material body is pivotal to the Foucauldian approach to power and discipline. For Foucault, the history of discipline is inextricable from the 'history of bodies' (1975, p.25). Power is inscribed upon what he calls the 'political technology of the body' (1975, p.26). The "real" body carries a plurality of powers which 'invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs' (Foucault, 1975, p.25). In particular, Foucault's concept of the 'disciplined body' helps us understand the ways in which the postwar Japanese child has been thoroughly imbricated within a nationalist discourse.

As Jean-Marie Buisson remarks, not only is the body 'an invention of the imaginary' (Buisson, 2001, p.167) within such discourses, but it is ceaselessly *reinvented*, 'especially when the whole body of the nation is represented on the basis of a few isolated representations, like the *geisha*, the *yakuza* or the *samurai,* presented as truth' (Buisson, 2001, p.167). To this list we can add the child, who has occupied an increasingly visible place within Japanese culture since the postwar period. My thesis therefore explores representations of the body of the child within the disciplinary norms of the various state apparatuses described, but also within a highly elaborated discourse of Japanese national identity. I consider how the body is 'manipulated, shaped, trained' (Foucault, 1975, p.136) to become 'a body-weapon, a body-tool, body-machine complex' (Foucault, 1975, p.153).

As I will show, from the documentary-style photographs of Domon in the immediate postwar years (Chapter Three) to the school photographs that validate the child's proper posture and appearance (Chapter Four), photography constructs and regulates the child into becoming a properly constituted member of the imagined community of Japan.

Chapter 1-National Identity and the Disciplining of Bodies and Behaviours

Introduction

In Japan, it is compulsory for pregnant women to undergo a sonogram, and, as in most Western countries, this has become an iconic document: the first image of "the child" (Fig.3). It has contributed to enlarge the child-centred discourse to the unborn child. The "fertility crisis" of the postwar period, which I will further develop in Chapter Two, has brought into attention the unborn child and young infant. Compulsory sonograms point to the centrality of the child to the Japanese state. This regulative practice is strongly embedded in the discourse of pregnancy in Japan. Indeed, there is a high number of sonograms practiced in Japan as part of the regulation of pregnancy – usually at each prenatal visit (Kishi, McElmurry, Vonderheid, et al., 2010, p.66-67). They create a discourse of normality of the development of the foetus.

The compulsory nature of such ultrasound derived images also clearly raises issues of state control over the body of the mother. They produce a discourse that normalises a highly specific concept of the "healthy" pregnant body which is directly controlled by medical institutions acting in the name of public welfare. Thus, the bodies of the pregnant woman and of the unborn child are regulated and disciplined into conformity in Foucauldian ways. These images also become part of a national database of "future citizens" that, alongside other administrative procedures, such as the mother-child handbook or the *koseki* explored below, recognise and register the child's existence even before its birth. Notably, compulsory sonogram images expose the ways in which images of the child are embedded in the imagined future of the state, and are thus integral to the production of an imagined community. The imbrication of photography, childhood, state and imagined community that I develop through this thesis is thus exemplified in the sonograms.

Figure 3- Sonogram 1st Semester

Jones suggests that a key concept in this process of institutionalising the child is as a 'treasure' (*kodakara*), an idea that came to dominate during the twentieth century but which was first expressed in an eighth century poem by Yamanoue no Okura (Jones, 2010, p.1),

> "What are they to me
>
> Silver, or gold, or jewels?
>
> How could they ever
>
> Equal the greater treasure
>
> That is a child?"

The poem 'signalled the ascendance of the child as a newly important locus of attention among family, society, and nation' (Jones, 2010, p.2). The treasure invoked is thus as much the private pleasure of raising the child as it is the public value of children as future citizens. Interestingly, the permanence of a poem that is more than a thousand years old contributes to a sense of continuity between past and present (Anderson, 1983, p.11) and inscribes this conception of the child within a national tradition. As I develop through this thesis, children have become in the modern period, and more specifically

in the postwar period, part of the national treasures of Japan. The poem quoted above, residual element of pre-modern discourse of childhood, points to the centrality of the child in the new imagined community.

The use of the poem in the modern period in emerging discourses of childhood (Jones, 2010, p.1) also contributes to the perception of parental love, especially a mother's love, as "natural". Through the case studies in the next chapters it will become apparent that the naturalness of childhood, of motherhood, even of pregnancy, is often enhanced to insert preferred behaviours into dominant discourses which are then presented as "truth".

Figure 4- Notification of pregnancy form

As I will elaborate below, through analysis of the official mother-child handbooks (*boshi kenko techo*) that are given to every new mother in Japan, and which extend the reach of the state shown in compulsory sonograms and the monitoring of the growth and health of the foetus, the child is seen as highly valuable to the state. Indeed, the unborn child is even given explicit monetary value through a stipend paid to pregnant mothers from the moment they register the pregnancy (using the form shown in fig.4), and which is also when they obtain the mother-child handbook. This *boshi kenko techo* contains medical information about pregnancy and the first months of life with a young child, including ages for compulsory immunisation. The handbook also contains coupons for pregnancy check-ups and immunisations to ensure the pregnant woman is fully aware of the expectations placed on her.

The handbook could, of course, be seen as a valuable source of information, just like any of the many commercial books for young mothers that exist. However, the official

mother-child handbook is much more than that. It is handed to women upon confirmation of their pregnancy at a clinic or hospital. Thus, pregnancy is officially registered from a very early stage (first check-up at six weeks) and highly regulated. It becomes a 'regime of truth' in the Foucauldian sense; pregnancy is determined by the discourse of medicine in conjunction with the state. The handbook monitors the process of the pregnancy, the birth, and the child's "normal" development up to six years old. The nationwide use of the handbooks and the compulsory registration of pregnant women at District Government Offices thus creates a large database of information about mothers-to-be and their children. More crucially for this thesis it exemplifies Foucault's power/knowledge dynamic.

In this chapter, I will extend this exemplification to explore how Japanese state apparatuses have constructed a normative representation of the healthy child born within a dominant formulation of the modern family (young heterosexual couple). I examine how the apparatuses developed by the state have acted as a means of social control through the production of an imagined national and gender identity. Of necessity, this exploration will be grounded in a brief history of the Japanese family and will foreground the discourses that are privileged as "tradition" by the state, and how this then links to the regulation of gender "norms" through ideas of distinctively "Japanese" identity.

I begin this chapter by developing the importance of images in the construction of a national identity. I then consider state apparatuses, such as administrative documents (*koseki*, the mother-child handbook noted above), and how they act as a means of social control. This sets up the framework for the subsequent chapters, in each of which I develop case studies centred on one type of image (public service advertisements in Chapter Two, photographic exhibitions in Chapter Three and School albums in Chapter Four).

Photography, Technology and the Imagined Community

Ideologies and discourses embedded in the sonogram trace back to the nineteenth century intersection of technology and ideology. They come together in the formation of the imagined community and thus become available for the state's ideological use. The Japanese Bafuku government (1192-1867) showed an early interest in Western technology and in particular vision enhancing devices, mostly telescopes used for military purposes. Although the first cameras were acquired by feudal lords who governed before modernisation, the later Meiji government collaborated with photographers to promote its goals. In 1868, the year of the promulgation of the Meiji period, and so establishment of the modern government, the Emperor had his

Figure 5- Hall of the Great Buddha at Todai-ji Temple (Jinshin Survey), Matsusaburo Yokoyama

photograph taken. It was referred to as *oshashin*, with the honorific particle "o-" to differentiate it from other people's portraits (Kinoshita, 2003,p.28). As Gweyon Kim describes, the Meiji Emperor's first tour of Japan was recorded through photography (2010). At the same time, the newly established Ministry of Education ordered that the treasures of the national heritage (temples, paintings, sculptures,) should also be photographed to reference, archive and display the richness of Japanese culture. This is evidenced by the Jinshin survey of 1872 (Kim, 2010, p.197), illustrated in fig.5. This survey was the first measure taken by the new government to protect cultural property and was conducted in order to establish the authenticity of items that were to be shown at a later exhibition organised by the Ministry of Education. Indeed, the Meiji era opened up new ways of exhibiting artifacts, focusing away from the religious unveilings, *kaichō*, to the modern and Western-style *hakurankai*, displays with an educational and national goal (Kornichi, 1994, p. 195).

Figure 6- Shakaniyoraizazo in Mirokudo, muroiji temple, Ken Domon

This recording tradition continued in the postwar period. Of special interest, among the many examples, is Ken Domon's series of pictures of temples and their belongings taken between 1963 and 1975, such as in fig. 6, and subsequently published as *Koji Junrei,* about which Domon affirmed in the preface, 'this is thus intended as a beloved book, a book which allows the individual Japanese to reconfirm the culture, the people which formed them' (Domon, 1983-1984). After photographing Japanese children in the immediate postwar period, as I further discuss in Chapter Three, Domon continued to build a national visual repository of Japaneseness. His photographs, like those of the Jinshin survey, and other similar projects, contribute to the construction of a shared 'immemorial past' (Anderson, 1983, p.11) that defines the imagined community as legitimate and "natural" rather than constructed. This common past is validated by objects and buildings whose cultural value is erected as "national treasures" (*kokuhō*). The "moment of modernity" thus established itself by documenting the break with tradition (now is the time to review and record the past) as well as continuities with the past. As Anderson (1983) notes it is an essential part of the construction of an imagined community, and thus not specific to Japan. Other countries, such as France who, in a process similar to the Jinshin survey, listed and categorised the national heritage from the 1830s.

The link between the development of the imagined community of Japan and the concern with heritage is visible in the proclamation of laws and decrees to protect it that appeared from the 1870s onwards. Modern technology provided the state with a wide array of possibilities for restoring, protecting and documenting the *kokuhō.* Photography was of particular importance for this last mission. First, it enabled the construction of a 'vast and repetitive archive of images' (Tagg, 1988, p.64) of these treasures, whose

inclusion or exclusion then contributed to defining the imagined community, in the same way as historical events were edited in or out of school textbooks, and so from the national memory (Anderson, 1983, p.200). Second, the photograph enabled all members of the imagined community to access and appropriate valorised cultural objects. It provided 'a sort of pictorial census of the state's patrimony' (Anderson, 1983, p.182) available for all to see. Indeed, the mechanical reproducibility of the photograph rendered it possible for each household to possess, for example, through Domon's book, a reproduction of the national treasures. Moreover, the availability of the picture of such treasures also made them always available, always visible, unlike the tradition of hidden treasures sealed within the temple and only shown for a few days a year during specific festivals (Kornichi, 1994, p.174; Kim, 2010, p.177). In this way, photography, like the novel and the newspaper, 'provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the *kind* of imagined community that is the nation' (Anderson, 1983, p.25, original emphasis).

The settlement of Hokkaidō was another largely documented subject commissioned by the Meiji government (1868-1888). The control of Hokkaidō, inhabited mostly by the ethnic group Ainu, was central to stop the expansion of Russia and thus affirmed the boundaries of the Japanese imagined community. The government offered financial support to photographers documenting the construction and settlement of newcomers from the island of Honshū. The photographs were used to record the advancement of the construction as well as to advertise the new town to possible settlers (Japan Photographers Association and Dower, 1981, p.9). Most crucially for this thesis, they also documented the 'policies of assimilation used to turn the people of the frontiers into Japanese citizens' (Morris-Suzuki, 1998, p.10). Through the settlement, Ainu were disciplined as 'Japanese citizens' and incorporated in the new imagined community. The Ainu, who, in the pre-modern period, were 'forbidden to learn Japanese or wear characteristically Japanese articles of clothing such as straw sandals and straw raincoats' (Morris-Suzuki, 1998, p.18), became from the late nineteenth century Japanese. Schooling was pivotal in the homogenisation of the national identity, and placed children at the centre of state concerns (Morris-Suzuki, 1998, p.28). The identity of Ainu children was disciplined by the state as "Japanese" through the regulation of their speech – Japanese – and clothing – school uniforms –, that made them in all points similar to

children of any other prefecture across Japan. The photographs of the settlement can be read today as a record of how the island became Japanese, and how the Japanese nation created itself as a homogeneous culture and people within a 'fairly demarcated and bounded territory with which members identify and to which they feel they belong' (Smith, 1991, p.9). Thus, centrally for this thesis, photography has been a valuable tool for the creation and sustainment of the imagined community since the nineteenth century.

The Japanese colonialism in Asia attempted to expand the imagined community and impose a form of "Japaneseness" to other nations [1], thus enlarging the national boundaries and affirming Japanese superiority over its neighbour countries. This trend was visible within the Japanese frontiers through an increased militarisation. The war years, starting in 1930s with the Second Sino-Japanese war, rendered particularly explicit the relationship between childhood and national identity, largely affected children as pupils. Indeed, from 1930 military drills became part of physical education (Rubinger, 1992, p.62). The soldier becomes a highly visible figure even within the school, as is visible in the 1942 school album, further analysed in Chapter Four. In 1938 an army general, Araki Sadao, is even appointed Minister of Education, further enhancing the child as 'little citizen' and future soldier.

The disciplines that emerged with modernity (Foucault, 1975, p.126) were rendered highly visible by the imperialism and militarism of the 1930s and 40s, as is exemplified in the photographs of the time that documented highly regulated lives. A large quantity of propaganda images was produced during this period to show the participation of all citizens, children included, in the war effort. The image in fig. 7 is particularly revealing of the ideal of 'little citizen' (Jones, 2010) promoted by the Japanese state in the years prior to and during the Second Sino-Japanese war. In it, the Japanese school uniform, already strongly inspired from military uniform, is replaced with a military parade uniform. The very young child is dressed in military attire and holds the Japanese flag,

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[1] Residual aspects of the mid - twentieth century colonisation are still visible, as in the Taiwanese school albums, in all points similar to the Japanese ones. Such similarities have not yet been studied but would crucially inform both the global history of the school album and the construction of national identities.

the high symbol of nationalism (Billig, 1995, p.37). His posture also reveals the militaristic discipline imposed upon his body, standing straight, looking in front of him. Only his fingers seem to escape such rigor. This image shows how the child is already disciplined into his role as national citizen, dressed up with Imperial ideology. This picture illustrates James and James view that the discourses of childhood can be influenced by political regimes (2004, p.7). The imperialism of the 1930s and 40s led to a strongly politicised figure of the child, one that affirms and validates Japanese national identity even as the specifics change.

Figure 7- Shichigosan, anonymous, 1933

Wartime propaganda developed the value of 'Japan's modernity' (Kushner, 2006, p. 10), and photography was an integral part of this modernity. Photography was introduced into Japan as a "foreign" product, but it became a technique that was rapidly appropriated as a symbol of Japan's own modernity (Winkel, 1991, p.15). In the late nineteenth century, photographs were among the seven items of the 'standard paraphernalia of civilization and enlightenment' (*bunmei kaika nanatsu dōgu*), alongside newspapers, the postal system, gaslight, steam engines, exhibitions and dirigible balloons? (Japan Photographers Association and Dower, 1981, p.9), all resulting from contact with the West. They marked Japan's economic and industrial development as a modern state in which citizens could enjoy the fruits of new technology and new ideas.

The Western-style attire of the child in the image (fig.7), the military uniform, adopted in 1879, is also a symbol of Japan's modernity (Kinsella, 2002, p.215). Undoubtedly, standardised clothing such as military or school uniforms, become 'tangible symbols of the ability of the enormous and extensive politico-economic structures to shape bodily practices, and by implication, subjectivity and behavior' (McVeigh, 2000, p.3). Hence the clothing dresses the child in the appropriate national identity of the time, linked to a

militarised idea of the Japanese nation. The abundant wartime propaganda is wrapped up in national symbols, such as this or the flag, and military-style discipline.

If such overtly propagandist imagery disappeared after the war, the use of children for nationalistic purposes remained widespread. Postwar images worked with less explicit national resonances and less overtly aggressive images. Indeed,

> as a nation-state becomes established in its sovereignty, and if it faces little internal challenge, then the symbols of nationhood, which might once have been consciously displayed, do not disappear from sight, but instead become absorbed into the environment of the established homeland. (Billig, 1995, p.41)

In the postwar period, the imagined community of Japan was thus redefined through subtle and discreet power forms, that exerted an invisible discipline (Foucault, 1975, p.187). However, as I demonstrate in the next sections and chapters of this thesis, the disciplining of the child's body remains constant and strong throughout this period and processes. Arguably, in the twenty-first century, 'children are […] now more hemmed in by surveillance and social regulation than ever before' (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998, p.7). However, contemporary coercion is not overt, but exerted through an 'uninterrupted, constant coercion, supervising the processes of the activity rather than its result' (Foucault, 1975, p.137) and the wartime vision of the child as 'little citizen' (Jones, 2010) is replaced with discourses of childhood that enhance its "naturalness".

The postwar period reconstructed 'taken-for-granted "truths" about childhood' (James, Jenks and Prout,1998, p.9) which expressed the importance of belonging to the imagined community less obviously. The photographic medium enabled such a move towards more subtle expressions of national identity thanks to 'its status as a discrete medium' (Stimson, 2006, p.22). In addition, its multi-facetedness, that is 'the ubiquity of the photograph, the multiplicity of its uses, and the contradictory goals of photographic practices' (Bolton, 1989, p.xi), allowed photography to continue being a tool of choice for many state apparatuses, including those I consider in the following chapters.

I outlined in this section how technology and ideology have been connected since the early days of photography in the development of discourses of the imagined community of Japan. This historical background provides an important context for the main work of

the thesis which is primarily focused on the relationship between photography and identity discourse in postwar Japan. I have already outlined how childhood is imbricated within the construction of national identity through a brief consideration of wartime imagery, and the subsequent move away from openly propagandistic photographs into more discreet discourses of Japaneseness and childhood in the 1950s. To sum up, photography has been a tool of state apparatuses from the mid nineteenth century (Tagg, 1988); what changed in the postwar period is how those apparatuses used this technology to re-affirm dominant or establish new discourses. I will now consider how childhood is embedded in discourses of the family and national identity in modern Japan, and which dominant models of childhood and the family are defined by the state as appropriately "Japanese".

The Child, the Family and the State

The Family-State as Model of the Family Structure

Figure 8- Family Day Poster 2007, Niigata Prefecture

The modern Japanese nation was built around the ideal of the family. The Meiji leaders (1868-1912) reasserted the Emperor as head of the nation, and father of all Japanese. The state was thus conceived as an ensemble gathering of individual families (Yoshino, 1992, p.91-2). This specific organisation of the nation as family-state contributed to the construction of Japanese national identity as one of community. Indeed, 'the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 1983, p.7). This community remains a powerful ideal. It is represented in the 2007 poster from the

Niigata Prefecture (fig.8) for the 'Family Day' wherein the Japanese community is visualised as a large united family tree, following the ideal of the family-state. Below the tree a three-generational family with three children is represented. The grandparents and one of the children are watering the tree. They symbolise the nurturing of society. The family is shown here as the unit which allows society to grow and develop healthily. It also evokes the idea of reproduction, through the image of the genealogical tree, as one family grows into many families. The poster maps the Japanese community and within it establishes the family as the basic unit of the nation.

The Japanese family itself is organised into the system of "household" or *ie*. The *ie* is defined as 'a kinship unit with a patriarchal head' (Sugimoto, 2003, p.147). Widely presented as the traditional Japanese system, the *ie* is actually a modern invention. Its 'historical identity' (Ueno, 1994, p.111) contributes to the imagined community by creating a link with an 'immemorial past' (Anderson, 1983, p.11). Whilst the *ie* model existed in the sixteenth century, it was confined to a minority, the samurai class, which represented less than 10% of the Japanese population (Ueno, 1994, p.63).

In 1873, a decree established the samurai's system of primogeniture as the norm. According to Ike Nobutaka, this model was chosen by the modern state because of the centrality of Confucian values affirming the authority of the head of family, and which could be also applied to the Emperor in the ideology of the 'society-as-family' to further affirm an imagined community (1950, p.159). The apparent permanence of the samurai family system also reinforced the *ie,* or family. Setsuko Hani describes it as a 'feudalistic family community', (1948, p.425). The *ie* is thus a modern state apparatus, based on strict gender role separation. Drawing on a feminist perspective, Hani (1948) explains how the *ie* does not rely on husband-wife relationships, but rather on vertical patriarchal relationships between members of the household, placing the male successor at its head. The marriage is not a union between two equal persons, but a process of bringing the bride into the groom's household (Yoshizumi, 1995, p.188). This is materialised by the registering of the wife's name into the husband's family register, the *koseki*. Kathleen Uno (1999) highlights how this regulation of marriage in the Meiji period (1868-1912) affected children who were considered as "children of the household". The wife, as a new member of the *ie* has not shown her loyalty to it and as so is given little authority

over her children's education, and in case of divorce, i.e. the wife being "sent back" to her family, the children remain within the household as future heirs (Uno, 1999, p.23).

The extended family remained the norm during the Meiji period. However, a new ideal of the family emerged in the late nineteenth century: the *katei*. This smaller family conception is based on the Western idea of "home as haven" and imitated emergent Western family formations. Far from being a miniature version of society, family is seen as a haven from the outside world. The moral values of this "happy family" circle are based on love, equality and individualism (Jones, 2010, p.27-8). This emergent discourse subverted the Confucian ideal of filial piety and ancestor worship inherent to the *ie* and effectively converted it into descendant worship through the creation of new childrearing practices, and of a family organisation centred on the child. The *katei*, like its Western counterparts, placed the child at the centre of the family and nation.

Nonetheless, this sentimental vision of the family, based on the couple's feelings rather than the household needs, encountered much opposition within Japanese society. The Meiji government, fearing social instability as a consequence of too much Westernisation, used the civil code of 1898 to exalt the model of the *ie*, an extended family with a strong male household head, as the Japanese ideal. Other conservative critics emerged, stating that this model was only valid for the higher classes of society. In 1903 an unnamed Tokyo businessman affirmed: 'I have no time whatsoever to engage in the pleasures of the happy family circle… with my wife, six-year-old son, and four-year-old daughter' (quoted and translated in Jones, 2010, p.36). The child-centred family could only exist within those wealthy families in which parents could free themselves from economic necessities, as exemplified by the ideal of the childlike child (Jones, 2010).

The sentimentalised *katei* family remained more an ideal - and only for a few - than a reality during the Meiji era, although a few elements of this vision took root and became essential characteristics of later models of the family. The ideal of a small family circle confined to two generations became a reality with the arrival of rural migrants in urban centres in the late nineteenth century. It marked the emergence of *bekkyo*, or separate residences for generations. The *bekkyo* freed newlywed and young couples from the influence of the older generations, and the *ie* model of family, fostering the child-

centred family of the *kate*i. This changed model of the ideal family strongly affected children, because without parental guidance, young mothers lacked access to knowledge of traditional child-rearing techniques as well as practical help in daily life. The women from the middle and higher classes found this support and instruction through the educational system and advice books (Jones, 2010). Thus, child-rearing was no longer a question of generation (older children or the elderly taking care of the younger ones) but instead became an issue of gender as women became the main carers. It then became a matter of state education for women given the primary care-giver role. In the modern period, with the authority of the pre-modern heads of communities (villages, neighbourhoods) replaced by education, the family became a concern of the state, who monitored it through different apparatuses, including the *koseki* and the mother-child handbook.

This account of the development of the currently dominant Japanese family model sets up the framework within which childhood is constructed and which is the context for my research. From the modern period onwards, the family model stopped being reliant on social class and became a central element of the new imagined community. As I develop below, the *koseki* normalised a family model based on a nuclear heterosexual household. As in the West, the nuclear family model became a powerful cultural figure (Tincknell, 2005). I will now proceed to highlight how the discourses of the modern Japanese family, and thus also childhood, are disciplined by the state apparatuses that developed as a consequence.

Framing the Family: The Koseki

The *koseki* (the family register) is a highly constraining and normalising tool for the state. It is an administrative document (see fig.9) which contains information regarding the "proper organisation" of the family unit. It is usually registered under the name of the male head of the household and lists the date of birth, marriage, birth or adoption of the couple's children and death of the household members. The *koseki* registers two generations under the parental address. Only upon marriage do the children officially

leave their parents' family register to establish their own, regardless of whether they actually shared residency when they reached adulthood.

Figure 9- Model of koseki

The *koseki* acts as a birth, marriage and death certificate for all Japanese citizens. It is a state requirement to keep it up to date, especially as it works as the census for the Japanese government. As Anderson affirms, 'the fiction of the census is that everyone is in it' (1983, p.166). By 'everyone' Anderson means all those included in the imagined community by the state apparatus. Foreign spouses of Japanese nationals - who are not 'the objects of [the census] feverish imagining' (Anderson, 1983, p.169) - are omitted from the register, even though the married status is indicated. In this way, "foreigners" are excluded from the *koseki*, and thus from the state, and by extension, from the imagined community. We then have a clear example of the 'limited' aspect of the imagined community, of its boundaries (Anderson, 1983, p.7) that is addressed through a regulated discourse of both family and Japaneseness. The *koseki* thus exemplifies Foucault's ideas about power circulating in everyday practices (1975, p.27).

This document is kept at the city hall of the family's place of birth or residence. Unlike some European countries, such as France (livret de famille) or Spain (libro de familia), it

is not held by the family, but by the government which is the safe-keeper of such official information. In Japan, each person listed on the *koseki* (even those who are taken off, such as in case of divorce or when children create their own *koseki*) is entitled to request a copy of it, as well as lawyers or debt collectors to contact relatives of the debtor. The *koseki* retraces the history of each household, so those "erased" from it one starting their own *koseki* still remain a "ghostly" paper presence indicating past belonging to this *ie*.

According to the pre-war Civil Code, established in 1898, the *koseki* 'organised the family and were used by the government to provide citizenship and other government services' (Freiner, 2012, p.67). The structure of the *ie* is defined in the family register, the *koseki*. In it, the family members sharing residency are registered under the head of the household. Even in the postwar period, with the introduction of formal gender equality in the Civil Code, a large majority of head of households are male (Sugimoto, 2003, p.147), showing the ongoing naturalisation of patriarchal gender roles within Japanese society. This government-sanctioned document also forces spouses and children to have the same patronym. Surnames, thus, normalise the family unit as one sharing a common name – often the husband's, further institutionalising patriarchal power. In the early days of the *koseki* (1870s), it established as a "national" norm that all citizens should have a Western-style first name and surname, a practice that was not common across Japan before modernisation. This register thus places all members of the imagined community within the ideal of 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 1983, p.7), exemplified above by the Family Day poster (fig.8).

The *koseki* therefore acts as a form of Foucauldian social control and encourages real families to conform to the idealised model (Ueno, 1994, p.74). Its semi-public availability ensured conformity to the norms it affirmed. Indeed, before 2008, anybody could ask the local city hall directly to see somebody else's family register, such as future employers or universities. Capitalist corporations benefited from the public nature of this state information registered in the *koseki,* because everyone was required to register to be able to go to school, attend university and to get a job. It was used to discriminate against ethnic minorities such as Ainu, but also against unconventional

households, i.e. non heterosexual families or unmarried couples (Chapman and Krogness, 2014).

In many ways, the *koseki* acts as a protection of "traditional" values. Through it, the state sanctions certain family forms and establishes a norm for the Japanese family. Crucially, too, national moral values are regulated at a private level through the *koseki*, especially women's (not men's) marital fidelity. Thus women's sexuality is regulated through this device. For example, under article 722 of the Civil Code (1896), babies born within three hundred days of a *decree nisi* are registered on the *koseki* of the ex-husband, whether he is or not the biological father (Sugimoto, 2003, p.147). This usefully shows that patriarchal kinship, and not biology or genetics, are pivotal to the Japanese model of family. The restrictiveness and normativity of the *koseki* is evidenced by recent cases in the 2000s (see Krogness, 2014, n.p.) where women fail to register children born outside wedlock after fleeing abusive husbands, so as not to alert them to their pregnancy and location, which he can find through access to "his" *koseki*.

Not only is it unlawful not to declare a birth, but an unregistered child will suffer from the lack of official documentation for their whole life, and it could prevent them from entering high school, finding employment or getting married, and even from obtaining a passport (as in a case in 2006 mentioned by Krogness, 2014, n.p.). The revision of the Passport Law Enforcement Regulations in 2007 has enabled exceptions, and passports can now be delivered to "unregistered" persons under certain circumstances. However, the core issue still has to be addressed as article 722 remains valid.

The regulative impact of the *koseki* is also visible in Japanese attitudes towards unwanted pregnancies. Babies given up for adoption at birth are still recorded on the unmarried mother's *koseki*. They are thus visible to employers, future husbands and even future children. The "illegitimacy shame" also falls on the mother's parents and siblings, as, even if a woman can start her own register due to a birth notification, the parental *koseki* will indicate the extra-marital birth (Krogness, 2014, n.p). Abortion remains the only way to avoid the social stigma of childbirth outside wedlock (Sugimoto, 2003, p.149; Krogness, 2014, n.p.). The high numbers of abortions practiced annually in Japan perhaps indicate the wide acceptance of this particular social pressure and the

lack of stigma attached to termination (in contrast to many Western countries). The relic of this social constraint of "legitimacy", at a time when the current Japanese government is encouraging women to have more children, makes clear the difficulty of combining ideology and practice. As will be noted in Chapter Two, politicians have recognised the need to sacrifice ideological beliefs in order to resolve the "fertility crisis", such as the separation of gender roles. Nonetheless, children born outside wedlock remain "unwanted", with fewer privileges and rights, showing that residual discourses carried by state apparatuses continue to sanction marital sexual relationships through the *koseki*.

None-compliance with dominant cultural models is thus sanctioned by social exclusion, although this has lessened since 2008 with the prohibition on consulting someone else's *koseki*. Nonetheless, university recruiters and employers have used family registers to validate individual compliance with the imagined community, by seeking information on familial origin (which may be used to discriminate against minorities or foreigners) and compliance to appropriate gender roles and accepted family structure.

To sum up, the *koseki* acts as a mean of social control over the family, and especially women. The permanence of late nineteenth century laws and associated discourses show how residual cultural models of the family still inform Japanese society. They affect childhood through the definition of "unwanted" children as well as providing a nationally homogeneous familial framework (the heterosexual couple) for all children to grow within. Thus, in terms of a life chronology, the *koseki* is the first disciplinary apparatus that affects the Japanese child since it comes into play even before conception.

Gendering Bodies and Behaviours

Institutionalised by the *koseki*, segregated gender roles are encouraged by the Japanese state through its apparatuses. Such specific gender distinctions around productive labour (work and masculinity) and reproductive labour (home and femininity) has however developed only recently in Japan with the introduction of Western practices

and beliefs under modernisation. In pre-modern forms of the family, especially in rural and lower classes households in which the woman's income was necessary for the family's survival (Uno, 1999, p.132; Garon, 1997, p.120), the image of womanhood was that of productive rather than reproductive labour. Indeed, childcare was considered an unskilled task and infants were left to child baby sitters (*komori*), apprentices or the older people of the household (Uno, 1999, p.21). In wealthier families, servants acted as wet nurses and nannies (Uno, 1999, p.32). The lack of separation of public and private spheres, of work and family life, enabled women to participate in their husband's economic activities. The modernisation – and Westernisation – of Japan brought new discourses which clearly differentiated gendered identities and spaces along European lines. The space of the household is now mainly identified with womanhood, and more particularly motherhood, whereas public space is claimed by men as productive agents (Molony and Uno, 2005, p.11).

In pre-modern Japan, the family was certainly based on patriarchy, the father being not only the head of the *ie*, but dominating decisions regarding the children (Bernstein, 2005, p.51; Uno, 1999, p.21). However, since the Meiji period patriarchy has taken a different form, and men have been excluded from the home and the family, with the exception of days off for leisure, because of the separate spheres ideologies that define the public space of business or work as male. However, as I will explain in Chapter Two, this ideology is not totalising, and is challenged by the figure of the nurturing father that links back to pre-modern models of the family, as well as chiming with emergent discourses imported from Western feminism.

During the Second World War, like today, openly nationalist discourses and moral suasion campaigns were central in the promotion of larger families to support the national cause (Coulmas, 2007, p.37). As in the West in the early twentieth century, postwar Japan linked the 'private act of reproduction with public responsibility to breed for race and nation' (Tincknell, 2005, p.25). Children were needed to become the future *sararimen* (salary men) who could restore the economic power of the nation in the 1950s in the same way as they were needed to become the future soldiers of Japan in the 1930s and 40s. The "fertility" crisis is thus embedded in a revised nationalist discourse relying on the sense of belonging to the imagined community of Japan.

Because of this, scholars such as Brian McVeigh suggest that Japanese separate spheres ideologies are somewhat different than those of the West (2000, p.22). The Japanese state is commonly seen by Westerners as "interfering" in the private life of citizens in a prescriptive manner through residual pre-modern structures (Benedict, 1946; Pyle, 1973; Dale, 1986). This perception, with its negative connotations, emerges from a Western definition of the public and private spheres and an ignorance of the nuanced meaning of those concepts in Japan. Indeed, the European and Japanese public spheres are not identical concepts. Harumi Befu defines private and public spaces in Japan in terms of the construction of identity. Hence, the public is 'the societal, the communal, and all else which involves the corporate interest of the body politic, particularly in the arena of social life traditionally regarded as "sacred"' (Befu, 1984, p.63). She further defines the private as 'the realm of personal and family affairs and of individual interests in opposition to communal or societal affairs' (Befu, 1984, p. 63). If in the West, public and private interests can be in conflict, in Japan, the private is subordinated to the public good, and symbolised in the concept *shūdan ishiki* - group consciousness (Davies and Ikeno, 2002, p.195). The relationship between public and private spheres is equivalent to that of society and individual.

Welfare policy is a good example of the intricate relationship between private and public in Japan, with a strong cultural and social reliance on individuals to perform welfare tasks such as child or elderly care. While Japan introduced welfare policies along Western lines in the modern period, there are significant detours from Western ideologies of public and private responsibilities, especially in relation to women's roles. Interestingly for this thesis, Japan's welfare provision is presented as a uniquely Japanese approach, so welfare is wrapped in national identity discourses. For example, in 1977, the Economic Planning Agency outlined an "essential" difference between Japanese and Western societies in a report: 'we do not expect our country to become a Western-style individualistic society. It therefore is necessary to make the best use of our intermediary groups (*chūkan shūdan*), such as families and local communities, and continue to strive for the optimal mix of individualism and groupism' (quoted and translated in Garon, 1997, p.224). By claiming the uniqueness of its welfare state and society, the Japanese state helps shape the idea of the imagined community.

Multigenerational living arrangements, combined with the widespread role of women as full-time housewives, provides the state with a large pool of middle-aged mothers and daughters-in-law available to care for their family members. Despite the Angel Plan and Golden Plan in the 1990s to provide care, respectively, to children and the elderly, the bulk of social welfare still relies on women, as they constitute what the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Labour described as Japan's 'hidden asset in welfare' (1978 White Paper, quoted and translated in Garon, 1997, p.225). This expectation pre-dates and shaped the very beginning of Japan's welfare system in the 1970s. As Takejirō Tokonami, the chief of the Bureau of Local Affairs in 1910 and later an influential Home Affairs minister, said in a striking affirmation of Japan's ideological marriage of tradition with modernity,

> in Japan, the family is the unit of society. A parent must raise a child, and a child must help his parent. Brothers must be kind to each other... It is a family shame to send one of its own out to bother outsiders and to depend on others for assistance. This has been the social organization of our country since ancient times. (1910, quoted in Garon, 1997, p.41)

What Tokonami does not indicate, as it may have been "obvious" (i.e. ideologically determined) to his contemporaries, is that the 'parent' mentioned is most likely a mother, and the 'child' as future carer, a daughter. Thus, the separate spheres ideology noted above does not simply divide citizens of the imagined community into "private" female mothers and housewives, and "public" male workers, but also works to regulate the gendered terms of state welfare at its intersection with the so-called population crisis. Furthermore, the Japanese welfare system has been and remains highly centred on women, not only as providers as I outlined above, but also as targets of welfare programs that restrict and normalise their bodies, as I develop in the next section.

The Mother-Child Handbook

Since the nineteenth century numerous state welfare policies across the world have been aimed at controlling social behaviours while being packaged as "for our own good", as Michael Fitzpatrick develops in the case of England (2001). From a Foucauldian perspective, welfare allows the state to discipline its citizens into "appropriate"

behaviours such as marriage, children born in wedlock, bodily and "moral" hygiene, and even saving money. This discipline is exercised through control of the body in medical and social centres such as hospitals, schools, and clinics.

In these institutional contexts a 'regime of truth' in which 'norms, pathologies and prescriptions about children' are constructed (Tincknell, 2005, p.79). In Japan, the first day-care centres created were the place where lower-class children and their families were instilled with the values of hard work, frugality, discipline and self-reliance (Uno, 1999, p.89). Thus, the centres were not only preoccupied with child welfare, but also with the 'economic well-being of ordinary citizens and minimiz(ing) social unrest' (Uno, 1999, p.103). Since the Meiji period (1868-1912), welfare policies have thus contributed to disciplining the population into the new, "enlightened" ways brought by modernity.

The mother-child health handbook (*boshi kenko techo*) is one of such welfare policies. It is a powerful disciplining apparatus of the Japanese state, one that is used to intervene from the earliest stages of pregnancy. Following the loss of inter-generational support that was the consequence of the transition from the traditional *ie* to modern family models I outlined above, it was used as part of the educational apparatus available to pregnant women, and can appear to be a very useful tool for new mothers-to-be. Indeed, the Japanese government has tried to export it to other countries in the name of the welfare of both mother and child (Nakamura, 2010, p.261). In addition, Yasuhide Nakamura suggests that this handbook is one of the causes of the low infant mortality rate in Japan, thanks to the close monitoring of the pregnancy and early years of the child (Nakamura, 2010, p.259).

Figure 10 - Boshi Kenko Techo, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo

Here, as in the case of the sonograms described at the beginning of this chapter, regulatory practices wrapped up in welfare policies encounter little or no resistance. Indeed, parents feel "reassured" by the many sonograms practiced during the pregnancy and deem then 'necessary' (Kishi, McElmurry, Vonderheid, et al., 2010, p.62), and Japanese mothers diligently fill in the mother-child handbook. Besides, the original name of the handbook, *boshi techo* (literally mother-child handbook) was changed in 1970 to *boshi kenko techo* (literally maternal and child health handbook) (Nakamura, 2010, p.259). This change of nomenclature shows the increased stress placed upon the handbook's wholly benign aims.

The mother-child handbook was established in 1942 as a way of controlling wartime food rations for pregnant women and mothers with young children. In the immediate aftermath of the war, the system was a way to give priority treatment to mothers and young children (Yamaoka and Iida, 2013, n.p.), who played an essential role in governmental propaganda during the Second World War as 'little citizens' and 'ryōsai kenbo', i.e. "good wife, wise mother" (Jones, 2010; Garon, 1997). The handbook has remained up to the present day as a valuable tool for disciplining mothers and young children into social norms. The original eight-page handbook was upgraded in 2002 and now has 49 pages (Nakamura, 2010, p.261), thus suggesting an extension of the disciplinary regulation to cover all aspects of pregnancy and motherhood. Nakamura shows that more than 99% of the Japanese population who were given a mother-child handbook kept it and used it (2010, p.261), highlighting the wide acceptance and internalisation of state control and the medicalisation of the body (Foucault, 1961; Fitzpatrick, 2001).

The mother-child handbook does not only regulate the body of the pregnant woman through the monitoring of the nine months of gestation, but also that of the child. As noted above, the handbook covers the period until the child is six years old. It is at this age that s/he enters primary school, the health information recorded on the handbook is transferred onto his/her student health card, and the state takes a more direct role in regulating the child. The *boshi kenko techo* acts a regulatory apparatus of the body, both to record and to compare to a norm. The growth and development of both mother and child are compared to national averages that create a normative representation of the

"healthy" and "normal" individual. Non-conformity to normalised numbers leads to strong coercive pressure from state medical bodies as well as the community (Ivry, 2010). Moreover, this normative approach enables citizens to envision themselves 'without ever becoming acquainted, and still be connected' (Anderson, 1983, p.25) to the other members of Japan's imagined community.

Of course, other Western countries have had similar apparatuses to monitor the bodies and health of their citizenry. For instance, in France the *carnet de santé* (health notebook) was instituted in the late nineteenth century to improve health education across the county (Rollet, 2005). A system similar to the *koseki* also exists: *livret de famille* (family booklet) as I noted above. Like the Japanese *koseki,* the *livret de famille* records and monitors the family structure and new members with the registration of each newborn. However, the French *livret de famille* and *carnet de santé* lack the social regulation of their Asian counterpart. Indeed, the *livret de famille* is very rarely requested unless as a proof of marriage or family links. Unlike the Japanese *koseki*, it is not used to discriminate and the models of the family it allows is wider (homosexual as well as heterosexual couples since 2013). The French *carnet de santé* gives little if no information (depending on the regional variants) on pregnancy and child-rearing. It is mainly used during the first months to record the growth of the child and later almost exclusively for immunisations, as neither parents nor the medical community fill it in systematically. Unlike the Japanese handbook, its role is purely one of a medical record of the infant years, thus exercising a lesser control and regulation of the child and family structure.

In contrast, in Japan, a majority of parents record births and childhood events in the mother-child handbook (Nakamura, 2010, p.261; Takeuchi, Sakagami and Perez, 2016, p.1). In addition, the mother-child handbook is an official document for the child, necessary to obtain a passport (alongside the *koseki*) or for post-birth recognition by the father.

Since 1991, the *boshi kenko techo* has not been entirely nationally uniform, but has been placed under the control of local government which can adapt its content to local specificities (Takeuchi, Sakagami and Perez, 2016, p.2). Nonetheless the major structure

Figure 11- Boshi Kenko Techo in Foreign languages

and information remain homogeneous. What varies very visibly from one handbook to the other is the front cover image, which I will consider now using a small selection as my sample (fig. 10-16 and 18-19).

The covers that I consider here were found through an online search and come from either the official local municipality websites or from mothers' online blogs about their experiences. The English language handbooks were found on the blogs of foreign women who spent their pregnancy in Japan and were explaining to their fellow
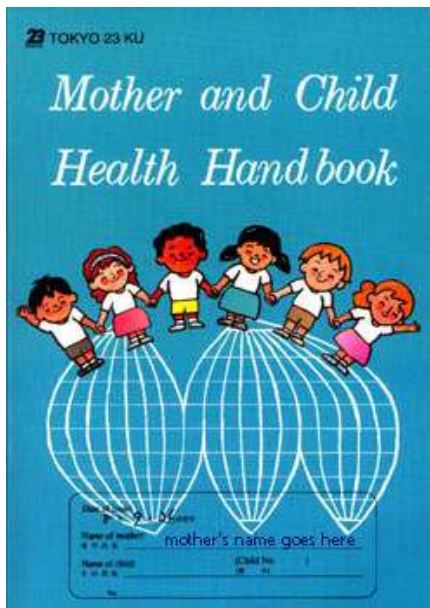
Figure 13- Bi-lingual Boshi Kenko Techo, Tokyo
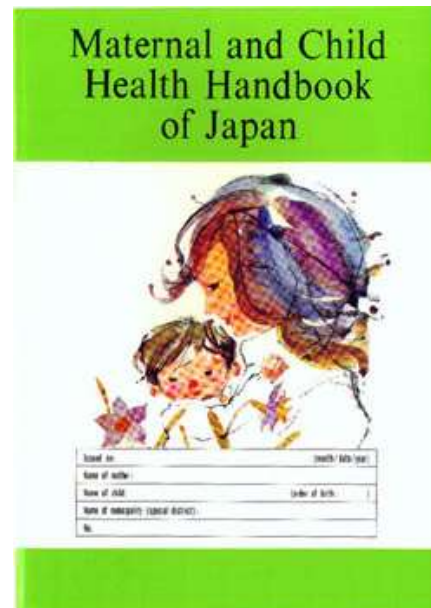
Figure 12- English version of the Boshi Kenko Techo

countrywomen the different administrative procedures and issues they had to go through. Foreign women, probably in line with the policy of exporting the practice of keeping a detailed medical record, are also entitled to receive a *boshi kenko techo*, and they are available in several Asian languages (fig. 11). In English, two main versions exist

to be distributed in Japan, a bilingual version for Tokyo (fig. 13) and an English one for the rest of the country (fig.12).

Figure 14- Boshi Kenko Techo, Hiroshima city

The handbook distributed by Hiroshima city (fig. 14) is illustrated with the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare's pregnancy logo; that is, the design feature of a sticker created for pregnant women to wear when using public transport. This enables other passengers to easily identify expectant mothers and to then give up their seats for them. This logo thus identifies pregnant women as in need of protection and gives them the special status of mothers, differentiating them from other women. Despite the cuteness of the rounded, pink logo, it remains an official image, an effective tool of state regulation that serves to valorise the position of women as mothers and to regulate other passengers' behaviour.

The vast majority of the *boshi kenko techo* use "cute" images, whether images of children alone (Fig.13, 16), or of mother and child (Fig. 10, 12, 14, 15). Others go even further, using characters from commercial cultural products aimed at children (such as Disney characters in Fig. 18 and Fig. 19). By enhancing both the cuteness and the playfulness, the covers make us forget that the handbook is indeed an official and medical document, which is used to regulate the status of mothers, their behaviour, and by extension, the behaviour of other citizens.

The use of "cute" (*kawaii*) imagery also chimes with a wider cultural tendency in Japan to valorise female infantilising (Kinsella, 1995, p.243). Women are seen as childlike as the child, and therefore non-threatening (Miller, 2006, p.26). Sharon Kinsella (1995) describes how cuteness permeates all aspects of Japanese popular culture, from consumption items such as clothes and food, to writing. This largely accepted definition

Figure 16- Boshi Kenko Techo, Shizuoka

Figure 15- Boshi Kenko Techo, Suuita

of women as childlike in the media and consumption goods is extended to state discourses, as is visible in the covers of the mother-child handbooks.
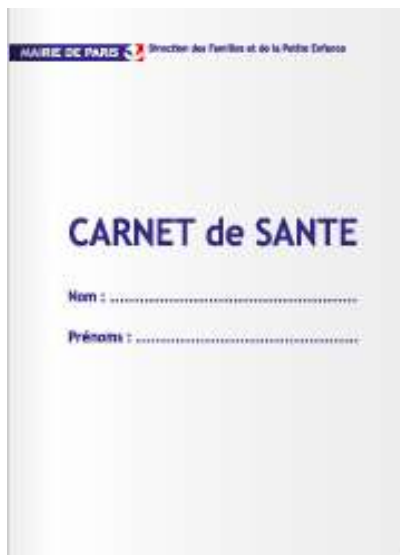
Figure 17- French Carnet de Santé, Paris

The elaborate design of the Japanese *Boshi Kenko Techo* is striking, especially when compared to the official documentation of France (fig 17) which, unlike Japan, is not a state centralised document. As can be seen, a very sober and empty cover page bears only its title, *carnet de santé*, the name of the child, and the logo of the state department that issued it. Here, the sparse, formal layout and simple font style signifies the importance, the official status of the document, whilst its "Frenchness" is nonetheless signified by the choice of font colour that evokes the blue of the French flag and national sporting favours (team kits and fan paraphernalia). Thus, the seeming neutrality of signification connotes the document's serious and official status, whilst also being seemingly empty of signification. In contrast, where the French *Carnet de Santé* highlights itself as a serious document, the Japanese *Boshi Kenko Techo* tries to erase all

signs of its official status. The cute characters placed on the cover make us forget the seriousness of the information it contains and its regulatory function. The playfulness of hand-drawn characters obscures the normalisation of the actual child who is measured, weighed and checked regularly, and the mother who is regulated into specific behaviours of parenting.

The decision to use illustrated covers for official documents exemplifies the centrality of the image in Japanese contemporary culture. Indeed, the covers of the mother-child handbooks are only one example of how government entities utilise images in official documents. Government principles and policies depend on a multitude of images, drawings and photographs that replace or accompany text to fully signify their meaning. And Japanese citizens are confronted on a daily basis by state-produced images of this kind, as I explore in the next chapter.

Figure 19- Boshi Kenko Techo, Mishima

Figure 18- Boshi Kenko Techo, Doshi

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided the cultural and historical contexts to frame the case studies of the following chapters. This chapter has focused on the family as the basic unit of Japanese society and as an emblem of the Japanese state model. I have argued that the dominant gender identity promoted by the government is fully integrated within the wider national identity and that it is underpinned by a specifically Japanese articulation of patriarchy. Japanese men and women are expected to behave accordingly, not only because they are men and women, but because they are Japanese and therefore willingly conform to the preferred gender identity. While, from the late nineteenth century, Japanese mothers were almost exclusively expected to be confined to childcare, this has not always been the case. The currently dominant discourses of motherhood and fatherhood are fairly recent and emerged with the modernisation of Japanese society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and with the deliberate re-imagining of Japan that took place after the Second World War.

Abortion remains the only way to avoid the social stigma of childbirth outside wedlock (Sugimoto, 2003, p.149; Krogness, 2014, n.p.). The high numbers of abortions practiced annually in Japan perhaps indicate the wide acceptance of this particular social pressure and the lack of stigma attached to termination (in contrast to many Western countries). The relic of this social constraint of "legitimacy", at a time when the current Japanese government is encouraging women to have more children, makes clear the difficulty of combining ideology and practice. As will be noted in Chapter Two, politicians have recognised the need to sacrifice ideological beliefs in order to resolve the "fertility crisis", such as the separation of gender roles. Nonetheless, children born outside wedlock remain "unwanted", with fewer privileges and rights, showing that residual discourses carried by state apparatuses continue to sanction marital sexual relationships through the *koseki*. Those cultural models of the family and appropriate gender and age roles have been central for the major work of this thesis, as family, and gender relations, consistently frame the way childhood and children are thought and represented.

Through the example of state apparatuses such as the sonogram, the *koseki* and the *boshi kenko techo*, I also highlighted the normativity of the family that framed postwar

childhood. This chapter has outlined the major aspects that construct the normative child: one that is healthy, properly gendered, and born within the dominant model of the young heterosexual married couple. I also show how an officially sanctioned set of welfare policy and principles are central to both the state and the family in the construction of a specifically Japanese national identity. I noted how the dominant discourses emerged from modernity and Japan's modernisation, and identified the development of new discourses today, especially regarding fatherhood, which I develop further in the next chapter. I will also see how those dominant models are accepted and challenged through the example of posters.

At the beginning of this first chapter, I also foregrounded the relationship between photography and national identity. I considered how photography has been integrated into Japan's state projects of documenting and archiving the objects of the new imagined community since the mid nineteenth century. I then argued that openly nationalist imagery - propaganda - has been central to placing the child at the centre of the Japanese state's visual archive and affirming children as members of the imagined community by dressing them up with symbols of national identity. Finally, I noted how, in the postwar period, national identity was re-constructed in much subtler ways through invisible disciplines (Foucault, 1975, p.187) that enabled the dominant discourses of childhood and Japaneseness to be seen as "natural".

This chapter has thus set up the framework to demonstrate how the Japanese state apparatuses have constructed representations of childhood through photography. In the next chapter, I move on to discuss public service advertisements from the *shōshika* period focusing on the issues of welfare and gender roles initially developed in this chapter.

Chapter 2- Bearing Children for the "Good of the Nation"? Government Campaigns of the *Shōshika* Period

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I established how photographic technology and ideology are linked in the construction of discourses of childhood and the imagined community centred on Japan's "traditional" perceptions of the family and gender roles. I also highlighted how the figure of the child was centrally included in the national imaginary with the rise of Japanese imperialism. In this chapter, my argument will focus on discourses of normalisation of the child surrounded by a "traditional" family. The child was especially pivotal in the articulation of the postwar revival of Japan as a "strong" country, and, as I will explore, low birth rates were consistently raised as detrimental for the nation's economy and welfare by successive governments.

In this chapter, I will focus on the specific medium of posters, or public service advertisements, to develop my argument that the child is central in the construction of the postwar imagined community, and especially of the *shōshika,* a period of declining birth rate, starting in the 1990s. Several advertising campaigns were launched by different government organisations to raise the birth rate in the decades since the 1990s. Subtler and less authoritarian than the eugenic campaigns of the pre-war and wartime governments, they nonetheless aim at 'molding the mind' (Garon, 1997). The posters depict ideals of family, parenthood, childhood, as well as society as a whole, and foreground a conflict-less society in which parenthood is the foundation of the Japanese imagined community. The posters considered in this chapter, although displayed in public spaces, are addressed to specific audiences of child bearing-age: mainly families, young couples, and mothers. Nonetheless, their visibility is not limited to this target audience. They are visible to all, making the subject a public issue. Indeed, as highlighted

in Chapter One, the private is subordinated to the public good. Hence fertility and reproduction are highly public issues which address "private" matters without hesitation. Indeed, Florian Coulmas argues that for most Japanese reproductive issues fall within the government's responsibility (2007, p.137). The posters I consider in this chapter are thus widely accepted as an accepted regulation by the Japanese state. Several major themes run through the posters, and subsequently, this chapter: gender roles, "fertility", welfare and family. When I refer to them it is always, unless otherwise indicated, in relation to models of these formations approved by the Japanese state.

If this thesis is concerned with the Japanese child, this chapter more specifically looks at its absence and how this is dealt with in the imagined community. The regulatory discourses developed around the structuring absence of the child have especially targeted women regarding discourses of gender roles and "fertility" as the 'authors' of the problem, as I noted in Chapter One. In these posters, fertility and child-bearing are conflated in ways that reduce the issue to a matter of failing biology rather than choice. Through the posters analysed below, I show how a specifically Japanese 'mystique of motherhood' (Friedan, 1963) is imposed. Nonetheless, this dominant ideology is also superimposed on the residual discourse, of the community as well as emergent discourses on caring fatherhood, thus creating, as I will show, overlapping discourses of gender roles, "fertility" and the family.

Poster campaigns of this kind are central to the injunctions to bear more children for the "Good of the Nation" made by the Japanese government. The state thus passes on an image of the "traditional" Japanese family it defends through a traditional form. It also reinforces the idea of the cultural permanence of the family through the solidity of paper compared to the instantaneity of the virtual. Paradoxically, the paper posters, after being removed from the boards, are digitalised to live a second life.

Figure 20- Public Service Advertisements in a train platform- Tokyo, 2014

Moreover, these posters, unlike pictures exhibited in museums (Chapter Three) which invite prolonged viewing, are designed to be glanced at, enabling instant connections to be made with other forms of visual culture. As Iris Rogoff argues,

> in the arena of visual culture the scrap of an image connects with a sequence of film and with the corner of a billboard or the window display of a shop we have passed by, to produce a new narrative formed out of both our experienced journey and our unconscious. (1997, p.26)

The poster also relates to the concept of *looking* rather than viewing; i.e. the rapid glance rather than the application of concentrated attention. Rogoff's words capture the idea of the rapidity and partiality of our contemporary experience of the image: 'the *scrap* of an image (…) a *sequence* of a film (…) the *corner* of a billboard (…) we have *passed by'* (1997, p.26). Street poster culture is thus composed of those reproductions we see only in passing, the "unnoticeable" despite their size and omnipresence.

Figure 21- Panels in Subway station- Tokyo, 2014

Berger has outlined the ubiquitous nature of the image in modern society, available in different forms, places and times (1967, p.32). Thus, the posters are present on official government buildings, in train stations and platforms as well as on the trains themselves (as shown in fig.20 and 21), along the never-ending subterranean corridors or subways that run under large Japanese cities, in the police station (*koban*), on noticeboards in front of temples and shrines, on neighbourhood noticeboards, on shop windows, and even sometimes on houses.

The type of poster varies depending on its location. Posters of "wanted people" or criminals are only to be found on the *koban* advertisement boards (fig. 22) and inside

Figure 22- Panel outside a koban, Yoshino

government buildings. Commercial publicity is more present in trains and train stations than on the neighbourhood noticeboards. Although lesser in quantity, public service advertisements are hung side by side with commercial publicity. As I examine in this chapter, they encourage certain behaviours (giving up your seat, helping other train users) and identify dangerous or neglectful situations (such as children alone on escalators or mothers who smoke).

I therefore want to ask what the specific place occupied by representations of children and childhood in public service advertisements is? How do the photographs used in the posters seek to exercise social control over members of the imagined community? How do they mould or rework a specific Japanese conception of childhood and the family?

I first consider how fertility is conflated with child-bearing and constructed as a national issue through the definition of the *shōshika* period. Then, focusing on specific government campaigns, I review how the approved cultural models of the family, motherhood and fatherhood, are visually deployed. I begin by considering the construction of a regulated, dominant model of the family in Family Day posters. I then focus on the systematisation of a Japanese version of the 'mystique of motherhood' (Friedan, 1963) which I identify in posters aimed at and representing women as mothers as well as campaigns addressed to the larger community. I finish this chapter by considering the emergent representation of fatherhood and how different understandings of gender roles are constructed in relation to the assumed audience.

Social Management and Public Advertising Campaigns in Japan

'It is truly strange to say that we have to use tax money to take care of women who don't even give birth once, who grow old living their lives selfishly and singing the praises of freedom', the former Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori declared in 2003 (quoted in Faiola, 2004, n.p.). This statement is emblematic of the attitude of the Japanese state and of individual politicians in the s*hōshika* period: women are expected to carry out their "duty" to give birth to and raise future citizens, and those who do not are "obviously" selfish burdens on the state. Furthermore, the bulk of welfare support, especially the care of the elderly in this case, falls on women who are the 'human resources of the nation' (Garon, 1997, p.58), as I noted in the last chapter. Thus, older women who do not have children have to rely on the state for care because of their "selfishness" and reluctance to raise the children (i.e. daughters) who should "naturally" take care of them (Garon, 1997, p.226). The term *shōshika* itself, used to designate the period of low birth rate which started in the 1990s, identifies a situation seen as problematic for the whole Japanese nation. Mori's declaration was based on the ideological assumption that women have a duty to bear children for the "good of the nation". Not just for themselves or for their own families. Reproduction thus falls into the public sphere and becomes a major concern for all Japanese citizens. There is however a strong gender ideology embedded in the exhortation that focuses on women as "selfish" if they do not reproduce. Reproduction is thus constructed as women's "national duty", rather than that of men or the couple.

The Japanese state's interventions into the "private sphere" of sex and domestic life have often been criticised and compared with those of the pre-war imperialist era, but they nonetheless continue, even though it is now more difficult for the government to impose these strictures because of changing social attitudes, including the liberalisation of sexual behaviour. However, contemporary government agencies still access powerful technologies of persuasion and social management inherited from earlier government administrations. The *kyōka* (moral suasion) campaigns of the Second World War did not end with the peace declaration. On the contrary, as Sheldon Garon affirms, 'social

management not only retained a central place in postwar governance, but actually gained strength in some spheres' (1997, p.153).

The terminology of social management used by successive Japanese governments highlights the need to obtain hegemony and manage consent. Management by the state was initially identified with the Buddhist concept of moral suasion (*kyōka*). The original meaning of the term was 'instructing and guiding humankind to goodness through the teachings of Buddha' (Garon, 1997, p.7). The value of the public service advertisements I consider in this chapter emerged from this concept which encourages the public to comply with a particular policy "for their own good". Here again public welfare and Foucauldian discipline are closely intertwined. Rather than the obviously propagandist campaigns of the 1940s, however, the state now uses its ideological disciplinary apparatuses, i.e. 'a multiplicity of often minor processes, of different origin and scattered location, which overlap, repeat, or imitate one another according to their domain of application, converge and gradually produce the blueprint of a general method' (Foucault, 1975, p.138), such as the campaigns I analyse below. Each campaign, each poster, contributes to disciplining 'minds and bodies' (Garon, 1997) into appropriate "Japanese" behaviours.

In a technologically dominated period such as the twenty first century and a country such as Japan, the choice of traditional forms such as paper posters reveal a link to wartime propaganda practices. Indeed, the first systematic use of posters by a Japanese government campaign started in the early years of Japanese Imperialism, as part of the Moral Suasion Mobilisation Campaign in 1929, when 'the state's capacity to inundate the country with its messages reached awesome proportions' (Garon, 1997, p.13). This approach was one amongst many new media technologies used: 'the campaigns increasingly employed motion pictures; villages often distributed handbills to every household; and organisers blanketed public buildings with colourful posters conveying the nation's desperate need for savings and frugality' (Garon, 1997, p.13).

The posters considered for this chapter, like those of the Moral Suasion Mobilisation Campaign, were intended to change social habits (as in the 1999 fathers' involvement campaign considered below). In a comparable recent example from the UK, Fitzpatrick

shows how in the early 1990s the Conservative government reacted to the AIDS health scare by using posters which put 'pressure to conform to official guidelines regarding their [citizens'] most intimate behaviour' (2001, p.vii). Thus, the state's attempts to regulate sexual behaviour is neither geographically nor temporally specific. Nonetheless, Japan's tradition of suasion campaigns has been more regularly used to attempt to counter the so-called "fertility" crisis and, as a consequence, most Japanese agree that reproductive behaviour falls within the realm of state responsibility and is a uniquely Japanese issue (Coulmas, 2007, p.137).

Garon also highlights that the problem of an ageing society is present in most, if not all, Western countries: 'most industrial societies face similar problems, yet the Japanese public has been persuaded that their "aging-society crisis" is unique and calls for special sacrifices' (1997, p.222). What this chapter aims to uncover is how the imagined community is constructed in order to "persuade" Japanese citizens that the "fertility" campaigns are an issue of national identity and national morality. To do so, I consider what "official guidelines" or regulatory discourses are used.

The *Shōshika* Period: Creating Social Concern Regarding National Reproduction

In 1989, Japan's Total Fertility Rate (TFR)[2] dropped to 1.59, leading to a national moral panic, described in Japan's media as the "1.59 shock". Since then, it has kept decreasing, reaching 1.39 in 2011 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, Statistical, 2014, chpt2, np). While the TFR had been diminishing steadily since the beginning of the twentieth century it was not until the late 1980s that official concerns regarding Japan's declining birth rate really arose. The recognition of the falling birth rate was amplified by cultural associations made with the astrological 'year of the fire horse'. According to traditional

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[2] The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) calculates the average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years.

beliefs, 1989 was a "bad year" to give birth to a girl as she would bring bad luck to her husband. Women born in 'fire horse' years then found it difficult to find a husband. This phenomenon shows that traditional fears based on astrology continue today but are instead supported by scientific calculations. Today, experts do not look into the sky but at statistics to create the same fears. So, even if new technologies dominate society, residual discourses still inform the Japanese understanding of the world and, in this case, act as a referent with which to understand new situations.

The "1.59 shock" was just the starting point of a new awareness of low birth rates as a problem to be addressed. In Japan, the period of crisis was linguistically and ideologically unified under the concept of *shōshika*. As Iwao Fujimasa, Professor of Biomedical Engineering at the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, points out, this term carries strong ideological implications: '*Shōshika* – which literally means a tendency to have fewer children – is a deceptive coinage. This term is favoured by politicians and others who believe every woman should be fertile' (quoted in Sakurai, 2003, n.p.). Thus, a low birth rate is conflated with falling fertility which, I will go on to explain, is linked to national identity and seen as an issue of women's bodies. As I have described above, the official discourses, including "scientific" measurements, focus on the idea of "fertility" rather than "birth rate", thus sustaining the discursive "naturalness" of childbearing.

Notably, too, the coinage of the term sh*ōshika* is presented as a "natural" reaction to an "unnatural" situation. Under this umbrella term a variety of different personal situations are included, from couples refusing or delaying childbirth to those restricting the size of their family. All the individual choices are gathered under this term and labelled as "unnatural" and "unpatriotic". It thus ties together very different social and personal experiences within a supposedly national trend. All the members of the imagined community are invited to measure their personal choices against the national norm in the context of the moralising discourses surrounding the TFR. Women, especially those with one or no children, are conflated with the "selfish" women who damage the nation's health and prosperity, whereas women with two or more children are actively helping the nation. The use of statistics, and in particular the TFR, has then not only created a norm to which we can compare past and present situations, but against which

individual members of the community can evaluate themselves and be categorised as "good" or "bad" members of the community.

Indeed, the term *shōshika* calls for the citizen's cooperation in a situation of national crisis. *Shōshika* belongs to a longer discourse of social fear regarding national reproduction. Negotiating fertility as a national issue and the contemporary period as one of crisis enables members of the community to be more effectively galvanised. Garon highlights how in the past the Japanese state and private groups cooperated more effectively in times of perceived crisis such as in the cases of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), the Second World War or the Oil Crisis of 1973-74 (1997, p.173). Once again, with the "fertility crisis", the government relies on so-called Japanese characteristics, such as self-sacrifice for the good of the community, to resolve the situation (Nakane, 1970, p.87). If the crisis is perceived as "unique" to Japan (Garon, 1997, p.222), it is also through Japaneseness that it will be solved.

"Fertility", rather than being an individual and personal-medical issue, has always been the subject of social construction by the Japanese state (Coulmas, 2007, p.37). However, this has not led to a consistent position. Since the mid twentieth century, government positions have changed, and successive policies aimed at increasing or reducing the national birth rate have developed. The causes of the "fertility" crisis have also been reconstructed. Before 1970, the drop in the birth rate was attributed to the lower number of children born to married couples. Childbirth in Japan has remained conflated with marriage, as mentioned in Chapter One, which works as a disciplinary apparatus that controls the body and builds up expectations of reproduction. The "desired child" remains one born into a "normal" family as a legitimate offspring. The ongoing differentiation between legitimate and illegitimate children shows that despite the so-called crisis of "fertility", the government continues to promote residual discourses of the family.

In contrast with World War First Britain, in which population decline led to a renewed emphasis on motherhood, even of single mothers, for the duration of the war (Rowan, 1984, p.155), modern discourses in Japan have always put forward the familial structure. Unmarried Japanese women remained marginalised and illegitimate children unwanted,

thus further confirming my argument that traditional discourses of the family override the issue of population decrease. In the light of this, my reading of the images of women and of women with children in my sample is of them as representations of married, rather than single, mothers.

Since the 1970s, the ideological discourses have shifted and the main cause of the low birth rate is now officially identified as the postponement of marriage by women. It has thus become a highly gendered issue. Attempts to counter the trend have focused either on the importance of redeploying "traditional" gender roles in which women "return" to the home to reproduce (Fig. 36 to 38) or, paradoxically, on emergent gender roles, especially on a newly active and engaged fatherhood (Fig. 39 to 43) that is responding to feminist demands. However, whichever position was being used by the various government ministries and agencies, it was women who were routinely depicted as the cause of this national "crisis".

For example, the increased number of love marriages was identified as detrimental because they supposedly contribute to delaying the age at which women marry (Coulmas, 2007, p.9). Even in 1940 the Japanese government had tried to increase the population by lowering the number of love marriages through a nationalist campaign affirming that marriage was a public rather than a private issue, contracted for the "good of the country" (Murase, 2006, p.159). This was abetted by the popular media. The widely read women's magazine *Shufu no tomo* [the housewife's friend] claimed in September 1940 that 'a good marriage is one that will help strengthen the state' (quoted in Murase, 2006, p.159). Thus, state interventions into the private issue of childbirth have become normalised in Japan, although the interventions themselves are different at different times. As I will explain below, in contemporary Japan, interventions made through posters linked to Family Day publicity are subtler but no less powerful.

Family Day: Which Model for the Japanese Family?

'Family Day' is a nation-wide Japanese event which has been organised in November annually since 2007, taking place in cities across Japan, each organising its own events, although they all have a common theme. It includes public conferences, forums and community contests, in addition to a public awareness campaign disseminated through posters and leaflets. The day was initiated by the executive body of the Japanese government, the Cabinet Office, presided over by the Prime Minister, as one of the many campaigns to encourage women to marry and "bear children for the good of the nation" (Cabinet Office, 2007). Despite the importance central and local government gives to the Family Day, it is not a national holiday. Indeed, this recently created and government-organised event has to be distinguished from the traditional religious Children's Day (K*odomo no Hi*) held on the 5th of May. In fact, families with sons celebrate Children's Day by displaying *koinobori* (carp-shaped) flags, whereas families with daughters put out displays in March, for *Hina Matsuri* (Dolls' Festival), showing how the genders are rigorously segregated in religious festivals (*matsuri*). Both these festivals are residual celebrations of coming of age ceremonies, whereas Family Day – like the 'Respect for the Aged Day' in September – are recent inventions to answer the social concerns raised by the "fertility crisis".

Figure 23- Family Day Poster 2011, Niigata prefecture

In this section and the next, I focus on Family Day posters from several years that fall into two distinctive types of visual media. The first type employs art-work, rather than photographs, and advertises the forum that took place every year in Niigata Prefecture between 2007 and 2011 (fig.8 and 23-26). The ideal aspect emerging from the Niigata

prefecture posters is due to their content as much as the aesthetic choice of childlike drawings. For instance, in the 2011 poster (fig.23) the home at the top of the hill is anthropomorphised and the chimney throws out hearts instead of smoke, very much as a child might represent it in a drawing. The drawn posters deploy an idealised image of the Japanese nuclear family, as well as of Japanese society in general. Like images from children's storybooks, they symbolise the idealised vision of the community as seen by "innocent" children. The Niigata prefecture presents a "happy ever after" vision of family, constructed around ideas of togetherness and naturalness.

Japan is a highly urbanised country; yet in the Family Day posters natural space seems to dominate the vision. All the families are shown standing among green grass and under a blue sky. The only element of urbanism comes from the houses, which are also highly idealised, as I have noted. In the Japanese language, the term *ie*, often translated as family and, as

explored in detail in Chapter One, also refers to the "home". Thus, the home and the family members living in it are one single entity. In this way, images of the family are always images of home, and vice versa. Unsurprisingly, at least one house is visible in each poster. Whilst this acts as a symbol of refuge, it also represents the solidity of family. It even becomes a loving member of the family. For example, in fig.24, the houses surround the central featured family while each of the secondary families is associated with a house. The groups seem to happily cohabit, although the physical separation points to a lack of interaction, with each set of parents focused entirely on their offspring.

Figure 24- Family Day Poster 2010, Niigata prefecture

The space of the family is thus not just the home, but also the natural landscape of Japan. In this non-urban, natural space, the family is happy together. Thus, the imagined community is envisioned within a natural surrounding which references an 'immemorial past' (Anderson, 1983, p.11), that of the myths of creation of the Japanese archipelago.

Figure 25- Family Day Poster 2008, Niigata prefecture

As Smith argues, myths are part of the shared elements that contribute to create a national identity and therefore recur in these images (Smith, 1991, p.14). For instance, the 2008 Family Day poster (fig. 25) represents an ideal family radiant under the embracing sun. The different elements symbolising nature (the sun, the bird, flowers, and rainbow) suggest both the blooming happiness of the members and the inherent naturalness of the family system. Apart from being a symbol of nature, it is difficult not to see in the sun a reference to the Goddess Amaterasu, who supposedly bestowed the Imperial Japanese Regalia - the sacred mirror, jewel and sword – on the Imperial family, or even the pre-war Japanese sun flag *Kyokujitsuki*. It is, then, the state, symbolised by the sun, which embraces and protects the happy family.

Moreover, in all five posters (fig. 8 and 23-26) a round, softened world is represented. This protective shape is built either through the representation of the earth itself (fig. 23) or through the different elements of the landscape: the tree, the sun, and the clouds. It is an image of nature that is both reassuring and domesticated. The trees are cut into rounded shapes or into a metaphorical heart in the oldest poster (fig.8). The need to control natural elements to make them protective is also seen through the presence of pets, domesticated animals: dogs and cats in all five posters (fig. 8 and 23-26). Japan is thus an idyllic place to raise children, one of harmony and protection. It is one in which

nature itself encourages couples to have children without worrying about the many natural disasters that have hit Japan in the last decades.

Figure 26- Family Day Poster 2009, Niigata Prefecture

Japan is represented as a welcoming place for its future citizens, that it is at its most "natural" when populated by children and a higher birth rate. Crucially, children are depicted in the foreground of the posters, with the parents behind them, thus putting forward the importance of children for society and the family (fig.25, as well as 26). Nonetheless, the central figure, the one in line with the sun, is still the mother (fig.25). Like the children, she is actively engaging with nature. In comparison, the father seems to be an immobile figure, watching over his children, but not participating in their activities. This public service advertisement is highly representative of the dominant gender expectations within the family that I highlighted in the previous sections of this chapter.

Furthermore, while naturalness is associated with leisure and pleasure, it is profoundly regulatory: outside spaces, balloons, air balloon rides, picnics, are all requirements of successful family life. The image of the "happy" family is thus based on week-ends and leisure time shared between all generations, and emblematic of the middle class 'childlike child' identified by Jones (2010). Crucially, this representation ignores two issues. First, the current housing crisis in Japan, which is marked by the high prices and a lack of living space in urban accommodations, is glossed over. Second, the difficulties of everyday life, and especially the reliance on the 'good wife, wise mother' (Uno, 2005; Jones, 2010) to deal with all domestic concerns and care of the children, are swept away by the visual presence of both parents in the image, and even that of grand

parents around the child, thus suggesting that the happy family involves shared responsibilities.

I also want to emphasise that the representation of nature in the Family Day posters implies "naturalness" at three different levels. First, it suggests this version of the family is a "natural" structure and that it is the best social organism to produce human happiness. The family is then the "paradise" to be aspired to by all individuals, thus making the unmarried state unnatural and unwanted, or at least temporary until the achievement of the ideal family. Second, the 2008 poster represents women as having a symbiotic relationship with nature. A bird is about to rest on the mother's hand, while the daughter is watering flowers. Those actions affirm women's reproductive and caring roles as "natural", illustrating the discourses of "fertility" and motherhood that I highlighted in the previous section. Lastly, the child-like drawing style of the posters stresses as natural the child's desire for this ideal family. By extension, then, the childish aspect of the drawings, and of the text in the 2008 poster (fig.25), recalling us of a child's drawing of his/her family, implies that this ideal happiness is reached with and through children.

Although Family Day was deliberately created to encourage couples to have more children, it is significant that large families are not always represented. The name of the event, Family Day, already indicates a model rather than a plurality of familial structures. However, in all but one of the posters (fig. 25) several family configurations are presented. Although the featured family model is always based at least on a couple plus one or several children, the different family configurations displayed vary, from the traditional three generation family to the nuclear family. The number of children per family goes from one to three. Alternative forms of the family are represented only in 'preferred meaning' (Hall, 1997, *Spectacle*, p.223). When we attempt to count the number of mononuclear, three-generational and bi-parental families, we notice the difficulty of defining with certainty the family status. Is the absence of one parent due to a divorce, the death of a parent, or simply because he (most exclusively 'he') is working at weekends or in another city (*tanshin funin*)? Thus, specific familial arrangements do not define official familial status, this is established only in the *koseki*.

Accepted forms of family include temporary separation of the parents as well as nuclear and pre-modern three generations families.

The types of families absent from the posters are those which carry a social stigma and remain even today highly improbable in Japan, such as homosexual couples with children. This absence also contributes to the 'preferred meaning' (Hall, 1997, *Spectacle*, p.223) of the single parent families displayed as cases of *tanshin funin* rather than single parents. Thus we are presented with a model of the Japanese family which remains composed around a heterosexual, married couple.

In the 2010 poster (fig. 24) for example, a family with a single child is placed at the centre of the image. Nonetheless, the importance of the child is visible through its centrality, to the image and the family. The child is surrounded by her parents who both focus their gaze on her. Fig. 23, fig.25 and fig. 26 represent families with two children, a boy and a girl, which represent the ideal, nuclear model. In the 2009 poster (fig. 26), the family is drawn as if posing for a photograph. We can see the same visual composition as that of the 'cereal-packet family', i.e. commercial images of the family,

> a small group of people of assorted ages and genders touch and clutch each other, sometimes smiling at each other, sometimes at the camera. Presented as a single unit, they are linked together by glance or touch. Such pictures are like diagrams, and may, indeed be simplified to a line-drawing or a silhouette. They indicate possible relationships between basic family positions, with children at their centre. (Holland, 2004, p.53)

The children are standing in front of their parents, the girl next to her mother, and the boy, always older than his sister and therefore her superior, next to his father. The 2011 poster (fig. 23) represents a family with three children, including a baby held by his/her father. In the other posters, primary and middle school age children have been preferred. These configurations present slight variations but always remain within socially acceptable norms, and emphasise the presence of both parents. The posters repeat accepted models of the family, year after year – like the commercial images do from one image to the other – creating a norm through time.

In sum, the posters considered in this section aim to encourage the normalisation of the young nuclear family. In this idealised vision of the imagined community, and in

opposition to the growing reality outlined in the previous section, childbirth is normalised for younger women who appear to bloom with happiness within their role of mothers and wives. As the posters analysed in this section demonstrate, the government actively reproduces an ideal image of the family, composed of a couple and child(ren), sometimes with grandparents. It also favours the representation of young couples in their late twenties or early thirties with young children who are neither demanding babies nor independent teenagers.

The posters therefore represent the ideal normalised Japanese family model in a time of "fertility crisis". National identity is conflated with family belonging. Indeed, as I noted in the previous chapter with fig. 8, the idea of a 'super-family', 'composed of interrelated families, forming one huge "family" linked by mythical ties of filiation and ancestry' (Smith, 1991, p.22) is present in the imagined community of Japan. The imagined community is thus envisioned as an ideal and natural space where all citizens endorse a role as mothers, fathers, children or even grandparents, following the appropriate gender roles described in Chapter One and earlier sections of this chapter. The Niigata prefecture posters illustrate my argument about the normalisation of a family model through an idealised drawn vision, but I now want to explore how other prefectures represent family and childhood through photographs.

"When is your Family Day?": Normalised Family Behaviour

The local authorities in Hyōgo prefecture adopted a different strategy in the way they put their annual Family Day poster together. Unlike the art-work reliant posters of the Niigata Prefecture discussed above, these use photographic images. Each poster includes an annual calendar and pictures submitted by families attending the previous year's Family Day Photo Contest (fig. 27), thus enhancing an image of everyday real Japanese families - as the photographs bear witness. This contest started in 2008, one

year after the first edition of the Niigata prefecture poster (fig. 8) and became central in the Hyōgo Prefecture's promotion campaigns of subsequent years.

Figure 27- Family Day Calendar Hyōgo Prefecture

The photographs selected by the Hyōgo prefecture were not judged on their aesthetic qualities, as the clear differences in print quality, colour and composition between the six years highlights, but rather for the message they convey. All the winning photographs seem to be taken out of family albums. These posters appropriate private family photographs for public state promotional aims. They seem to enable all members of the imagined community of Japan to project themselves into the image of the "happy family". The "real" families who participate in the contest become symbols of the mythical "happy family" encouraged by the state. We could even go further and affirm with Holland that 'the image becomes not just a picture of an ideal family, but the very meaning of "family" itself' (2004, p.53). Indeed, as I have already indicated, the family is part of the 'repertoire of shared values, symbols and traditions' of the imagined community (Smith, 1991, p.16).

Regardless of their aesthetic qualities, the prize-winning pictures reflect themes in accordance with the state's ideal of family life. The state prefectural authorities explicitly

Figure 28- Family Day Photo Contest 2008: Heart of the Household

encourage 'preferred meanings' (Hall, 1997 *Spectacle,* p.223), through the selected themes of each of the contests. These focus on specific characteristics of an idealised Japanese family life: 'The heart of the household' (2008), 'Birthday in the house' (2009), 'Moments spent with the family' (2010), 'Family links' (2011) 'Happy family' (2012), 'Family and house' (2013).

Figure 29- Family Day Photo Contest 2010: Moments Spent with the Family

Not only do the themes highlight the vision of the family promoted, each is explicitly built around the words 'family' or 'house'. In addition, while the themes carry the idea of sharing - 'moments spent with', 'links', 'family *and* house' - there is no mention of individualised family members. The family is, then, presented as an abstract unit whose members blend with this structure.

While some photographs display the modern nuclear family united through leisure (fig.30), others focus on more traditional characteristics: the three generational family (fig. 29 and 31) or the pre-modern house as productive labour space (fig.28). Thus, both dominant and residual ideas of the family are accepted. Emergent behaviours, such as the nurturing father, considered later in the chapter, are significantly absent from the prize-winning images. So, the hegemony of gender roles as natural is secured through these apparently innocent images.

Figure 30- Family Day Photo Contest 2011: Family Links

This absence can be partially explained by the fact that the average married man in Japan works such long hours that the time fathers can spend with their families is limited, often making it difficult or even impossible to assume both roles. Due to their busy work schedules, fathers can only take part in 'quick, isolated tasks of child-rearing' (Benesse Institute for Child Sciences and Parenting, 2011). The government's actions towards achieving a better balance between work and life aimed to facilitate the co-existence of the father and the salaryman. Nonetheless, as Ayami Nakatani demonstrate, many fathers only spend leisure time with their children, especially sons (2006, p.98-9), as is visible in the images

of the Family Day photo contest. Mothers still remain the main carers for babies and the ones in charge of feeding, nursing and helping with homework. Fathers focus their energy on socialisation: play, bathing[3], disciplining or rewarding the child for bad or good behaviour, or attending events at the kindergarten or school. It is this more appealing visual image of fathers with play-age sons that is represented in fig.30.

Figure 31-Family Day Photo Contest 2009: Birthday in the House

If no adult family member is singled out, the child is always the central element, the nucleus of the family. The composition of the 2009 photograph (fig. 31) is an exception because both figures, the child and the grandfather, are off-centre. Nonetheless the child is standing and looking down at his seated grandfather, becoming once again the dominant figure and centre of attention.

Leaving aside the somewhat anomalous fig. 32 which differs from the others by focusing only on children, the patriarchal figure of the father (fig. 28-30 and 33) or grandfather (fig. 31 and 33) is always present. Thus, these photographs, like the Family Day posters,

Figure 32-Family Day Photo Contest 2013: Family and House

encourage men's presence, if not participation in childcare and housework. As stated above, such involvement is restricted to leisure activities and family rituals (birthdays, births). Thus, fig. 29 and 30 explicitly include the father in the leisure moments.

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[3] In Japan it is usual for parents to bath with their children well until their primary school years both because of a past tradition of public bathing and because home bathtubs are deep and dangerous for children.

Figure 33- Family Day Photo Contest 2012: Happy Family

The 2012 winning photograph (Fig. 33) on the theme of the "happy family" is particularly interesting for this project. It shows the moments after birth, the family gathered around the mother who is given the baby by a nurse. A very pale and tired-looking woman is lying down in the foreground. The nurse places the baby on her. The mother's hand makes sure that the baby does not fall but does not hold him/her tenderly as is expected from such images. The family, standing in the background, is smiling and looking lovingly and excitedly on, the women at the new-born, and the men at the eldest child. Grandparents and other family members rejoice at the arrival of a new baby. However, this image is ambiguous, as the "happy family" of the title does not seem to include the mother. Unlike the posters considered in the previous section, which all display women happily endorsing their role as mothers, fig. 33 suggests the difficulty of motherhood, through the pain and tiredness of childbirth. It goes against the normative idea of the happy new mother, although her tiredness is overshadowed by the large smiles of the family behind her. Moreover, when we read this photograph with the dominant Japanese discourse of "blessed motherhood" in mind, childbirth is constructed as a short painful moment that will bring years of happiness to the whole family, including the mother.

In addition, the various gazes shown are all directed at the children. Women focus on the newborn baby, while men look at the toddler in the grand-mother's arms, who is probably seeing his brother or sister for the first time. This reading of the image, as the newborn baby being a second child, encourages us to see the mother's tiredness as temporary and an event, although painful, worth going through to have (more) children for the "good of the nation". This photograph thus joins the normative state discourses

that have repeatedly encouraged women to "sacrifice" themselves for the good of their families and the nation. This image links to several other existing government campaigns that instrumentalise the body of the pregnant woman, under the guise of health issues, and normalise a preferred lifestyle for women, as I will go on to develop below through the example of several posters.

The Japanese 'Mystique of Motherhood': Healthy and Happy Young Mothers

Despite the dominant discourse that women are the main cause of the "fertility crisis", there has been no campaign directly encouraging women to have more children. The various state-produced posters, such as those examined in this chapter, have incited women indirectly through the example of "happy families", and through the increased exhortation of fathers and other community members to help them in child-rearing tasks. Thus, whilst women are deemed responsible for the "fertility crisis", the poster campaigns promote child-rearing as a community project.

In part, this comes from official recognition that contemporary women are making choices about childbirth. For example, an official conceded in 1990, after being asked if the government would revive the wartime policy of encouraging women to 'give birth and multiply' (*umeyo fuyaseyo*) for the sake of the nation: 'it isn't such an easy matter to get Japanese women to bear children' (*Mainichi Shimbun*, 19th October 1990). Indeed, more direct campaigns would undoubtedly bring to mind such wartime propaganda and result in resistance and protests. However, pregnant women and mothers are still the targets of health campaigns that attempt to regulate their behaviour according to the more discreet Foucauldian-style discipline that is of interest for this thesis. As Fitzpatrick stresses, there is a more widespread acceptance of the lifestyle regulations imposed by the state when they are 'packaged as health promotion' (2001, p.1-2).

第26回 WORLD NO TOBACCO DAY
5月31日は 世界禁煙デー

たばこから
大切な
家族を守りたい。

禁煙週間：5月31日 〜 6月6日

Figure 34- World No Tobacco Day Poster, 2013

For example, since the late twentieth century, the body of the 'good wife, wise mother' (Uno, 2005; Jones, 2010), and more particularly of the pregnant woman and mother, has become sanctified; she should protect herself and her child by avoiding harmful substances, such as tobacco or alcohol. To achieve this, in 2013 the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare launched a poster on the occasion of 'World No Tobacco Day' to discourage women from smoking, arguing that it would harm their families: 'I want to protect my precious family against tobacco' (fig. 34). The image itself lacks any contextualisation: the woman is alone; we do not know who this 'precious family' mentioned in the text is. It is unclear also whether she chose never to smoke or to stop smoking. This ambiguity can advocate two preferred meanings, and so address at the same time two audiences, by encouraging smokers to stop and by discouraging women from taking up smoking.

She is further universalised by a neutral appearance: she wears a simple black dress which is hidden by the cushion she holds, as if a shield against danger, and her hair is mid-length, unstyled and loose. She exemplifies simplicity and naturalness. Here these qualities are associated with a healthy motherhood, free from toxic substances. Posters such as this one and the poster for Rubella Vaccination (fig. 35) relate back to early twentieth century suasion campaigns whose goal was to modernise daily life and implement welfare regulations. Both posters are concerned with the surveillance of the female body, in order to protect the body of the child. In both cases, the women "owe" their families, especially their children, by complying with prescribed practices established by a specialised elite (i.e., doctors and researchers).

This can be linked to the 'medical gaze' that emerged with the 'birth of the clinic' created new powers exerted upon the bodies of patients, as well as turning each individual into

a possibly diseased body and subject of a scrutinising gaze (Foucault, 1963). The "healthy body" of the child, as seen in the mother-child handbook, and of the mother and mother-to-be, is part of public welfare discourses that have been claimed by the state as their prerogative. Healthiness is important for the Japanese state which sees the future of the nation in healthy citizens and children. The female body here is primarily a vessel for the children it may - and should - carry. The health preoccupations displayed in fig. 34 and 35 are more concerned with the health of the children and future children than of the women themselves. These pictures then contribute to defining women in their role as mothers, conflating an ideological position with apparently natural biological imperatives, as already noted with the discourses of the "fertility crisis". The health of mothers and children is thus essential in the construction of a secure national identity.

As in the posters I consider in the next section, motherhood is represented in fig. 34 and 35 through the image of a youthful and serene woman – the woman who chooses to give birth at the earlier age desired by "fertility crisis" propaganda. Thus the social fears that dominate the Japanese media and government concerning the trends of *bakonka* (trend to late marriage) and *bansanka* (trend to late delivery) are rendered an invisible but commanding presence. Although invisible they are clearly present through the structuring absence of the "wrong" kind of mother.

The term *bakonka* became a catch phrase in the 1990s (Coulmas, 2007, p.10), and at the same time its correlative *bansanka* emerged, enhancing the "natural" link between marriage and childbirth. These two terms created a normalised life pattern as well as identifying the acceptable age for women to get married and give birth, thus defining an identical life cycle for all Japanese women that fits "fertility crisis" agendas. Indeed, in the early 1980s, the popular expression '*Ure no kori kurisumasu keki'* (leftover Christmas cake), which is similar in meaning to the Western term "left on the shelf", began to be used to describe unmarried women over 25-years-old; they were unwanted even at a bargain price. At that time, it was still socially valued for women to marry before reaching the age of 25. Unmarried older women were marginalised as they did not – or could not – conform to social expectations. The different terms employed: *shōshika*, *bakonka*, *bansanka*, as well as the popular saying '*Ure no kori kurisumasu keki'*, are

ideological processes which seek to impose discipline upon the bodies of women. They create a norm with which to conform, based on a national comparison with other women. They also carry the image of "naturalness" of motherhood and child-bearing enhancing a defined life cycle. Through the discourse of the "fertility crisis", the female body becomes

> the natural body, the bearer of forces and the seat of duration; it is the body susceptible to specified operations, which have their order, their stages, their internal conditions, their constituent elements. In becoming the target for new mechanisms of power, the body is offered up to new forms of knowledge. It is (…) a body manipulated by authority. (Foucault, 1975, p.155)

New forms of state knowledge such as the "fertility crisis" generally rely on the use of statistics to secure themselves as a regime of truth. Here, the "naturalness" of childbirth is assured by linking it to tradition as well as fellow women. The concepts of *shōshika*, *bakonka* or *bansanka* all rely on pseudo-scientific discourses which, as such, are presented as the truth.

Figure 35- Rubella Vaccination Poster, 2013

Such texts often carry several meanings; the first and "obvious" one which is a direct message of information, and a second, more ideologically complex one, which works to underline normative behaviour. For example, a poster (fig.35), ostensibly promoting vaccinations for pregnant women was circulated in 2013, the same year as fig.34 above. It was made to encourage inoculation against rubella. The header encourages future mothers to protect their babies with inoculation. The three texts on the right separate the putative patients into three categories: women before pregnancy, adult men, and families of pregnant women. Twice pregnant women are warned that they cannot be inoculated. However, the photograph clearly shows a pregnant woman, emphasising

how women, as potential mothers, have the obligation to prepare their bodies for pregnancy and motherhood in advance. The "safe body" of the mother should be disease-free and a cocoon for the foetus. This ideal of healthiness is visually implemented by the whiteness of the background and clothes, a symbol of purity, but also reminiscent of a hospital context. The soft pink colour of the textual elements can be associated with ideals of femininity and cuteness. Here again, as in the previous poster (fig. 34), the mother is dressed with simplicity. She is fully absorbed by her swollen belly, her hands placed around it, enhancing its roundness.

Ultimately, the monitoring and medicalisation of bodies, especially those of women and children, by Japan's state apparatuses, is socially accepted under the claims of healthiness and normalisation. Both mother and child should be protected from potential harm, such as disease (fig.35), tobacco (fig.34) and alcohol. Yet, as I have already noted in Chapter One, despite the context of a low birth rate, children born outside wedlock are not seen as desirable. Here we see that there is also a strong resistance to handicapped children. Abortion is preferable to disability. The child desired for the "good of the nation" should be healthy and born within a morally acceptable family and environment. In other words, the child should be "normal" according to the state imagined identity. The regulation of the mother's body, especially the pregnant woman, is actually also the regulation of the next generation.

To sum up, government campaigns aimed at younger women are focused on controlling the female body's potential to reproduce, with claims about health that are more concerned with the child or unborn child than the (potential) mother herself. The child is strongly regulated even before s/he is born. As a consequence, surveillance of the unborn child works in both direct and indirect ways. As we have seen, health surveillance tools have been widely implemented in Japan, as in most industrialised countries: the body-screening at defined phases of pregnancy, which, since the late twentieth century has become the first "photograph" of the child, as well as the dissemination and normalisation of the mother-child handbook as a regime of truth about motherhood. And, as I have demonstrated in this section, the unborn child is regulated through the imperative to keep the fertile female body healthy and "pure" of harmful substances, so

that it can act as an appropriate vessel for the future healthy and "normal" citizen of the Japanese imagined community.

If the campaigns considered above show how the healthy body of the mother is constructed as ultimately concerned with bearing and raising "healthy" citizens, the campaigns analysed in the next section focus on appropriate gender roles and the "naturalness" of motherhood.

'Educating Children in 10 Seconds': Gender Roles and Child-Rearing in Public Spaces

As I suggest in Chapter One, during the postwar period, the increased normalisation of nuclear families, combined with the absence of fathers due to the pressures placed on the salaryman or worker, accentuated the role of the mother as the primary, and often sole, carer. This shift of responsibilities onto a single person brought a new perception of childcare as an isolating activity:

> the burden of childrearing is increasing with a feeling of being isolated with no advisers in local communities present. Especially among females with children aged 3 or younger, 80% of such children are being cared for at home, resulting in many having feelings of being isolated and alienated. (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Labour, 2010, p.11)

The state responded to this problem by soliciting not only fathers, as seen below with the *Ikumen* campaigns for instance, but all members of society to be co-parents for the children of the nation. I have shown above with the discussion of the Family Day campaign in Niigata that the imagined community of Japan is built on the family unit with children at its centre. The posters considered in this section further highlight the paradoxical centrality of children in a 'child-less society' (Jolivet, 1997). By defining the situation as one of crisis, such campaigns place children at the centre of national concerns and the responsibility of all within society. The three posters to be considered here respond on the one hand to feminist concerns over the isolation of mothers and

the distribution of gender roles, whilst, on the other hand, they aim to support traditional gender roles and re-affirm women as the main child carers. Furthermore, those campaigns aim at regulating and disciplining the members of the imagined community according to dominant gender expectations.

One campaign (fig. 36) directly inviting members of society, other than mothers, to contribute to child-rearing was advertised in February 2011 by the Kodomo Mirai Zaidan (Foundation for the Future of Children). Supported by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, they started an awareness campaign displaying a single poster in trains. Named 'Educating Children in 10 Seconds', it encourages all train users to help mothers with young children. The text on the right of the photograph (Fig.36) reminds mothers that they are not alone and insists on a public duty to help young mothers in their childrearing task:

> *When you are traveling with children, somebody give up their seat on the train. When your children are crying, they cradle them. When you are pushing a stroller, they hold the door for you. It will only take 10 seconds, but they are helping you educate your children, and for this we are grateful. Anyone can participate in child-rearing for 10 seconds. A little compassion will be a great help for mom and dad. Let's make a parenting -friendly society together.*

Figure 36- Educating Children in 10 seconds poster, 2011

The photograph on this poster shows a mother sitting on a subway train with a baby in her lap, surrounded by three schoolgirls playing with the child. Despite the injunction to help 'mom and dad', the only male figure is standing with his back to the group of women. While we may imagine that he has given up his seat to the mother, he does not actively take part in childcare help. The light blue colour of his suit matches the dress of the mother, creating a bridge between them. One cannot help but wonder where the father figure, the 'dad' mentioned in the text, is. Is he altogether absent or is he represented by this oblivious and faceless masculine character? In both cases, childcare is depicted as the mother's role. This paradox around encouraging fathers to be more involved in the care of children and the expectation of mothers to fully dedicate themselves to such work is visible in other government campaigns, as developed in this chapter. It highlights the difficulty of balancing dominant expectations and the need to adapt to a changing social environment and emerging cultural perceptions. In this image, women's role is constructed as mothers and carers with the presence of the three schoolgirls. They are in fact the ones supporting and surrounding the mother by keeping the baby entertained. In this image, the young girls are represented being socialised into proper femininity and their future role as mothers. They are interacting with a young child. Thus, being 'educated in ten seconds', as the poster claims, is not just about helping with the baby. It is also about educating the teenagers into appropriate gender roles.

In the final chapter I consider how educational institutions inculcate such gender appropriate roles. However, we can already observe how gender is expressed through body positions in the poster. The mother's legs are close together slightly on the side, the perfect feminine posture, which we will see also later in some of the school portraits. The schoolgirls' posture is only partly conforming to the correctly feminine one as befits their youth. The knees are closed, but their feet are apart. Their lower body posture translates their status of 'good girls' learning to be the next generation of 'good wife, wise mother' (Czarnecki, 2005, p.50).

All four female figures represent the perfect image of womanhood according to the ideology of the 'good wife, wise mother' (Uno, 2005; Jones, 2010): feminine, young, happy, "motherly". They are focused on the baby, both their gaze and bodies turned towards the lap of the mother. One of the schoolgirls even has physical contact with the baby, holding his/her hand. The school uniform indicates the three girls' age range and points to an interest in children from a young age, implying that all women have, or should have, a maternal instinct (Jolivet, 1997, p.43). The mother herself, like most motherly figures represented in the state posters, is quite young, in her late twenties or early thirties, the ideal mother of the "fertility crisis" discourse. A youthful mother is also one that has selected family over a career, as work conditions still make it difficult for women to work when they have children. This mother is thus the perfect epitome of the 'good wife, wise mother' who has sacrificed herself for her family – raising her children – and country. She is bearing children for the nation in an age when a low birth rate has become a social fear.

However, this sacrifice should not be seen as a hardship: motherhood is supposed to bring her happiness (Sasagawa, 2006, p.143), just as another nation-wide campaign, 'The joy of childcare', claimed in March 1999 (Nakatani, 2006, p.95). Indeed, motherhood is represented in all the posters discussed in this chapter through the image of a youthful, serene and happy woman. As Friedan observed of the idealised imagery of late 1950s American housewife:

> these new happy housewife heroines seem to get younger all the time - in looks, and a childlike kind of dependence. The only active growing figure in their world is the child. The housewife heroines are forever young, because their own image ends in childbirth. Like Peter Pan, they must remain young, while their children grow up with the world. (1963, p.29-30)

The same conclusion is drawn by Tomoko Shimoda about commercial representations of Japanese mothers in parenting magazines,

> the age profiles observed in the Japanese parenting magazines bore little resemblance to social reality, with the nearly exclusive representation of young families in their twenties and early thirties and the virtual absence of older parents. The emphasis on youth (…) shows that Japanese media commonly use women to convey an impression of youthfulness, vitality and cuteness. (2008, p.13)

As highlighted in the previous chapter, Japanese women are infantilised. This is observable in the posters I consider for this thesis. Additionally, women remain childlike through a cute aesthetic which depicts women as healthy, non-threatening and deprived of sexuality. Consequently, contemporary Japanese beauty aesthetics are based on large eyes, a thin nose bridge (Miller, 2006, p.21) and the pale skin valued by the nobility of the pre-modern period which has become a symbol of beauty for women and has been increasingly associated with Western features (Miller, 2006, p.4). Emiko Ochiai (1997) demonstrates how since the postwar period those features of Japanese beauty aesthetics have been assimilated within the images of the Japanese housewife. The poster (Fig.36) focuses on their femininity by displaying the majority of the female characters with long hair, and wearing dresses. None of them wear high heels, a sign of sensuality, and instead wear ballet flat shoes, reminiscent of the simple dress of the mother and a sexuality focused on innocence or reproduction and domesticity not pleasure. The girls' skirts, represented in popular culture as a symbol of sexuality (Ashcraft and Ueda, 2010, p.60), are hidden by their bags placed on their laps. The mother's dress is of a paler colour than the uniforms, and longer, falling below her knees, thus further covering her body. The female body of all ages is thus dressed up in the robes of motherhood.

In brief, fig.36 constructs femininity and motherhood through the image of happy, young and "natural" women, who are focused on the child's well-being. Childcare is represented as an essentially feminine task, although not restricted to the mother herself. Even within the context of an apparent call for all members of the imagined community to help with childcare, traditional gender roles are emphasised, even in high school pupils. Thus, we see how the ideology of national identity is naturalised from a young age. High schoolers are already regulated in their role of future mothers for the "good of the nation".

'Educating children in 10 seconds' (fig.36) is not the only campaign to focus on the interactions between mothers and other train users. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Social Welfare and Public Health also created a poster campaign to encourage train users to be considerate of mothers with baby buggies (Fig.37). This issue is of central importance in a country where public transport is used by 78 % of the

Figure 37- Baby Car Campaign for Train Users, 2011

population [4] and is known for its dense crowds on such means of transportation, especially in the big cities. It is therefore expected that it should be addressed by different state entities at both national and local levels. Trains and stations belong to public space, and within Japan's ongoing gender ideology of separate spheres, are associated with masculinity (Molony and Uno, 2005, p.11). Yet, in the poster (Fig. 37), women are represented as users of public transport. However, the presence of a *sarariman* (white-collar worker) and schoolgirls in uniform establishes them as part of a mises-en-scène of commuting, and so of the workplace from which mothers are excluded. Moreover, the image is organised with "commuters" grouped together, facing the non-commuters, mother and baby. In this way, even though the gendered separate spheres ideology is unsettled, the opposition between commuters and non-commuters is secured, even as it identifies the mother and baby as deserving special attention.

In 2012, the campaign was re-launched with a new design (Fig. 38). As can be seen, both posters represent the same situation: railway commuters standing aside for a mother and baby. The passengers are also similar: a stereotypical *sarariman* and a schoolgirl. In the second poster (fig. 38), however, one of the two schoolgirls is replaced by a middle-aged woman.

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[4] Percentage calculated with data from *Japan Statistical Yearbook* (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Labour, 2014, n.p.)

赤ちゃんを守るのは、
みんなの思いやりです。

Figure 38- Baby Car Campaign for Train Users, 2012

In both posters, men are defined by their productive role of *sarariman*, wearing a suit and carrying a briefcase, whilst women are either mothers or high schoolgirls as mothers-in-learning, as I discussed in relation to fig.36. The only woman not carrying a child in fig. 38 wears casual clothes, rather than the business suit uniform of "office ladies". It can then be deduced that she is a housewife, still conforming to idealised models of womanhood. She is however an ambiguous figure, the only woman wearing trousers and with short hair. The lipstick she seems to be wearing and large earrings make her appear more contemporary and stylish. She does not have the cute "naturalness" that I earlier argue is associated with motherhood. The fig. 38 is obviously intended to update the original poster with the addition of a "modern" woman. Yet, because it is not a photograph, it also corresponds to the myth-making idealisation of earlier drawn posters, especially in its similarly "cute" style.

In the three posters I analysed in this section (Fig. 36, 37 and 38), "traditional" gender roles dominate. The majority of depicted figures are women, exclusively represented as mothers, housewives or schoolgirls. There is a striking absence of professional businesswomen. Consistently, the posters include a male figure. In fig.37 and 38, the *sarariman* is the person closest to the door, giving way to the mother, acting as a symbol of this public space. Unlike the Family Day posters analysed earlier in this chapter that focus on the shared responsibility of childrearing by presenting an ideal world of leisure, the three posters considered in this section concentrate on work and everyday life in the commuting setting. But they insist on the distinction between men going to work and women, including schoolgirls, caring for children. The posters considered in this section are only indirectly focusing on childhood. In this way, even though addressing the shared social responsibility of childcare, the posters support "fertility crisis" injunctions for women to be mothers for the future of the nation.

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This behavioural "education" of mothers and future mothers is part of a residual discourse from the nineteenth century. As the Meiji writer and educator, Inazō Nitobe affirms, 'the education of citizenry begins not with the infant but with the education of a country's mothers' (quoted in Jones, 2010, p.114). Crucially, though, in placing the child at the centre of government campaigns that address the so-called "fertility crisis" and advocate childcare as a shared social responsibility, the child is placed as a central figure in the national imaginary; that is, the child is central to the imagined community of Japan. As I will explain, government campaigns also address fathers directly in ways that unsettle traditional ideas of masculinity. Yet, these campaigns continue to idealise motherhood and continue to place the child at the centre of the imagined community.

Emerging Perceptions of Fatherhood: Nurturing Fathers

Among the various campaigns to increase gender equality in child-rearing, the *Ikumen* has become the most widely known, and focuses mainly on childcare leave for men. The term *ikumen* refers to those fathers who put their career on hold to care for their children. The expression is composed from the Japanese word "*ikuji*" (child-rearing) and the English "men". It is built in the same way as the word *sarariman* (salaryman) which for most of the second half of the twentieth century defined the social role of Japanese men. The Ikumen campaign is amongst several government-initiated campaigns aimed to circulate a new perception of masculinity, one emerging from feminist discourses of shared ideals (Boone, 1990; Modleski, 1991). The new discourse of masculinity mobilised by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare constructs a 'male feminisation' (Boone, 1990, p.18). As I point out below through the analysis of specific images, "feminine" attributes, especially childcare responsibilities, are endowed upon fathers while arguing that this empowers masculinity.

Such power-imbued gender relations are especially visible in one of the *Ikumen* (nurturing father) posters I consider below (fig. 39), posing the father as the 'super-hero of Japan'. Here, supposedly masculine characteristics, such as physical strength and leadership, are used to re-define fatherhood. Although it pastiches the paternal figure as a super-hero in a parody of superman, showing a *sararimen* opening his business suit to reveal a red shirt with the kanji '*iku*' (育), ready to rescue Japan from the "fertility crisis", the image has a serious intent.

Figure 39- Ikumen Poster, 2013

In the background, three elements are superimposed: a world map showing the Japanese archipelago, a tall office building, and a woman holding a child and pushing a baby buggy. They symbolise different ways *ikumen* fathers can rescue Japan: by raising the "fertility" rate by not only fathering children but also supporting women in the duty of childcare, and by providing Japanese companies with future employees. All this is to be achieved through their presence and involvement.

This campaign advertisement focuses on discourses that characterise "traditional" manhood in terms of strength and power. The dominating male figure is juxtaposed to a family dwarfed by an imposing office block. The difference in scale between the family and the office block shows the typical privilege given to the workplace over family. But the superhero male figure is in control of both aspects, apparently rescuing the family from the weight of the office block and thus restoring a healthy work/family life balance. In the slogan on the right, the character "*ka*" is enlarged. Translated as "strength", it is often associated with the samurai of the pre-modern period. The poster thus references traditional values and invokes a past and present obligation for a man to care for his family, company and country. The reference to the samurai values of the pre-Meiji period also legitimises this *ikumen* vision of fatherhood, and rightly (re)situates the

father within the private sphere of the family from which he was excluded with the beginning of the modern period as I discussed earlier in this thesis (Molony and Uno, 2005).

The reference to an American super-hero can be read with two levels of meaning. First, it is a call to Westernisation in terms of men's participation in the family life. Second, like Superman, the father combines two identities, one of them hidden. The fact that he does not remove his suit suggests the difficulty fathers have in establishing a work and family life balance. The campaign encourages men to assert their status as fathers, as it is a powerful force for Japanese well-being at both national and company levels. Individual choices about family lifestyle are validated at the government level because of their usefulness for the good of the nation.

This poster (fig.39) provides the *ikumen* with a possibly more effective argument to oppose dominant notions of work-centred masculinity than the discourse of nurturance of the next *Ikumen* image I consider (Fig.40). Childrearing, in fig.39, places men as superheroes rescuing Japan and is presented as a strength rather than a duty. However, this does not ultimately dilute the pressure brought to bear on women to be mothers and primary carers. Instead, the patriarchal system is reconfigured, giving men a renewed power despite the apparently "feminist" message of shared childcare. As Tania Modleski argues, 'male subjectivity works to appropriate "femininity" while oppressing women' (1991, p.7).

Within the array of images of fatherhood deployed in official campaigns, we find oscillating discourses on fatherhood. Whereas some simply apply dominant masculine characteristics to traditionally feminine tasks such as childcare (as in fig.39), other images redefine gender roles by considering the possibility of a feminine masculinity. This is evident in one of the images (fig. 40) used as the banner on the website dedicated to supporting *ikumen*, that is, fathers seeking paternity leave. Although it is a legal right in Japan since 1992, still in 2014 only 2.3% of fathers took paternity leave (Reynolds and Takahashi, 2016, n.p.). Social conformity to gender roles, i.e. women taking care of children while men are at work, and the 'men-stay-at-work mindset' dissuades fathers from seeking paternity leave (Reynolds and Takahashi, 2016, n.p.).

Figure 40- Banner of the Ikumen website, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare

The image on the *Ikumen* website (fig.40) is a close-up of two hands lying on a bed: a baby's hand lies on the father's while holding the thumb. This photograph carries meanings of softness and tenderness through the colours and lighting. The open position of both hands facing up expresses reassurance and peacefulness. The father's hand lets the baby's rest on it and gives it support by allowing the thumb to be held, showing that the father has a role to play in the child's development. This photograph defines the father as a beneficial presence in the child's life. Holding hands appears in contradiction with the quick actions, often playing, defined as the dominant type of relationship between father and child (Benesse Institute for Child Sciences and Parenting, 2011). The photograph freezes the action which then expresses a state of mind, a nurturing relationship rather than a rapid action that can be carried out after work. So, where the superhero poster employs imagery of active, heroic masculinity, this image from the same campaign overlays masculinity with values most usually associated with femininity such as intimacy, softness and gentle nurturance.

Here we can see then that campaigns targeting fathers oscillate between two modes of discourse: one that deploys overt traditional masculinity, and one that inserts feminine values into masculinity. Although this may seem contradictory, it means that traditional masculinity is not undermined, even as it is informed by feminine discourse. In this way, fatherhood is still marked as different from femininity and the gender ideologies are secured.

In parallel to the *Ikumen* campaigns, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare has launched several campaigns also advocating fatherhood. The existence of advertisements from different government entities with the same role shows the concern of the state to ensure the reform of Japanese society, especially in relation to the family. Whereas the *Ikumen* posters aim to improve the perception and self-

perception of fatherhood, the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare's advertisements encourage fathers to be more involved in their children's lives.

Figure 41- Life/Work Balance Campaign, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 1999

The 1999 poster (fig.41) from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare focuses on the life/work balance with the sentence on the left hand side of the poster: *shigoto mo kosodate mo daisetsu ni shitai* (I want work and educating my children to be equally important). In Japanese, the grammatical structure *"_mo _mo"* places both work and children's education as having equal levels of importance. Although the text refers to education, the image is much more concerned with socialisation. The pictured father carries a toddler on his back, and their physical proximity, again especially the hand-holding, symbolises the closeness of their relationship. With the exception of the hands of the father covering his child's, their position implies companionship rather than nurturance. The child is not in a passive position. He is positioned straight on his father's back rather than having his head resting on a shoulder.

Notably, when compared to the 'educating Children in ten seconds' poster (fig.36), the child is not at the centre of either the image or the adult's attention. The central position is occupied by the father, carrying his son on his strong back. Here, not only is fatherhood defined in terms of power and physical strength, a clear difference between images of women performing childcare is secured. Also, both father and son look out at the viewer in a self-affirming manner. Father and son are not passively exposed to our gaze, but actively return it (Schroeder and Zwick, 2004, p.33). Such a representation is then emblematic of masculine power and can be opposed to traditional feminine representations, such as those in fig. 35 and 36, where the mother's gaze is on her child

or swollen belly. The poster thus seeks to redefine childrearing as a properly "masculine" activity, rather than placing "maternal" characteristics on fathers.

Figure 42- "Sam Campaign" Poster- Masaharu Maruyama, 1999

In the same year another nationwide campaign (fig. 42) was launched encouraging fathers to care for their children and take childcare leave. It achieved publicity thanks to the participation of the family of the pop singer Namie Amuro. Her husband, Masaharu Maruyama, often called by the Westernised nickname 'Sam', and their son, Haruto, figured on the posters, flyers and television advertisements. As in the poster above (fig. 41), a slogan is juxtaposed to the image. This one translates as, 'a man who does not raise his children cannot be called a father' (*kosodate wo shinai otoko wo, chichi towa yobanai*). However, this time the photograph depicts a father and baby rather than a young child.

This poster is the only one that depicts fatherhood in a domestic environment, and thus places fatherhood in a traditionally feminine space. The background remains neutral with few specific details, except for the light pouring through out of shot windows. This light creates an emotional register of pleasure, warmth and well-being for both father and child, whilst the non-specific setting does little to trouble normative gender regulations. If the father can take care of his baby son inside the home, he is nonetheless not in the kitchen, the ultimate domain of femininity.

Despite the background of a traditional Japanese house, the father's relaxed and unconventional style of long hair and "hippy" clothing contrasts with the rigidity and formality of the *sarariman* image, and reinforces the well-being connoted by the light. Implicitly, the image suggests active parenting is more beneficial for men and their

children than the workplace. Equally though, while the longer hair may be seen as a signifier of relaxed modernity it also connotes Samurai traditions and thus inserts an element of pre-modern Japanese identity into the image of new fatherhood. The father's individual style here also marks out the couple as different from conventional ideas, and presumably depends on their established celebrity status, and thus individualises them.

Figure 43- "Sam campaign" Poster- Papaya Suzuki, 2002

The success of the 'Sam campaign', as it came to be known, led to a further celebrity campaign poster in 2002 (Fig. 43). This featured Papaya Suzuki, a disco-pop dancer and choreographer. A comparison between the two campaigns' posters highlights compositional differences which can be linked to the public image of each of those personalities. The soft, warm orange tones of Sam and Haruto's photographs contrast with the bright, lurid, colours of Papaya's clothes that are set against a stark, white, empty background. Like all public photographs of Papaya, this poster replicates his pastiche disco image and links with African-American popular culture. Papaya Suzuki plays with the frontiers of ethnic identification through the adoption of the imported disco trend and the Afro hairstyle. He is. then, like Sam, an unconventional figure, who despite his highly public presence, locates himself as an outsider. As his style proclaims, he is neither from this time nor this place, and his apparent "non-belonging" enables him to go against the social expectations imposed on other Japanese men. In this way, Papaya is able to promote new versions of fatherhood that run against social expectations of masculinity.

Both the Sam and the Papaya posters (fig.42 and 43) depict fathers with their baby, following what Holland calls the '[contemporary] arrival of fathers as an expected part of baby imagery' that has featured in similar campaigns elsewhere (2004, p.42).

Audiences already know the fame and exceptional work status of both celebrity figures, and thus both serve to promote greater involvement in childcare by men. However, as with the *ikumen* campaign posters, these images do not have identical messages. Sam (fig. 42) holds his son in his arms, making him face the camera, in a mother-child-style pose that inserts femininity into masculinity. This strangely replicates the inverted gender dynamic of the couple in which Namie Amuro is the major player and breadwinner, and Sam is the nurturing figure. Effectively, Namie equates to the *sarariman* and Sam to the housewife. But because Namie has produced a child, she is not one of those "selfish" career women who are blamed for the "fertility crisis". And Sam is able to adopt the role of supportive father who contributes to the good of the nation by supporting childcare in his family.

The image of Papaya (fig.43) is more troublingly conventional. He adopts the privileged position of star, he is depicted dancing, looking at the camera and not his daughter. Meanwhile, his daughter sits at the feet of a distant father. She looks up at him trying, and failing, to reach for him with one hand. In a strange way, although supposedly participating in childcare, Papaya is as distant as the *sarariman*. In this campaign, then, both celebrity fathers are non-corporate figures who assume a "different" experience of fatherhood than the one that has dominated *sarariman* culture. In different ways, they present alternative visions of male parenthood, validated by their status of celebrity, but only the Sam image troubles established ideas of gender roles, whilst Papaya actively re-instates male privilege through his star posture.

The *shōshika* crisis has pushed Japanese governments to reconsider the traditional vision of the family and even to advocate a gender-equal society in an attempt to encourage reproduction. As I have highlighted, the messages of such campaigns are contradictory and point to the difficulty of redefining fatherhood in a society where the father has been a 'pale presence in the home' (Ueno, 1994, p.101) whose role was limited to economic sustenance of the family. The *Ikumen* and Sam campaigns, then, present new definitions of fatherhood that blur the association of the domestic with womanhood and that of the public (i.e. the company) with manhood. Thus, the father's role can only be valorised through a redefinition of manhood's legitimate sphere of action. The Superman poster (fig. 39) highlights the possibility of combining both aspects,

whereas the 'Sam' posters (fig. 42 and 43) work as exemplary tales of successful appropriations of domestic space by men, even though this is also compromised. The new ideal male role is balanced between an emergent nurturing figure and a dominant super-hero saving the country, thus offering Japanese men a range of models from which to choose. But it must be stressed that these campaigns also support and make true the message of the "fertility crisis" discourse that positions childbirth as women's primary role and as their primary purpose for the state. Even here, the child is still placed at the centre of the imagined community while the woman is simply the vessel that brings the child into being.

Conclusion

In 2015, the Japanese government published the latest available birth rate statistics, showing the TFR of 2013 at 1.43. While the TFR had clearly increased compared to 2005 when it reached its lowest point of 1.26, it remains much lower than the 1.57 that marked the beginning of the "fertility crisis" in 1989. What conclusions can then be drawn about this situation?

First, despite the campaigns and new laws of the past twenty-five years, sociologists have concluded that their effect is nil. The birth rate continues to fall and women continue to be blamed for "infertility". However, in the cultural perspective I adopt in this thesis, my analysis does not measure the effectiveness of the campaigns in terms of the birth rate. Instead, I attempt to analyse how the campaigns have circulated discourses that reconstruct ideas of the family.

So, if the campaigns against the "fertility crisis" have had little impact on the TFR, they have still affected cultural constructions around family and gender roles. They reasserted the centrality of the child to the family and by extension to the Japanese imagined community. Even though fewer children are being born, the figure of the child has become increasingly visible in both public and private spaces. Moreover, the

campaigns considered in this chapter have been primarily concerned with children yet to be born, and hence, the future of the nation. In this way, the child is placed at the centre of a future imagined community.

Second, the "fertility crisis" foregrounded gender relations in troubling ways that have led to either the reassertion of dominant gender roles in representation, especially regarding women's welfare duties, or the emergence of new ones, such as the nurturing father. Under the pretext of a national crisis, the state attempted to regulate bodies and behaviours. As Fitzpatrick notes in relation to another sexual crisis in the United Kingdom, 'in responding to, and even more by fomenting, increasing public anxiety, the government is seizing the opportunity to introduce a new [discursive] framework' (2001, p.1). As I have argued, in the case of Japan, such a new framework is actually the reaffirmation of dominant ideologies that encourage a family model based on young nuclear heterosexual families, and discourages children born out of wedlock. Gender identities are defined by the state. Womanhood is thus conflated with motherhood, whereas manhood is more easily renegotiated. As I have outlined, manhood is defined within "traditional" discourses of productive labour, locating men in the public space of the company. Nonetheless, as fig.42 illustrates, emerging discourses conflate manhood with fatherhood. However, the definition of fatherhood is itself an issue. The specific characteristics of fatherhood oscillate between discourses of virility and feminine masculinity, providing an array of available normative discourses from which to choose.

The different campaigns examined in this chapter relied on tropes of naturalness, happiness and leisure to present a positive image of the family and parenting responsibilities. These campaigns are not meant to be a representative sample. I selected them precisely for the interesting manner in which they depict the family, and the individual members of the family. They act as illustrative exemplars of representations that were intended to provide a solution to the "fertility crisis" by being highly prescriptive in the regulation of femininity, whilst offering images of fatherhood that oscillate between mapping feminine values onto masculinity, and securing gender difference by referencing traditional masculine *sarariman* roles. The supposed crisis of the *shōshika* period and its solutions have enabled greater intervention by the state in reproductive decisions, and clear attempts to regulate bodies, especially female bodies,

into "appropriate" age and gender behaviours. This has been implemented through a variety of small 'mechanics of power' which 'defined how one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and the efficiency that one determines. Thus discipline produces 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1975, p.138).

In this process the sense of belonging to the imagined community of Japan is one of the main disciplinary apparatuses. Indeed, the nation is conceived as a large family based on an 'imagined linkage' as I discussed in Chapter One (Anderson, 1983, p.33). This construction is pervasive in the campaigns aimed at raising the awareness of issues in childrearing (fig. 36-38), and is visible in the images considered in the Family Day posters (fig. 8 and 23-26). Several of those images show families not only at the centre of society but surrounded by other members of society. They are not alone in the task of child-rearing. The welfare of children is presented as the responsibility all Japanese citizens. As such, we re-encounter the idea of the treasured child, essential for the nation, explored in Chapter One.

While children became increasingly absent in the "real" social domain during this period, they became paradoxically more visible in the cultural domain. The child is pervasive in contemporary Japanese literature, manga, anime, and films, and, globally, Japanese popular culture is distinguished by this focus (Brookshaw, 2009; Ashcraft and Ueda, 2010). If the private sector mobilised this new interest in the child and childhood for commercial ends, the government was not left behind. Museums started focusing on this new theme, with tropes similar to those I highlighted in the campaign posters. In the next chapter I therefore consider how officially sanctioned cultural exhibitions display the child, this time not in relation to the future of the nation, but to its past.

Chapter 3- Framing a National Childhood? Photographic Exhibitions of Children in the 2000s-2010s

Introduction

In the previous chapters I explored mother and child books, Family Day posters, and posters from various public childcare campaigns and noted that the valorised status of the child in Japanese culture is repeatedly deployed to regulate parenting and public involvement in childcare. In each case, the child is placed at the centre of national concerns and national interest in ways that foster the discursive relationships of the imagined community. In this chapter, I develop how childhood is constructed as an imagining of the nation's past. It is concerned with the centrality of photographic exhibitions of childhood images to the idea of Japanese national identity in the postwar period.
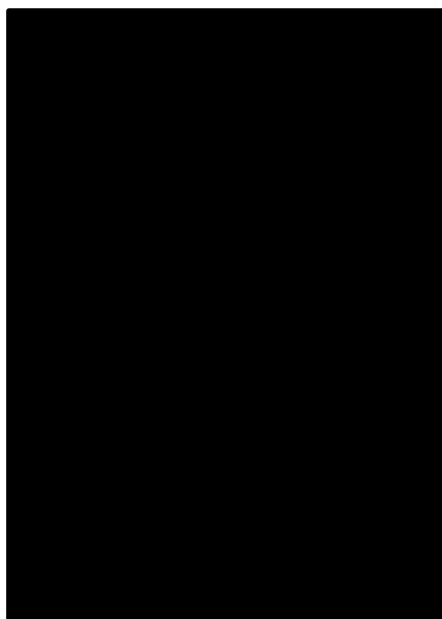
Figure 44- Hour of the Rat, Customs of Beauties Around the Clock, Kitagawa Utamaro, 1798-99

During the first decade of the 2000s, photographic exhibitions about home, the family and the child became a global phenomenon (Nakamura, 2014, p.1). In Japan three major exhibitions contributed to this trend: *Wonder and Joy: Children in Japanese art* at the Tokyo National Museum in 2001; '*Milkmaid'* *by Vermeer and Dutch Genre Painting- Masterworks from the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam,* at the National Art Centre in Tokyo in 2007; and *L'enfant dans les collections du musée du Louvre* organised by the National Art Centre, one year later in 2008 (Nakamura, 2014, p.2). Whereas the latter two

exhibitions displayed foreign art, the former focused exclusively on Japanese art, including pre-modern artefacts such as toys and woodblock prints such as the one in Figure 444. Toshiharu Nakamura (2014) argues that this particular exhibition was curated to celebrate the "national event" of the pregnancy of the Imperial princess, mentioned at the outset of this thesis. It is noteworthy that this did not provoke any significant criticism, as Nakamura points out (Nakamura, 2014, p.4). That suggests that nationalist discourses are frequently unquestioningly embedded in curatorial choices.

In the other two exhibitions, as well as those of the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography and other international exhibitions, such as *When They Were Young: A Photographic Retrospective of Childhood* (2002-2003) at the Library of Congress (United States of America), images of childhood already present in the museums' collections were highlighted, and acquired a new visibility. It is interesting to note that childhood as a legitimate subject matter for such displays entered museums through images already valued for their artistic and aesthetic merit. Only a few years before those trend-setting exhibitions in Japan, Anne Higonnet (1998) had emphasised how artworks have contributed to the construction of specific binary discursive formations of childhood in the West, as 'innocent' and 'knowing'. I will therefore show in this chapter how these exhibitions contributed to a national imaginary and specially to normalising past and present representations of the child to conform with the imagined community of Japan.

The three exhibitions analysed in this chapter are exclusively composed of photographs of children and were staged at almost the same time, appearing between 2006 and 2012. *Kodomotachi* (2012) was held at the Ken Domon Museum of Photography (Sakata); *Photographs of Children* (2011) was a series of three sequential themed exhibitions at the Metropolitan Museum of Photography (Tokyo); and *Scenes of Childhood: Sixty Years of Postwar Japan* (2006-2011) was a travelling exhibition - shown in nineteen countries all over the world - created by the Japan Foundation and based on the Japanese exhibition *Nihon no Kodomotachi: 60 Nen* (2006) [Children of Japan: 60 Years]. Their location in regional or national museums, rather than specialised museums of childhood, is highly suggestive of the part they play in the construction of the larger imagined community. The child is clearly central to Japan's national imagining, not only as emblem of the future, as I outlined in Chapter Two, but also of the past, as I will develop in this

chapter. Indeed, the 'shared historical memories' are one of the necessary components of a national identity (Smith, 1991, p.21).

Crucially, such museums, like the national school curriculum, construct a continuity of connection between all members of the imagined community across time as well as place. As Smith argues,

> collective cultural identity refers not to a uniformity of elements over generations but to a sense of continuity on the part of successive generations of a given cultural unit of population, to shared memories of earlier events and periods in history of that unit and to notions entertained by each generation about the collective destiny of that unit and its culture. (Smith, 1991, p.25)

The figure of the child enables such imagined connections to be constituted. Through a process of inclusion/exclusion of photographs, the three museums contribute to the process of national identity formation in which childhood helps to define a national common past (Anderson, 1983, p11.)

Dominant discourses of childhood are mediated by the curatorial choices made, and act as a means of regulating Japanese national identity. This operates through both the museum as exhibition space and the display of specific images which regulate the past and define the 'biography of nations' (Anderson, 1983, p.204). As I further develop below, in these exhibitions, childhood became a way for Japanese society as a whole to produce a non-threatening national identity during the postwar period. In this chapter I therefore focus initially on the impact the Second World War had on the construction of the imagined community of Japan and how the war acted as a 'disruptive cultural change' (Smith, 1991, p.25). As Smith explains, wars and conquests – the American Occupation was the first "conquest" of Japan – can 'disturb the basic patterning of the cultural elements that make up the sense of continuity, shared memories and notions of collective destiny' (Smith, 1991, p.25-6). For this reason, and crucially for this thesis, from the mid-1940s, Japan had to reconstruct its national identity and reimagine its past history within the new discourses of imagined community.

The key theories I use have also largely informed work in museum studies. First, a Foucauldian approach to the museum as exhibition space has highlighted how power

relations are embedded in museum politics. John Tagg presents the museum as one of the state's institutions: a 'supervisory and regulatory apparatus' that 'acquire[s], preserve[s], disseminate[s] and exhibit[s]' (2009, p.xxxi). As Tony Bennett also argues in relation to museums of arts especially,

> the emergence of the art museum was closely related to that of a wider range of institutions – history and natural science museums, dioramas and panoramas, national, and later, international exhibitions, arcades and department stores – which served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines (history, biology, art history, anthropology) and their discursive formations (the past, evolution, aesthetics, man) as well as the development of new technologies of vision. (1995, p.59)

The exhibition spaces I consider in this chapter thus do not simply display images in an innocent fashion: they regulate knowledge, especially what is "known" about childhood and Japan's imagined community.

Second, theories of the construction of the imagined community and national identity have been central in much of the scholarship on museum strategies (Kaplan, 1994; Duncan, 1994; Kavanagh, 1996). In such cases, as in this chapter, the museum is defined as an exhibition space for a "national" narrative. For Smith, museums are 'sacred centres' that offer the imagined community a 'spiritual and historical pilgrimage' (1991, p.16). Museums are thus one of the ideological state apparatuses that have the 'task of ensuring a common public, mass culture' (Smith, 1991, p.11) which will carry the ideological discourses of the imagined community. Anderson also highlights the role of the museum in the construction of the imagined community, as a state apparatus which 'allowed the state to appear as the guardian of a generalised, but also local, tradition' (1983, p.181).

In this chapter, I first consider each museum separately, outlining each of their individual strategies around the imagined community. Indeed, each institution adopts a specific discourse in relation to this: the definition of a common past through Ken Domon's photographs, the place of Japan within global relations at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, and the projection of the newly reconstructed postwar imagined community to the rest of the world with the Japan Foundation's exhibition. All three articulate childhood as central to the national imagining, especially through the

dominant discourse of the child as victim, which becomes a symbol of the Japanese postwar identity.

The Ken Domon Museum of Photography: Defining a Common Past

The Ken Domon Museum hosts a wide collection of the eponymous photographer's work, and Domon is often referred to as the most famous Japanese photographer of the postwar period, alongside Ihei Kimura (Vartanian and Kaneko, 2009, p.268). The Ken Domon Museum of Photography, opened in 1983, was the first museum specialising in photography to be built in Japan. The museum presents a new exhibition showing Domon's photographs of children every two or three years. The exhibition I consider in this chapter is entitled *Kodomotachi* [Children] and was held from the 6th of March until the 22nd of April 2012; it contained 51 photographs taken between 1950 and 1956.

Ken Domon was the leading figure of the Japanese photo-realist movement that emerged in the 1950s. Domon's photographs are technically defined by the use of black and white, by the asymmetry of his compositions, by a variety of angles, and by compositions that are always in context. They also alternate between showing his subjects as self-aware or unaware of their position. His photographs of children are central to (as in fig. 45), the dominant perception of "Japanese photography" noted in the introduction. The popularity and state validation of Domon's pictures seem to have played a large part in the

Figure 45- Rumie-Chan, Ken Domon, 1960

normalisation of this aesthetic as the expression of Japanese photographic identity, especially through the subsequent appearance of amateur versions of photo-realism (Iizawa, 2003, p.212).

During his career, Domon photographed children in many different surroundings: in the aftermath of the bombing of Hiroshima, in the shut-down mining city of Chikuhō, and playing in the suburb of Kōtō, Tokyo. Domon's view of childhood is presented as definitive of the period he photographed, the *Shōwa* period (1926-1989). His photographs, which have become emblematic of the postwar period, are frequently seen as a valuable past testimony. Indeed, the titles of the various photobooks published over the years, *Ken Domon no Shōwa Kodomotachi*, [*Ken Domon's Children of the Shōwa Period*] (1995), *Shōwa no Kodomo* [*Child of the Shōwa period*] (2000), *Wanbaku Kozou ga Ita* [Little Rascals] (2002), *Ken Domon: Kodomotachi* [*Ken Domon: Children*] (2006), illustrate how his vision is constructed as the dominant discourse of postwar childhood, as the "true" image of childhood experiences of the time. The children he photographed have become the unquestioned reality of the *Shōwa* period. The "truthfulness" of his work's narrative is enhanced by his own definition of photography as 'the direct connection between the camera and the subject' to produce 'the absolute pure snapshot, absolutely unstaged' (Iizawa, 2003, p.211). This definition contributes to the myth of truthfulness both photography and childhood share, to which I referred to in the introduction. This contributes to the discursive formation of childhood within the imagined community.

However, as I noted in Chapter One, photographs are not simply "evidence" of history or documents; rather, they are themselves historical objects embedded in power relations (Tagg, 2009). If the exhibition as a display of images creates discursive formations (Bennett, 1995, p.59), it also produces a regime of truth. For Bennett, the museum is a 'site in which a number of distinctive truth effects have been produced by the deployment of a historically particular ensemble of knowledge practices' (2012, p.146). The Ken Domon Museum of Photography helped create a regime of truth of childhood and Japanese postwar identity through the officially sanctioned role of Domon's images as repositories of national memory.

First, the museum acts as a "memory" of his work for a public that already knows his photographs: his audience are already members of the imagined community of Japan. Indeed, the museum is entirely geared towards a national, Japanese, audience. None of the staff speaks English, and the website and publications are in Japanese only. The large number of Domon's photobooks still being sold and reprinted in Japan highlights his ongoing popularity. He himself inscribed his work within a logic of popularisation by using a cheap photobook format for *Chikuhō no Kodomotachi* [Children of Chikuhō] (1960). His photographs are also regularly included in visual compilations such as N*ihon no Kodomo: 60 Nen* [Children of Japan: 60 Years] (2006), which inspired the Japan foundation exhibition analysed below.

Figure 46- Ken Domon Museum of Photography

Moreover, the regional prefectural status of the Ken Domon museum (which is located in his birth prefecture, Yamagata) validates at the state level the images produced by Domon. The museum was created after Domon won prizes and had published over forty photobooks, among them a retrospective of his body of work. The creation of a museum bearing his name is then a further – maybe the highest – acknowledgement of his importance. In 1959, one year before the publication of his series on children, he received an Arts Award from the Minister of Education. This prize established the status of his work, as recognised by the government and also his vision of the world as one valued by it. Before the Second World War, Domon had also worked for government agencies and published in propaganda magazines such as *Nipon* (Kaneko, 2003, p.191). Therefore, Domon's pre- and wartime narratives were already informed by state-

approved discourses of national identity. It is thus not surprising that his postwar photographs continued to contribute to state depictions of the imagined community.

Additionally, the Ken Domon Museum of Photography (fig. 46) is a *kinenkan*, a memorial building,

> the *kinenkan* is meant to more pointedly recall the memory of an important cultural figure. As such, the experience […] is slightly different from museums in the West, even those dedicated to a single artist, as the purpose is not only to view the works of art but also to reflect on the artist himself, his gift, and, indeed, his life. (Riley, 2005 p.16)

This architectural tribute highlights the status of Ken Domon as a "national photographer". The museum acts then not only as a sanctuary of artefacts, the traditional role of museums, but as an official memorial to the "great man" Domon was, a symbolic pedestal for his legacy to the nation.

Indeed, museums have 'the power to define and rank people, to declare some as having a greater share than others in the community's common heritage – in its very identity (Duncan, 1994, p.286). The Ken Domon Museum of Photography then contains and protects not just images of the past, but one man's vision, considered "true" by the photographic practice of social realism and the ideological practice of state approval.

According to Tagg the museum as an exhibition space allows us to 'see the mechanism which could enable photography to function, in certain contexts, as a kind of proof' (1988, p.63). Thus the affirmation of photography's objectivity within the photo-realism movement is sanctioned by the museum as state apparatus. As I argued in Chapter One, power lies not in the camera itself, but in the 'state apparatuses which deploy it and guarantee the authority of the images it constructs to stand as evidence or register a truth' (Tagg, 1988, p.64). Museums discipline the gaze by legitimating specific photographs through the "official" 'status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true' (Foucault, 1980, p.131). They 'form […] a complex of disciplinary and power relations' (Bennett, 1995, p.59). Such power relations are exerted through the selection of knowledge in the form of valorised texts – here certain photographs and photographers such as Domon – whose narratives are re-composed through a process of 'reselection, recombination and recodification' (Smith, 2001, p.20). These are then

compounded by other curatorial choices regarding the material display possibilities and more general cultural policies influencing the place and time and arrangement of the display space.

Such exhibitions cannot wholly rely on the intrinsic meaning of the images but must instead find a thread that unites the collection's photographs into an articulated discourse. Moreover, each exhibition projects a new layer of meaning into the photographs displayed. This "reinjection" of meaning can be achieved by imposing a unified theme, the juxtaposition of photographs, the order of their arrangement, or even the surrounding contexts (historical, temporal, spatial). The new narratives thus become part of the dominant discursive formations of 'a particular society and time' (Hall, 1997, *Work,* p.47). As I develop below in this chapter, despite different strategies, all three institutions construct childhood as national imagining through the dominant postwar discourse of the child as victim. This institutional "truth" composes a national imagining of childhood that is also embedded in the cultural values of a society and time.

Which vision of childhood is constructed in Domon's pictures? The photographs destroyed the idea of childhood as a 'bubble' (Higonnet, 1998; Holland, 1992 and 2004) protected from the adult world which was defended in Japan by the promoters of the childlike child's leisure lifestyle diffused in magazines like *Akai Tori* (Jones, 2010, p.252). There is a clear difference between those media versions based on middle-class values and material objects of childhood

Figure 47- Okasarinohi festival, Ken Domon, 1955

Figure 49- Rope jumping, Ken Domon, 1955

Figure 48- Lizard, Ken Domon, 1956

and the postwar child that Domon photographed. These children seem to live in poverty, and play in the streets. Consumer commodities are enviously admired (fig. 47) but generally not owned. Indeed, Domon's postwar child does not seem to need the new material goods of childhood that developed with the middle class in the early twentieth century (Jones, 2010) to play happily. Images of children playing old-fashioned and non-commodified games such as hanging from ropes (fig.49) or treasure hunting and games involving animals (fig.48) are common. These are far from the controlled playfulness of the childlike child enclosed within 'child-only spaces like playgrounds' (Jones, 2010, 250). On the contrary, the immediate postwar child seems to run wild in the devastated streets of Japan (fig.50). Like the *kodomorashiii kodomo*, Domon's children are 'in boisterous movement' (Jones, 2010, p.249), but left to their own devices.

The apparent freedom of the child can be read first as a reaction against the years of militarisation during which photographs displayed highly regulated bodies, as illustrated in Chapter One (fig.7) and in the school photographs of Chapter Four. It can also be seen as a reaction against the American Occupation of Japan. Images of children running wild in the streets show freedom, happiness and even carefreeness despite the state of the

nation in the early 1950s. Indeed, 'a crucial element of the child's childishness, living in the present meant forgetting the future' (Jones, 2010, p.256).

However, the display of such photographs in the museum shows that childhood is not just the concern of individual families, but of the whole imagined community. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, museums are pivotal in the construction of the imagined community, '[they] embody the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves' (Kavanagh, 1996, p.6). Museums

Figure 50- Playing in a Destroyed Buillding, Ken Domon, 1955

(re)define national histories according to dominant state ideologies, like childhood and national identity, which are constructed within a larger framework of discursive formations, such as those of welfare (Chapter One), public service advertisements (Chapter Two) or school (Chapter Four). Museums are 'a meeting ground for official and formal versions of the past called *histories*, offered through exhibitions' (Kavanagh, 1996, p.1, original emphasis).

Museums played an important role in the nineteenth century in the construction of a common national past (Anderson, 1983, p.205) essential to the imagined community: 'the recent past was historicised as the newly emerging nation-states sought to preserve and immemorialise their own formation as a part of that process of "nationing" their populations' (Bennett, 1995, p.76). This is not specific to Japan, as from the eighteenth century, European nations such as Great Britain with the British Museum (1753) or France with the Louvres (1793), affirmed their new identity through the public display of a selection of items and narratives of the past (Duncan, 1995, p.32).

In the temporal framework of this thesis, I have already identified the postwar period as a time of *reconstruction* of the imagined community, a moment of reaffirmation of the

nation's limits, sovereignty and identity. Thus, the Ken Domon Museum of Photography's 2012 exhibition, *Kodomotachi* [Children] fixes the formation of that new postwar national identity. Domon's representation of the child in the postwar period has become part of the regulatory discourses of Japan's past through the 'official rewriting of history' (Anderson, 1983, p.101).

Susan Crane has a useful approach to consider this further,

> being displayed means being incorporated into the extra-institutional memory of the museum visitors […] a notion of memory objectified, not belonging to any one individual so much as to audiences, publics, collectives, and *nations*, and represented via the museum collections. (2000, p.3, my emphasis)

Hence, the privations and destruction of the war, as well as the shock felt at the first recorded occupation Japanese territory are erased behind images of freedom, vitality and playfulness, which, as I argue below, were central to defining Japan as victim in the postwar period, and then became the "official" narrative of that period.

To sum up, the Ken Domon Museum of Photography, as an ideological state apparatus is embedded in power/knowledge relations. The exhibitions regulate narratives of childhood and history to define a common past, a "national history". This 'official rewriting of history' (Anderson, 1983, p.101) is accepted as true thanks to the museum's official status, which validates Domon's discourse within the state's vision of childhood and the imagined community.

The Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography: Japan Within Global Relations

Photographs of Children (2011) was the first major multi-artists Japanese exhibition focusing exclusively on photographs of children by Japanese and foreign photographers. The goal and structure of the exhibition is itself inscribed within the larger goals and

structures of the museum. It was a substantial exhibition, spanning over eight months, and gathering more than 400 photographs organised in a series of three exhibitions. Unlike the Ken Domon Museum of Photography's exhibition, it was given an international context, displaying work by Japanese and foreign photographers, across a long time span. The exhibition wall labels and the catalogue (bilingual) attest to the attempt to catch an international audience as well.

Figure 51-Website of the Mori Art Museum

This exhibition model was followed in 2014 by the Mori Art Museum in Tokyo with the exhibition: *Go – Betweens: The World Seen through Children* (fig. 51) which gathered internationally respected artists such as Christian Boltanski (France), Nara Yoshitomo (Japan), Won Seoung Won (Korea), Fiona Tan (Indonesia), and Rineke Dijkstra (Netherlands). Like the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography exhibition, they blended photographs from different countries, but lacked the previous exhibitions' historical dimension and focused more on the contemporary period.

The Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography (or Syabi as it is abbreviated in Japanese[5]) opened in 1990 as a response to the lack of national institutions for photography. As Carol Duncan argues, 'as much as ever, having a bigger and better art museum is a sign of political virtue and national identity – of being recognisably a member of the civilised community of modern, liberal nations' (1994, p.280). The existence of the museum itself affirms a strong imagined community, able to define itself through the 'official rewriting of history' (Anderson, 1983, p.101), although this is not an avowed purpose. Photographic exhibitions in Japan were, until that point, displayed in privately owned galleries, thus outside the reach of state regulations. Yet, as I have argued, 'museums can be powerful identity-defining machines. The creation of

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[5] This nickname is composed of the first *kanjis* of the Museum's Japanese name (literally Tokyo Photographic Art Museum): *Sha*-shin (photograph) and *Bi*-jutsu (art).

Figure 52- The Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography or Syabi

the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography thus placed photographic exhibitions within the state dominant discursive formation around photography as national narrative and integrated it within discourses of national identity. As Duncan says, 'to control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and some of its highest most authoritative truths' (1994, p.286).

From its opening onwards, the museum opted for themed exhibitions rather than focusing on the work of a single artist, a choice that differentiated it from most galleries at the time, and, following Bennett (1995), this raises questions about the meanings produced by the choices made. Rather than presenting a unified work and producing a discourse of the ''great genius, as was the case with the Ken Domon Museum, here the exhibitions are more broadly focused on the importance of children to society and the place of the child in the national imagining. In the previous section, I noted how Domon's photography was elevated as part of a "national" discourse; but here there is no single authoritative voice. Unlike some blockbuster exhibitions, such as the *Family of Man* (1955-1964), which presented the curator, Edward Steichen, as the creative thinker behind its success (O'Brian, 2008), here individual creativity disappears behind the museum as organiser. I therefore also talk of the museum as the creator of the exhibition, while being aware of the individual agency involved in curatorial decisions.

The exhibition of interest for this section is actually, as I have said above, a series of three consecutive themed exhibitions gathered under the title *Photographs of Children*, that ran in 2011. The opening exhibition, running for four months (14th of May – 10th of July), was *Children and War.* It was immediately followed by *The Art of Photographing Children* (16th of July – 19th of September). And the third and last exhibition of the

triptych was *The Child Within Us* (24th of September – 4th of December). Interestingly, the three successive exhibitions took different approaches to both the photographic medium and childhood. They present strikingly different narratives and perceptions of the imagined community. I will explore how the first exhibition, *Children and War*, presents similar discourses to those of the Ken Domon Museum of Photography and the Japan Foundation's travelling exhibition later in this chapter. However, before considering this dominant perception of postwar identity, I want to show how the imagined community is also defined in the other two exhibition sequences, which offer different discourses, one orientated towards historical practice, the other focusing on contemporary photography.

Figure 54- Group Photograph of the Second Japanese Embassy to Europe, Nadar, 1864

Figure 53- Japanese Woman and Baby, Felice Beato, 1863-77

The second exhibition, *The Art of Photographing Children,* opens with a series of Western portraits from the mid-nineteenth century. Japanese subjects and photographers only appear after this. The first is a photograph of two samurai posed with the son of the French photographer Nadar (Fig.54). This is followed by the work of Western photographers based in Japan, such as the Italian Felice Beato in Yokohama (fig.53), who trained the first generation of Japanese photographers. Then the viewer is presented with alternative sequences of photographs of Japanese children taken by both Western and Japanese photographers, before the display switches to uniquely

Japanese photographers from the 1870s. The visual arrangement is clearly designed to show that photography is a Western import. Even the early Japanese photographs are mediated by a Western gaze, whose desire creates a specific kind of "exportable" imagery.

This approach contributed to the production of picturesque landscapes and exotic 'manners and custom' photographs, such as those in fig. 55, which fed the taste of Europeans for exotica (March and Delank, 2002, p.7). In the Syabi's exhibition, nineteenth century pictures presenting Japanese people as a 'spectacle of the "Other"' (Hall, 1997, *Spectacle*) focus on pre-modern representations of Japan, linking them to contemporary nostalgia for an innocent pre-industrial time. Indeed, in the first decade of the twentieth century, Rudyard Kipling found in Japan a "lost paradise":

> It would pay us to establish an international suzerainty over Japan: to take away any fear of invasion and annexation, and pay the country as much as it chose, on condition that it simply sat still and went on making beautiful things while our learned men learned. It would pay us to put the whole empire in a glass case and mark it *Hors Concours*, 'Exhibit A. (1909, p.335)

Figure 55- Children Selling Flowers, Renjo Shimōka, 1862-1875

Through ordering the display of images in this way this exhibition shows an awareness of the photographic history that is not evident in any other exhibition on childhood in Japan until today.

Moreover, the history of early "Japanese photography" traced by the museum defines the imagined community not in isolation, but in relation to the rest of the world. Here the history of "Japanese photography" put forward through its evolution from, first, a foreign practice, to a Japanese production for foreigners and, finally, for self-consumption highlights the construction of the imagined community. A similar process has been described by Anderson with print media in the case of Indonesia and its capacity for self-representation (1983, p.30), which worked to control the construction of its imagined community. Perhaps paradoxically, the selection of "modern" images enabled the Japanese imagined community to build a strong "ancient" identity in which continuity was paramount (Anderson, 1983, p.205). This is still popularly called on today, through residual cultural practices such as calligraphy, the tea ceremony or kimono-wearing.

Despite a discourse of 'awareness of being embedded in secular, serial time, with all its implications of continuity' (Anderson, 1983, p.205), the Japanese imagined community in the nineteenth century was also built on modernity, including photography, which enabled the new Japanese nation to assert its limitedness and sovereignty. As Anderson outlines, Japan fashioned its national identity 'along lines and in accordance with what were coming to be "international norms"' (1983, p.96). Indeed, Japan, like the colonised countries of the 'last wave' of nationalism, was able to affirm the sovereignty and limitedness of its imagined community through modern technologies (Anderson, 1983, p.116). The endorsement of modernity, through the use of museum displays (Kornichi, 1994) and photography (Wilkes-Tucker, 2003) for self-
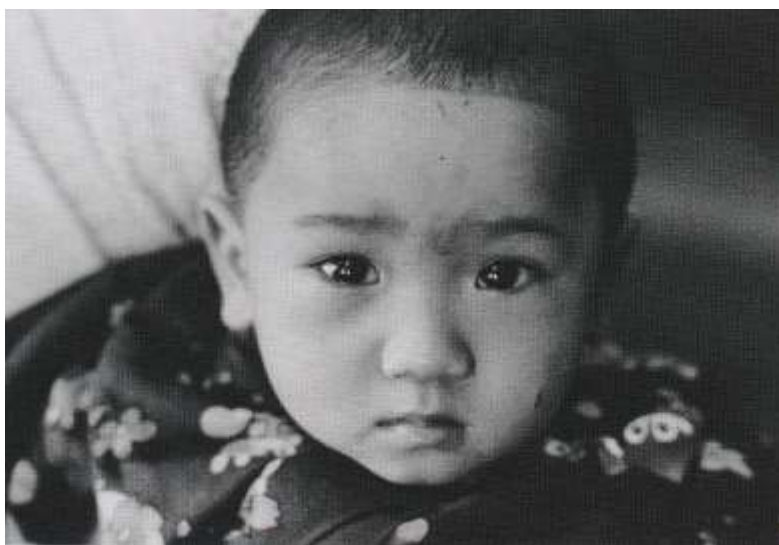
Figure 56- La Ville de la Chance- 2 Oohasama, Hiroshi Oshima, 1979

representation was, in Japan as elsewhere, an integral part of the regulation of the imagined community in the nineteenth century, and its acceptance by other nations.

Figure 57- Tottori sand dunes, Shoji Ueda, 1970-1980

This history of photography also forges a link with contemporary photography's approach to children, from Ken Domon to Ihee Kimura, Nobuyoshi Araki, Shomei Tomatsu or Shoji Ueda, among the internationally renowned names that compose the final triptych of the Syabi's exhibition, as well as photographers who published photobooks of children such as Takashi Homma, with *Tokyo and My Daughter (2006)*, and Kotori Kawashima, with *Mirai-Chan (2011)*. Thus, the Syabi's triptych makes it seem that children were always central subjects of photography, as well as an important part of the imagined community.

The museum thus builds a bridge between the second and third exhibition, since the last exhibition, *The Child Within Us,* focuses on subjective narratives of childhood: from leisure to studies or bodily features such as eyes or smiles, including pictures such as Hiroshi Oshima's portrait of a little boy (Fig.56). We are here closer to the common understanding of "Japanese photography" that I mentioned in Chapter One, exemplified by renowned photographers such as Daido Moriyama or Shoji Ueda. Those images that I defined earlier as subjective narratives are characterised by the 'unprecedented showing of private, personal life' (Wilkes-Tucker, 2003, p.12), that developed in the late 1960s and 1970s, with the successors to Domon. Thus, in much the same way as the state appropriated private photographs for the Hyōgo Prefecture's calendar, as I noted in Chapter Two, here the museum as state apparatus borrows images of personal narratives, including the work of Western photographers, such as Sally Mann.

Figure 58- Wien, Seeichi Furuya, 1982

Yet, these are also pictures made for public view but outside the state-based institutional Japanese context, and in the international art market. First, the inclusion of these specific photographs, mainly by Japanese photographers, affirms the imagined community of Japan as a first-rank artistic nation by displaying internationally renowned artists. Likewise, the Japan Foundation shows the country as an artistically productive and innovative nation.

Second, the selection of these private narratives validates them as accepted discourses of childhood and the imagined community. Whether staged (fig.57) or snapshots, of the photographer's real family, such as Seiichi Furuya's son Komyo Klaus (fig.58) or passers-by (fig.59), they represent accepted models of childhood. Indeed, the different sections into which this last exhibition sequence is separated coincide with a discourse of childhood as a time of

Figure 59- Untitled, Nobuyoshi Araki, 1988-89

playfulness ('places where children gather', 'running, jumping, tumbling', 'the world of play', 'masks', 'enthralled by picture-story shows') and happiness ('smile', 'scenes from the heart'), thus following Jones's definition of the childlike child noted earlier (2010).

Moreover, the sections also regulate a geography of childhood by delimiting the everyday spaces to which the child should be contained (Holloway and Valentine, 2000, p.11). The sections 'places where children gather' and 'loitering' which include images mainly from the 1930s through to the late 1950s, define the streets as an improvised playground for groups of unsupervised children, in the same way as Domon's. What is more, one of his photographs is included in this former section.

However, later photographs mainly depict the child either within natural surroundings, circled by trees and flowers, as in the idealised representations of the family in the Niigata Family Day Poster (Chapter Two), or within the safe space of the home or

Figure 60- Izubayo park, Takanobu Hayashi, 1986

designated playgrounds, such as the zoo in fig.60. When children are on the street, such as in fig.59, they are accompanied by an adult, here the caring mother who looks after them by holding their hands, carrying them or confining them to the pram from which they cannot move unsupervised. From the 1960s the photographed child was much more regulated within defined spaces. After the Occupation and reconstruction of Japan, from the late 1950s, the streets ceased to be the space of childhood at the same time as the symbolism of freedom began to cease resonating within the national identity in the same way. Instead, the place of the child within the family, within the home and through controlled activities acquired a new importance.

Figure 61- Akita Yuzawa, Issei Suda, 1976

When placed within a natural environment, the child is assimilated to nature, as is visible in Issei Suda's photograph by the juxtaposition of the three girls standing with their hats and the sunflowers in the background (fig.61). Once again, the naturalness of childhood is asserted. This third and last exhibition of the triptych then defines childhood within postwar dominant discourses of the child as playful, happy and "natural", as well as regulating it through controlled activities in defined spaces for childhood.

In sum, the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography has linked technology and ideology to define a national identity through the production and consumption of images since the nineteenth century. Unlike the *Kodomotachi* exhibition (2012), which defines a Japanese postwar identity, the Syabi links national identity both to an ancient past (the Meiji period, 1868-1912) and to other cultures and nations. The Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography enlarges the role of state sanctioned photographs from the photo-realism embodied by Domon's work to more subjective narratives and diverse photographic styles. The exhibition *Photographs of Children* (2011) is thus both inward-looking by defining the imagined community and outward-looking by considering Japan within global relations. In particular *The Child Within Us* is highly regulative of the activities and geographies of childhood.

The Japanese title of the Syabi exhibition, *Kodomo no Jyōkei*, literally translates as "Scenes of Childhood". We can easily understand why the literal translation has not been used in order to avoid confusion with the previous exhibition organised by the Japan Foundation, *Scenes of Childhood*, but this also highlights the shared aims of both projects. Like the Syabi's exhibitions, *Scenes of Childhood* is an assemblage of images

from various photographers brought together to present a unified discourse that, because it is not presented as the view of a single artist such as Domon, carries more ideological and discursive power since it seems to genuinely reflect diversity while actually promoting conformity.

The Japan Foundation: Exporting Scenes of Japanese Childhood

In the previous sections, I outlined different strategies of representation of childhood and the imagined community. In the Ken Domon Museum of Photography, the exhibition as a display of images is aimed at a national audience, one sharing a common past and memories; whereas the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography defines the imagined community in relation to other nations. Although, or rather because, the imagined community is limited, i.e. it 'has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations' (Anderson, 1983, p.7), the state has to assert its constructed national identity also to non-citizens, to other nations. The Japan Foundation fills this role of regulating the perception of the Japanese imagined community abroad. Preoccupied in the nineteenth century with showing how Japan "caught up" with the West, as exemplified with the practice of photography mentioned in the previous section, the twentieth century also showed a preoccupation with change. After the Second World War, Japan had rebuilt the country not only materially, but had to reconstruct an image that could legitimise it in worldwide power relations. Politically, Japan rebuilt the country on a new constitution based on Western models (Sirota Gordon, 1997) that forbade it to have an army, and hence renounce any belligerent actions and the pre-war expansionist politics. The building of the image of a pacific nation relies thus on cultural exchanges that create a new popular image of Japan in the mind of foreigners. The Japan Foundation fills this role and promotes the image of an artistically productive and innovative nation. In 1972, the Japan Foundation was funded with an emphasis on the notion of 'promoting international understanding through cultural exchange' (Japan

Foundation, 2012, n.p.), to erase the imperialistic connotations of its predecessor, the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* (International Cultural Relations Society). Its emergence coincides with a period of growth in the national confidence of the country (Goodman, 2001, p.181) and is included in the period of reconstruction of the imagined community that is of interest for this thesis.

The Japan Foundation's many exhibitions are inscribed in an institutional politics of diffusion of Japanese culture, coming from a century-long tradition of cultural exportation. Showings of Japanese art and artefacts abroad developed during the second half of the nineteenth century. This gave Japan an opportunity to present the country to the rest of the world and define itself as a modern, industrial and "civilised" nation at a time when the Meiji government struggled to position itself among the Western nations and renegotiate the Unequal Treaties of 1858. Indeed,

> during the latter half of the nineteenth century, international expositions became a virtually mandatory form of public relations for the major powers, notwithstanding their enormous cost. In those days, world's fairs were natural expressions of national pride, evidence that a country had crossed the divide between the developed and the nondeveloped, primarily through the excellence of its arts and manufactures. (Conant, 2006, p.255-6)

Thus, these displays of "modernity" can be put in opposition to the 'customs and manner' photographs depicting traditions that were being made during the same period. This double interest for past and future corresponds to Anderson's definition of the creation of nations which 'loom out of an immemorial past, and, still more important, glide into a limitless future' (1983, pp.11-2). What definition of the imagined community does the twenty-first century exhibition on childhood give?

In march 2006, after four months of high attendance, the exhibition *Nihon no Kodomo: 60 nen* [*Children of Japan: 60 years*] organised by the Japan Professional Photographers Society closed with success. However, just six months afterwards, the exhibition was restructured and started what would be a five-year long world touring exhibition, under the new name of *Scenes of Childhood: Sixty Years of Postwar Japan*. Exhibitions as displays of images are a way to 'propagat[e] the imagined community, not merely to illiterate masses, but even to literate masses *reading* different languages' (Anderson, 1983, p.140, original emphasis). If Anderson had in mind the different languages

practiced within the colonies, his comment also applies to members of other imagined communities who do not share the same language. Visual culture, and especially photography with its indexical capacity, enables us to share meanings without a common spoken language. The tour started in Ukraine and toured nineteen countries of North and South America, Africa, Europe, and the Middle East, before closing in Cuba in September 2011. It includes documentary photographs of the immediate postwar with the works of Ken Domon or Takeyoshi Tanuma, as well as more contemporary images documenting Japan's rapid industrialisation, with images by Shisei Kuwabara or Keisuke Kumakiri's pictures of environmental issues.

Figure 62- Scenes of Childhood in Sao Paulo, Japan Foundation, 2010

We can easily see two main forces that drive the curatorial choices of the Japan Foundation's exhibitions: a historical organisation that highlights the social changes in Japan since the postwar period; and the productiveness and artistic genius of contemporary photographers, which I already mentioned in the previous section. *Scenes of childhood* belongs to the first one, as not only its title says, but also because of the emphasis on the socio-historical aspects in the exhibition presentations. The Japan Foundation website affirms that,

> in addition to serving as a testimony of the photographers' views of children, the works in this exhibition *act to document* the lives of the children themselves and depict them in specific times and places throughout Japan, from the past through the present. By observing these carefully selected works, we hope that audiences will become more aware of the changes that Japan has undergone over the past 60 years and thus enable to develop a deeper understanding of the country and its people. (Japan Foundation, 2012, n.p., my emphasis)

This idea is reused and developed by the hosting institutions. The Japan Information and Culture Centre, Embassy of Japan in Washington, D.C. (U.S.A) writes in its leaflet,

From scenes of a country recovering from the ravages of war, to those of a nation catapulted to industrial growth and material abundance, *Scenes of Childhood* is a visual postwar history, not only of Japanese children, but of the times and places in which they lived. Each image illuminates the immense change Japan had undergone over the past 60 years, instilling a deeper understanding of the country and its people. (Japan Information and Culture Centre, 2009)

Figure 63- Scenes of Childhood leaflet, Embassy of Japan, Washington, 2009

Not only is this exhibition as a display of images deeply rooted in an educational role regarding Japanese history and culture, but it implies some knowledge of world and Japanese history to understand what those "changes" are. As I have previously stated in this chapter, this is not an unusual treatment of photography, due to its claims of realism and social awareness. In the perspective of the Japan Foundation, photographs other than contemporary works act more as a historical document than a piece of art. The 2005 Annual Report sheds light on the curatorial choices for the exhibition,

> The Arts and Culture Group of the Japan Foundation is committed to furthering mutual understanding by introducing the country's fine arts, architecture, music, theatre, dance, cinema, TV programs, literature, and sports, as well as by shedding light on the historical and social background that gave birth to them — a perspective that is often overlooked when cultural products are transmitted commercially. (2005, p. 19)

In a time of uncontrolled globalisation of ideas via mercantile cultural goods, the Japan Foundation offers a government-controlled counter imagery and introduce the culture

from above (via power institutions) rather than from below (popular and commercial culture). The state thus regulates discourses through a process of selection, and validates them as "official" regimes of truth. The claim of truthfulness is furthered by the discourses on the historicity of the photographs put forward in the written materials surrounding the exhibition, such as leaflets and websites. However, as I have already stated, the meaning of the image is reinvented and embedded in discursive formations of the postwar period. The exhibition as a display of images is thus an 'official rewriting of history' (Anderson, 1983, p.101), aimed in the case of the Japan Foundation at an audience exterior to the imagined community.

I outlined in this section the role of the Japan Foundation as a state apparatus that constructs and display abroad the imagined community's national identity. Photography has been a medium of choice for such a task due to its immediateness and apparent objectivity that formulate the photographs as historical facts. In the section below, I analyse more in detail the pictures included in this exhibition and put them in parallel with those of the exhibitions of the Ken Domon Museum of Photography and the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography.

Children as Victims: A Strategy of Representing History

Different representations of childhood run through the exhibitions presented above. However, interestingly for this thesis, one major discourse is shared by all three curatorial projects: children as victims. The trope of victimhood is constructed as the discursive formation that defined the immediate postwar national identity. Detractors of photo-realism in general and of Ken Domon's work in particular, referred to these images as 'beggar photography' composed of street children and injured war veterans (Iizawa, 2003, p.212). Nonetheless, after the Second World War, this imagery became the dominant discourse of both childhood and the imagined community. These pictures represent the injured child suffering because of adults' actions. Domon's photographs

are directly concerned with the powerlessness of children themselves. His photographs can be linked to a certain perception of the child, as developed by Eglantyne Jebb, founder of the Save the Children fund, which has been in action in the UK since 1919. The Children's Rights movement and international child welfare developed out of Jebb's efforts to protect children, who were defined as victim, from the famine caused by the First World War (Marshall, 1999, p.106). However, from the mid-1920s, as

> the League took charge of some aspects of child welfare, voluntary associations recast their preoccupation on other questions. The Save the Children International Union, for its part, now saw its role as pointing in new and unexplored directions, in a fast and flexible way unavailable to governments, and eventually to broaden statesmen's responsibilities (Marshall, 1999, p.128).

Jebb's basic premise that children are defenceless victims has underpinned the organisation's continuing worldwide development, as evidenced by the direct quotation from Jebb on the Save The Children website: 'we cannot leave defenceless children anywhere exposed to ruin — moral or physical. We cannot run the risk that they should weep, starve, despair and die, with never a hand stretched out to help them' (2014, n.p.). Clearly then, Jebb played a central role in defining the child as both an innocent victim and as a symbol of the future and of international peace (Marshall, 1999, p.120 and p.138). Crucially, Jebb facilitated a shift in attitudes away from concerns of the child as reprehensible delinquent or orphan (Marshall, 1999, p.145) towards a 'general sympathy towards children' (Marshall, 1999, p.134) which relied on the international responsibility of children's welfare.

In 1924, Jebb drafted the first declaration stating the rights of children, which would be the basis of the United Nations' Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959, at the time when Domon was photographing the children of Chikuhō. We are then in a period of wide social recognition of the situation of children that opened a public space, if not yet for the voices of the children themselves (Holland, 1992, p.84), at least for their advocates. What the declaration of Rights did was to affirm the child as a powerless actor of society whose need of protection must be assured by adults. Unlike the imagery

of my earlier case studies, the mother baby book (Chapter One) and the public service advertisements (Chapter Two), adults rarely appear in Domon's work. For instance, in the 1960 series *Rumie's father is dead* (fig.64) this striking absence of the adult, especially the father, head of the household, is significant. Holland has noted a similar absence of adults in images of victimised and orphaned children left without protectors in undeveloped countries, typically produced by NGOs (2004, p.148). She argues that

Figure 64- Rumie's Father is Dead, Ken Domon, 1960

the photographs call for a rescuer, either by soliciting the viewer's help, or by integrating an adult figure, 'routinely played by supportive white representatives of a technologised civilization' (Holland, 2004, p.151). In Domon's work, even though the isolated child similarly calls up a rescuer, he equally documents the capacity of those children to face life on their own, orphans and abandoned children. This idea of survival against the odds, without external support, can be seen to represent postwar Japan, surviving while surrounded by death, and is illustrated for instance in fig. 50 above or fig.65, where children transform the war-ravaged streets into a playground.

Figure 65- Playing in a Destroyed Building, Ken Domon, 1956

The children depicted by Ken Domon may share a misery environment with the children of the charities' advertisements; however, they are not represented in a similar way. Charities and NGOS need to accentuate the poverty and needs of the children in order to create empathy and highlight the need for help incited by those institutions, even though Holland states that increasingly they have adopted a strategy of 'positive images' and 'accuracy of representation' (2004, p.155) that reintroduced smiling faces. However, the children of Chikuhō, whose depiction is included in the 2012 exhibition, do not all show a similar mood, but display a range of emotions, from happiness to sadness, from upset to melancholy. The exhibition *Kodomotachi* incarnates the whole range of emotions dealt with by any child before or after the war, thus creating a link, a shared experience among the members of the imagined community. Domon shows life continuing, despite the war, despite the absence of parents, despite poverty.

Figure 66- Mother and child holding rice balls handed out as emergency rations, Yosuke Yamahata, 1945

Several photographic exhibitions of the Japan Foundation have attempted similarly to define a postwar national identity: 'Gazing at the Contemporary World: Japanese Photography from the 1970s to the Present' (2007-2016) or 'The Metamorphosis of Japan After the War' (2012-2016). These curatorial projects show the reconstruction of the country and/or the subsequent decades in a different light. What is remarkable is the absence of a photographic display about the early twentieth century or the war period. This can be explained first

because discordant perceptions of childhood, such as child soldiers, which imagery was abundant in the war years (as in fig.7), have been 'problematized as "incorrect"' (James and James, 2004, p.29). Indeed, normalised discourses of childhood innocence define appropriate behaviours and environments for the child – mostly the home/family and school (Higonnet, 1998), as I pointed out earlier. Second, the status of the institution itself has to be considered; indeed, the Japan Foundation's role as a state agency is to spread the image of the nation. The touring exhibitions should avoid possible diplomatic tensions and (re)presenting the militaristic time will not only bring back a past identity that Japan fought against (Berger, 2007, p.187) but might revive the 'historical problem', based on different perceptions of the past (Berger, 2007, p.181). Thus, the militaristic and ultra-nationalistic years are kept away from the

Figure 67- Injured soldier and child walking in Ginza, Ken Domon, 1950

eyes of the public, especially foreign audiences. Japan has rebuilt its image as a pacifist nation, building up its postwar identity as a victim (Doak, 2007, p.203). *Scenes of Childhood* carries on the idea of victimhood that developed in the nation's collective memory (Berger, 2007, p.186) and in literature and films (Orr, 2001). James Orr argues that it was promoted both as part of the anti-war sentiment and by the Occupation forces to reinforce the rupture with the wartime ideology (Orr, 2001, p.7).

The postwar imagined community as victim was constructed, according to Orr, around the nuclear bombs as a unifying symbol (2001, p176). For this reason, chronologically, the first pictures shown in *Scenes of Childhood* are of the survivors of the atomic bombs (fig. 66). This curatorial choice calls for the empathy of the audience. Moreover, the popular assumption of childhood's innocence increases the child's status as victim. Orr points to how in the novels and films of the 1950s and 1960s he analyses, 'children play an indispensable role […] as the archetype of pure victimhood' (2001, 110). In the

postwar rehabilitation of Japan's international reputation following accusations of war crimes, the child became the perfect object of sympathy since it was exempt from association with the nation's tarnished history. Nonetheless, disturbing images of children physically injured by the war are barely present, with the exception of fig.66. They show rather, as fig. 67 does, the child that accompanies the injured adult, because, unlike the NGOs' pictures, the exhibitions do not aim to call for a rescuer by creating pity, but rather to show how a ravaged nation, victim – rather than actor- of war, rose up from its ashes to become an economic power, a nation with a strong imagined community which is affirmed through museums as exhibition spaces and exhibitions as displays of images in Japan and abroad.

The first of the exhibitions held at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, entitled *Children and War* (2011), follows the same idea of children as victims. We encounter several photographs by Domon, as well as by other Japanese photographers of the immediate postwar period that were exhibited in *Scenes of Childhood*, such as Yosuke Yamahata (fig. 67). The images are re-used in similar curatorial discourses, thus further contributing to the idea of truthfulness through reiteration. They also participate in fixing a specific mental image in the mind of contemporary viewers. Black

Figure 68- Three boys at the barbed-wire fence, letting their thoughts roam free. The guard tower is visible in the rear. The boys are (from the left) Norito Takamoto, Masaichi Imamura, and Hisashi Sansui, by Tokyo Miyake, 1942-45

and white photographs of children playing unsupervised in the streets of ravaged cities, as seen above in fig. 50 and 65, become the emblem of the postwar child and period. One of playfulness despite the destruction. One of freedom despite the American Occupation.

Like the following two exhibitions of the Syabi's triptych, *Children and War* combines photographs from Japan and abroad to locate Japan within global relations. This

chronologically organised exhibition opens with two images of the Spanish Civil War by Henri Cartier-Bresson before quickly moving on to photographs of the Second World War. Photographs of Japanese children both in Japan and in the US relocation camps (by Dorotea Lange and Toyo Miyake, fig. 68) precede two images of war in Saipan and Germany. However, the majority of works of this period are from 1945, starting with representations of victims of the atomic bomb in Nagasaki by Yosuke Yamahata (as fig.66). The wartime period is here also quickly overlooked (less than thirty images out of a total of a hundred and sixty) and, even then, focuses on the imagery of victimhood: air raids, shelters, schools for evacuees and several photographs of the Manzanar relocation centre (nearly one third of the wartime images) as seen in fig. 68. So whether during or after the war, the child is an innocent victim, from whose body all traces of nationalism have been erased.

Consequences of the war in Japan are shown in the exhibition until the early 1960s, including photographs of Domon and Shomei Tomatsu's series on Nagasaki. From then on, depictions of the war focus abroad: Vietnam, Europe with the survivors of the concentration camps by Yoshino Oishi and the Middle East. The last photograph is from 1990, thus avoiding contemporary conflicts that could engage political debates. Using representations of children make it possible to 'abstract attention away from questions of culture and politics such that they become trivialized traces of them' (Burman, 2011, p.29).

The "naturalness" and "universality" of childhood contributed to rebuild an image of Japan as a peaceful country and to erase all traces of previous militarism of which children were an integral part. However, even though the consequences of the Second World War and the atomic bomb are central to this exhibition and to the (re)definition of the imagined community, Japanese children are not positioned as the only victims. Japan is positioned as merely one more victim of the war, as other countries have been during the Vietnam War or the Spanish Civil War. Therefore, the imagined community is defined in relation to other identities and national experiences. It also puts Japanese children on the same level as children "world-wide", in order to forget the opposition during the war and the militarisation of the younger generation that is widely visible in

the photographs of the 1930s and 1940s and also in the early school album analysed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Over the last fifteen years, we have witnessed a proliferation of exhibitions on childhood in Japan. In part, they arose as a result of the so-called "fertility crisis" and absence of children highlighted in the previous chapter, and contribute to the discourses promoting child-bearing and family life by an appeal to a version of an imagined community that connects people through ideas of Japan's postwar survival. Equally, with the *shōshika* period as a background, museums have become a strategic place to redefine childhood and locate it as a national imagining of the imagined community. Each one of the three exhibitions contributes in its own way to define national identity: constructing a common past with Ken Domon's photographs, locating Japan within global relations at the Syabi, and asserting abroad Japanese postwar identity with the Japan Foundation exhibition. Three different state entities, three discourses on childhood and national identity, three strategies to assert their "truth".

In this chapter I highlighted the construction of a dominant conception of the immediate postwar Japanese child as innocent victim across all three exhibitions. The victim child is however often portrayed as a playful child, running free in Domon's 1950s photographs. This discourse of childhood was central in the reconstruction of the wider imagined community's identity after the Second World War as rising from its ashes. The exhibitions use the child as a synecdoche in which the part represents the totality, childhood represents the whole of society. The innocent victim child is the stone on which the postwar national identity is rebuilt.

Critics suggest that exhibitions act as a means of social control on the perception of the past, which is defined and sanctioned by state institutions. As Kavanagh argues, 'museums can be places where history is both remembered and forgotten, as curators

have to decide what to collect and what to let go, what to record and what to ignore' (1996, p.5). Dominant discourses participate in the perception of a validated "truthful" common history. As Anderson affirms, 'all profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives' (p.204). In the Japanese case, wartime militarism has mutated into one such nation-wide amnesia to "spring" the postwar Japanese national identity.

The exhibition *Photographs of Children* (2011), at the Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, thanks to its large temporal framework and the combination of Japanese and foreign photographers, formulates overlapping discourses of childhood and imagined community. In addition to the immediate postwar, the exhibition also constructs an early modern perception of the imagined community that affirms Japan as both modern and traditional, thus establishing the 'cultural roots' of the nation (Anderson, 1983, p.9), and it links present practices of photographing children with past habits. Besides, the display of images defines a present childhood, one regulated by controlled activities and delimited geographies of childhood. Then, *Photographs of Children* actually defines discourses of both past and present childhood.

The museum as exhibition space constructs representations of childhood through a process of inclusion/exclusion of photographs and photographic genres. The sacralised status of the museum in itself constructs the discourses as "national", unquestionable regimes of truth. However, the museum is not the only state agency able to erect its discourses on childhood and national identity as truth; as I develop in the next chapter, school has also been central in linking both concepts.

Chapter 4 – Educating Future Citizens? School Album Photographs (1942-2010)

Introduction

In previous chapters, I have mainly focused on images displayed in the public domain, and despite the very obvious differences between mother-child handbooks, family day and childcare posters and photographic exhibitions, I have explored the ways in which similar, dominant discourses of childhood are pivotal to the formation of an imagined community. In all cases, the child is the pivot of the discursive links across time and space that allow people to imagine that they are connected: that they are one nation then, now and in the future. In this chapter, my argument will focus on private spaces, on photographs kept in the home. However, as I will argue, the meanings that attach to these private images are very similar to those displayed in public. In this chapter, I will develop my argument that images of childhood are central to the construction of the Japanese imagined community through analysis of school albums.

The school albums are photobooks made, independently, by each school and university in Japan for their graduating students. They include photographs of the teachers and school building, of each senior class and of the clubs – an important activity in Japanese schools –, as well as snapshots of activities done during the senior year, including official ceremonies like entrance and graduation, trips, sports events and classroom activities. Some of the albums also include pictures of junior and sophomore years, the major national and international news of the senior year and a double blank page for classmates to sign the school album. These albums are available in all Japanese families. Even though it is not compulsory to buy them from the school, all parents and students seem to want to buy one. The informal conversations – in Japanese – I had with parents and former students informed me that they had all acquired and kept their school album,

mostly from junior high and high school, sometimes from kindergarten and elementary school as well. Fewer students were interested in the university school album, as for them it did not reflected their personal experience. In this chapter, I focus on five school albums from junior high school, which is the end of compulsory education in Japan. They belong to a Japanese family, the two grandparents, the mother and her two sons, who kindly lent me their albums for the duration of my research. I was also able to see, and thus compare my findings, with other albums shared by another Japanese family and an English language teacher, all from the same region, Hyōgo[6].

I first discovered the existence of the school albums during the research for this thesis. I asked Midori, the mother of the family whose albums I study in this chapter, to see family photographs and school photographs. I was expecting to be shown the class photograph that is usual in Europe. Instead, she showed me her school album, and asked her sons to present me theirs. The members of this particular three generational and somewhat unusual Japanese family (the mother is a divorcee and the eldest son is living abroad) carried their school albums with them even during the hardships that punctuated their lives, from the end of the Second World War, through moving house, divorce, and even during the Great Hanshin earthquake in 1995.

Midori kept hers, from 1977, in a closet next to her bed, while her two sons, Shogo and Shunji, had to search slightly more to locate theirs, from 2005 and 2010. They found each was placed in a drawer in their respective bedrooms alongside other souvenirs. Inside the albums were the large paper-framed portrait photographs that in Europe tend to hang on the sitting room walls of family houses. Family photographs seem to be in Japan kept hidden from sight, as I noted from the several family houses I visited during my stay in Japan. This practice seems to be a residual element from the early days of photography, when ambrotypes could not be displayed and were often kept in wood cases (Kinoshita, 2003, p.27). In addition, the Japanese traditional house with its paper walls does not permit hanging.

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[6] However, those further albums came available too late for them to be included in the thesis, but they can inform further research.
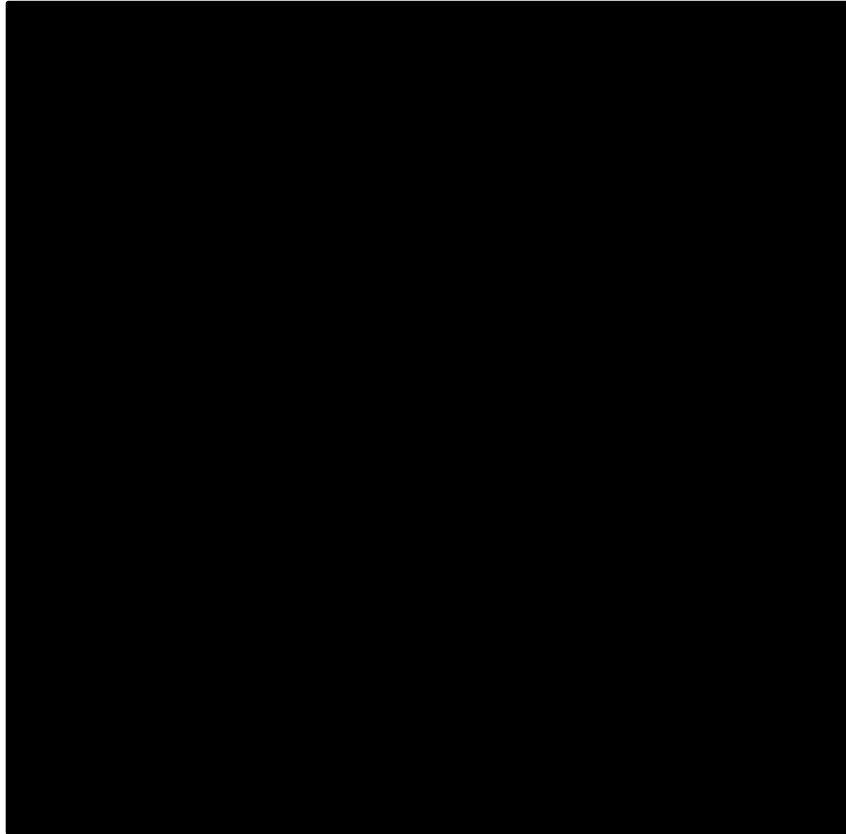
Figure 69- Cover of the five school albums, left to right, top to bottom, 1942, 1951, 1977, 2005, 2010

When I first asked Midori and her sons to see some photographs of the boys' childhood, she told me that there were none. The sons, Shogo and Shunji confirmed that this was probably the case. However, Mine, the grandmother, had kept all the family's photographs. If the grandmother acted as the memory keeper of the family, she did not seem to have looked at the photographs, as they were difficult to access in one of her closets, kept in different plastic bags with a tight tie. With the family photographs, Mine, the grandmother, also handed me her school album from 1951, and her late husband's 1942 album. Both had been stored away carefully, together in a large white envelope, for more than sixty years. In Mine's and the grandfather Aiji's albums, some photographs were inserted between the pages: Aiji's in military suit, their wedding photographs, although Mine cannot remember who placed them inside and when.

It is interesting that these albums were kept separately from the other family photographs and souvenir albums. They were taken in junior high school, so at a time

when the three generations were living under the same roof, and so, the albums could have been left behind at the grandparents' house as was done with other souvenirs. This behaviour points to the difficulty of placing the school albums within the field of family photography. The school album asserts the belonging of the child to another social group, this time an age-peer group, very visible in this case study as the albums were kept separated, as a private life developing away from the family.

The sample of school albums[7] I consider in this chapter point to the construction of childhood as a specific site of Japanese national identity incarnated here in the figure of the child as pupil. As Anderson affirms, school 'nurtured [the] bonding' of the imagined community (1983, p.121). Through the photographs, I will highlight how behaviours considered specifically Japanese are disciplined into the bodies of the pupils. The photographs act as a record of the process of socialisation and regulation of the young generation into compliance with the social norms and conformism to dominant discourses on gender, and with educational identities. Before moving on to the visual analysis of the albums, I consider how the school albums and the photograph as technologies are linked to ideologies of childhood and national identity.

The Japanese School Album and Disciplinary Power

When and how school albums developed in Japan is still unclear. It seems probable that they were introduced from America, either by a Western photographer operating in or visiting Japan[8], or by one of the many nineteenth century official and private missions which sent young Japanese to be educated abroad and to bring back Western knowledge (Hirakawa, 1989; Shibahara, 2010; Yamagata-Montoya, to be published 2017). It also seems highly plausible that the first graduation photographs and albums

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[7] The fragility of the oldest albums, and my lack of appropriate material to scan or photograph them according to preservation rules, has not always enabled me to reproduce the photographs in good quality. The elements of analysis I discuss are however visible.
[8] This suggestion is made by Shannon Perich (2013).

were made within higher education institutions, as they were in the United States, and later spread to all levels. As in America, today, school albums are made for elementary schools, junior high schools and high schools alike. The first American high school album still in existence dates back to 1845[9], but in Japan this practice was only widely established during the second-half of the twentieth century. The school album or yearbook[10] is an object that captures the history of modern schooling in Japan and America. Like most of the 'materialities of schooling', its 'micro-history' (Lawn and Grosvenor, 2005, p. 10) still has to be written.

Figure 70- 1883 graduation photograph, Keio University

School photographs, which today constitute an educational tradition, were, in the nineteenth century, an item of modernity, part of emergent cultural representations. They recorded the modernisation of the educational system and of its members who increasingly wore Western-style clothes. In one of the oldest class photograph existing in Japan, from Keio University (fig. 70), the kimono-clad students – with one exception – surround Yukichi Fukuzawa, the founder of the University, who is wearing a Western suit, itself symbol of modernity.

School photographs act as a visual record of those who graduated, a record of the "successful" young people who studied at the institution, a proof of the excellence of the school and the national education system. The regulated bodies, their posture, clothing, hair styles and facial expression, highlight the power exerted by state disciplines, through the school, on the members of the imagined community. As Anderson affirms, schools as state apparatuses of discipline were a pivotal place for the

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[9] The oldest Japanese high school album has not been identified.
[10] I use the term school album to refer to Japanese photographic albums, and yearbook to refer to the American ones, in keeping with the usual terminology of each country.

construction of the imagined community (1983, p.121). The regulation of the child as pupil constructed the modern national identity and modern childhood (Platt, 2005). All the photographs that illustrate this chapter emphasise such a regulation, already present in the nineteenth century school photographs. Thus technology and ideology are linked in defining nineteenth century Japan as a "modern" nation.

The development of modern technologies enabled a mass-production of school images available for the state to document this new state apparatus. Early school photographs were isolated practices, however they increasingly became systematised and complexified in Japan, with the development first of photo montages, and later on of the school album. The mass mechanical reproduction allowed the school album to become the widespread object it is today, as I explained at the outset of this chapter. Consequently, its near nation-wide possession reinforced the way graduates can imagine they are connected (Anderson, 1983, p.6).

Figure 71- 1892 photographic montage of graduation, Keio University

The first photographic montages recorded are from the 1890s. This form was not unusual in the educational system, and is found also in the United States[11]. In an 1892

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[11] In 1930, a Yale University montage depicts a large 'Y' surrounded by photographs of sports and trips activities.

montage from Keio University (fig. 71), we can already find some of the later characteristics of the school album with the same type of photographs available: the university building, and portraits of the headmaster, the teachers and the students. The composition of the montage also points to the later disposition in the album, which will maintain a hierarchy in the placing of the images, as I develop below. The image is constructed in terms of centrality and margins and highly regulated social interactions. As in fig.70, there is a centre around which the graduates orbit. In this earlier image, it was the founder, Fukuzawa; in fig. 71, it shifts to the school building as an incarnation of the institution, perhaps a sign of the modernisation of the educational system. Surely, we are moving away from the pre-modern forms of teaching (*juku*) oriented around one individual inculcating all knowledge, and whose school often died with him, and see instead, longer-lasting institutions who are under the control of the state.

The head of the school maintains, however, in fig. 71, a high and visible status. His photograph, larger than all the others, crowns the landscape photograph. It is also distinguishable by its oval shape, unlike the other square photographs. Fukuzawa's picture is surrounded by the portraits of the teachers, forming a circle around the building. Graduates are pushed towards each side of the image. The montage sends an impression of distance between teachers and graduates, as if their graduation had already separated them from the institution, whereas teachers remain as the close guardians of the knowledge it holds within. The school albums thus construct power/knowledge relations.

The school as state apparatus, and the headmaster and teachers as part of its mechanism, represent the state-imparted power. As with the museums considered in the previous chapter, the school's discourses are formulated as regimes of truth through their "official" status. Such official-ness is reinforced by the solemnity of the photographs, either the headmaster's portrait, or the teachers and class group pictures, seen in the rigid and conformist posture, and expressionless face. Another element marking the status of the school is the insertion of a school flag, symbol that unifies the members of a given community.
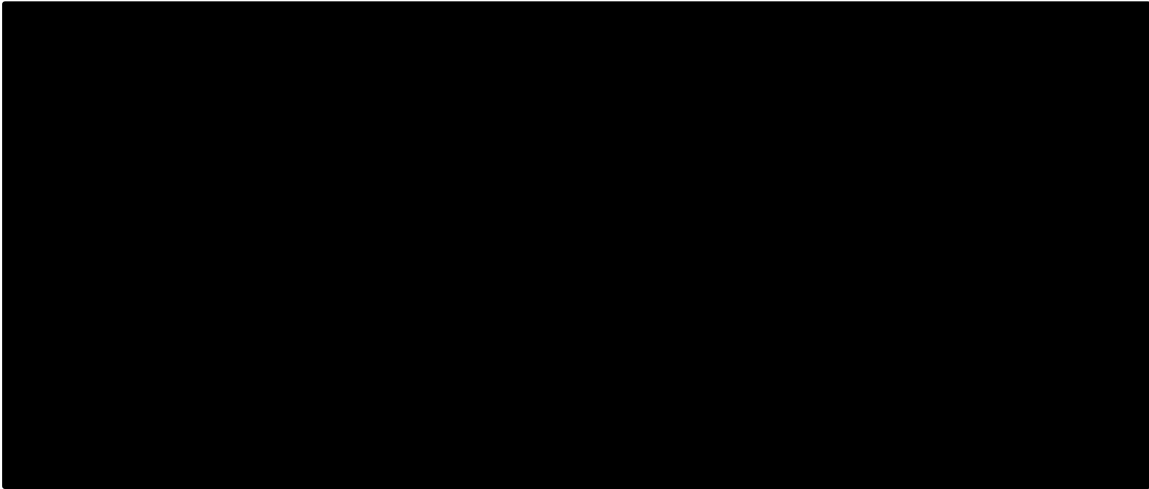
Figure 72- 1942 album, opening pages: the headmaster, the school building and flag, the teachers

The hierarchy is maintained even with the introduction of the album in book format (in 1904 in Keio University), but the structure of its composition changes. Rather than being expressed in terms of centre and margins, it develops the concept of opening, middle and end, thus leaving more space for the students. In the albums of my sample, opening pages have been dedicated, in a constant manner, to the building, the school symbols (anthem and flag), the headmaster (for these first three the order can be altered) and teachers, as visible in fig. 72 and 73. Middle pages have been reserved for the academic aspect, i.e. the class photographs, whereas the latter pages offer a more diverse view of

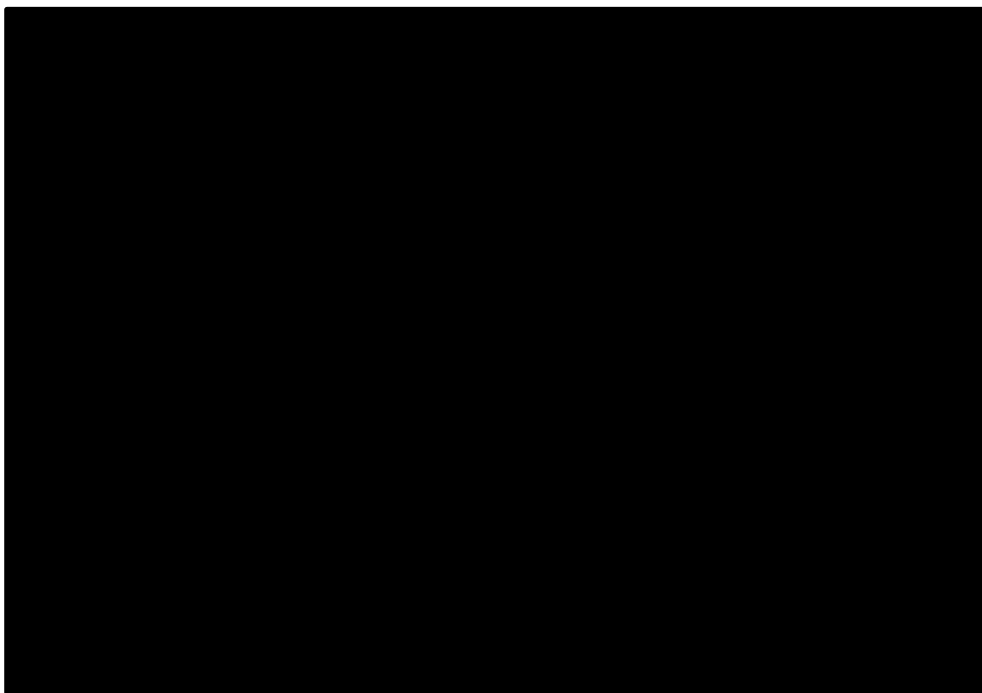*Figure 73- 2010 album, opening pages: the headmaster, the school building and flag, the teachers*

school: trips, clubs, ceremonies and sports activities. Nonetheless, the regulation of the body of the child as pupil is constructed in all those images.

The disciplining and categorising of the body through photography is not specific to the child as pupil. Tagg's definition of photography, following Foucault, as an 'instrument of new disciplinary power' (2009, p.xxvii) has been widely applied to the nineteenth century photographs that recorded and categorised those individuals defined as "poor", "mentally ill" or "dangerous". As Michel Frizot argues, in the nineteenth century, the body was a 'visible proof of human difference' (1998, p.259), including differences of class, gender and race which followed the theories about physiology and human nature of the period, such as Lombroso's idea that criminals could be recognised by facial characteristics. Modern scholars argue that the use of photography, in medicine (Frizot, 1998; Osten, 2010) and anthropology (Maitland, 2013) has frequently define the person in negative terms that deny their humanity. Such photographic practices have been rendered more visible by the condemnation of the beliefs that allowed their development. However, continuing practices, such as the school album, also emerged as a 'means to record and a source of evidence' (Tagg, 1988, p.60). Medical or prison institutions aimed 'to know, to punish, to exclude and beleaguer, to reduce and make subject to law' (Frizot, 1998, p.260). The criminals' pictures record the denial of state discipline and normativity. As Tagg suggests non-conformity is categorised in state-produced photographs through,

> a vast and repetitive archive of such images [that] was accumulated [and] in which the smallest deviations may be noted, classified and filed. The format varies hardly at all. They are bodies and spaces. The bodies- workers, vagrants, criminals, patients, the insane, the poor, the colonised races- are taken one by one: isolated in a shallow, contained space; turned full face and subjected to an unreturnable gaze; illuminated, focused, measured, numbered and named; forced to yield to the minutest scrutiny of gestures and features. (Tagg, 1988, p.64)

If the child as pupil is similarly photographed in a systematic process, in the same way as the ID or passport picture does, the school images record the acceptance of such regulation. The image of the child is regulated both as a pupil who accepts state discourses by being educated, and as a subject who accepts the regulative practice of

the photograph. The school album thus sanctions the outward expression of an internalised form of good behaviour and the acceptance of national identity.

Contemporary practices of photography point to residual aspects of the early technology, thus creating a stronger sense of continuity between school photographs. Even as the camera developed and the need for stillness was reduced, the institutionalised practice of stiff poses remained largely unchanged. Although we no longer use the 'appareil du [sic] pose[12] [used in hospitals which] ensured that patients were always photographed in the same position and from the same angle, ensuring a good commensurability of pictures showing a worsening ailment or therapeutic progress' (Osten, 2010, p.513), official photographs, from ID pictures to school photographs, continue to discipline body posture, either forced upon us by the photographer or interiorised as proper behaviour.

In brief, the school album has been central to the practice of school photography as a disciplinary mechanism. First, the album organises and hierarchises the body, identifying the child as pupil as the subject of the power exerted by the state through the school. A social hierarchy is defined in which the headmaster and teachers incarnate the power and knowledge of the state apparatus. Moreover, school photographs create a visual record of the bodies producing a discourse of normativity and belonging to the imagined community.

School in Japan: Constructing a National Identity

Schools are spaces in which the disciplining of bodies and mind is exerted through a 'multiplicity of […] minor processes' (Foucault, 1975, p.138) which are at work within the educational system. Indeed,

> the government schools formed a colossal, highly rationalized, tightly
> centralized hierarchy, structurally analogous to the state bureaucracy itself.

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[12] This can be translated as pose apparatus

> Uniform text-books, standardized diplomas and teaching certificates, a strictly regulated gradation of age-groups, classes and instructional materials, in themselves created a self-contained, coherent universe of experience. (Anderson, 1983, p.121)

The kind of hierarchy noted by Anderson (1983) is evident in the Japanese system. The Japanese state education schools are also inscribed in national policies and reform movements, following a strict curriculum defined by the Ministry of Education, although private schools have more freedom in both the curriculum and the teaching methods employed. The state educational system represents the main source of education for Japanese children. A total of 99% of elementary schools are government institutions (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p.55). The number declines in junior high school where 5.7% of students attend private establishments, which usually allows them to enter the adjacent high school without undertaking the entrance examination (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p.56). I do not consider in this thesis private schools, as they do not comply with government prescriptions, nonetheless, it is worth noting that to my knowledge, most of these schools also produce school albums.

The postwar Japanese education system, the '6-3-3-4', was divided into six years of elementary school or *shōgakkō* (starting at age 6); followed by six years of secondary education divided into three years of compulsory education in junior high school (*chūgakkō*) and three years of high school (*kōtōgakkō* or *kōkō*); and four years of higher education (*daigaku*). So, junior high school is not only an experience shared by all Japanese children, but it also marks the end of the compulsory curriculum. I therefore see it as the place and time where the idea of cultural identity is being formatively constructed.

Moreover, whereas the Japanese high school focuses on the transmission of knowledge (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p.3-6), junior high school extends the elementary school's aim of socialisation. A 1966 government report defined the broad role of the school as to produce 'desirable human being[s]' (*kitai sareru ningen*) (quoted in Cave, 2007, p.1). Kaori Okano and Motonori Tsuchiya talk of developing '"appropriate" identities in children through socialisation and acculturation' (1999, p.240), pointing to an ideal of expected behaviour. Indeed, the scholarship on education has identified an 'ideal middle

schooler', the *chūgakusei-rashii*, which means literally 'like or the very model of a junior high school student' characterised by the internalisation of school rules and norms, the realisation of the importance of study, and a buoyant and cheerful personality (Fukuzawa, 1994, p.71), as well as an organised and disciplined lifestyle, and an awareness and acceptance of his/her defined role in society (Fukuzawa, 1994, p.85). Thus we see that the regulation of the child as pupil constructs the imagined community through school, by defining the identity and behaviour of its members. The regulation, rationalisation and standardisation that Anderson mentions in the quote above (1983, p.121) are actually the Foucauldian disciplines that penetrate discreetly all aspects of daily life (Foucault, 1975, p.177) and create a normative body of the child as pupil. Foucault has described how 'docile bodies' are created by the school disciplines, through the control of activities both temporal and geographical, the permanent surveillance and the distribution of the bodies (1975). Photographs, as I have argued in the previous section, are a record of such disciplining.

The strong regulation of the members of the imagined community through the school as a "national", shared experience was intensified by the end of the twentieth and the first decade of the twenty-first century when an increasingly high number of students continued into higher education. Although it is not compulsory, a high percentage (98%[13]) of the age group graduates from high school (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p.56). This trend emerged first alongside wider acceptance of higher education as a prerequisite to maintain Japan's newly acquired affluence (Beauchamp, 1991, p.39), and then became a response to the economic crisis after the 1980s. With fewer job opportunities and, for the first time in postwar Japan, unemployment, the competition to enter top universities and access higher positions in the work environment accelerated. The nineteenth century concept of education as a social ladder is revived in a redefined version of Japan as a meritocratic society. Thus, Jones' superior student (2010) becomes a dominant postwar discourse of childhood for the "good of the nation".

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[13] This percentage includes the main academic path and the specialist institutions. The academic track constitutes 96.7% by itself. Data from 1995 (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999).
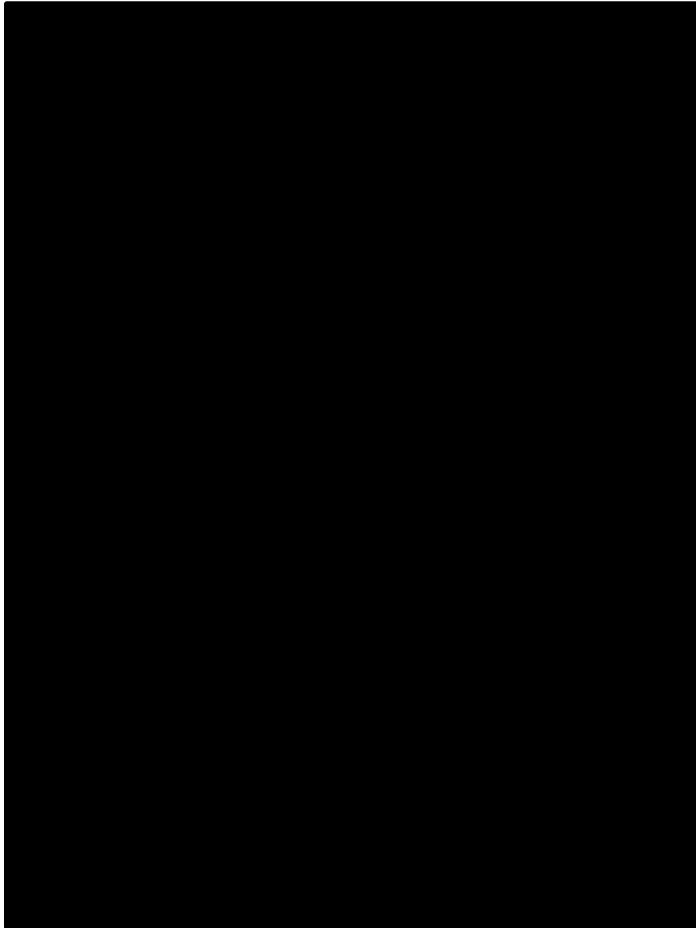
Figure 74- Military Training, 1942 School Album

However, in the wartime album, national identity is constructed more obviously, following the militarism and propaganda of the time. Aiji's wartime school album, like the wartime fig.7 analysed in Chapter One creates an explicit link between childhood and national identity. The child as 'little citizen' (Jones, 2010) is dressed up in the Imperial ideology of the time. This strongly politicised figure of the child depicted in the 1942 school album, like in the 1933 photograph (Fig.7), is surrounded by national symbols, such as military-style discipline (fig.74) and military attire, revisited as school uniform. As Kinsella outlined, the military-style school uniform is tied to the 'soldiering' of the child (2002, p.216).

The 1942 school album depicts this period as dominated by the figure of the soldier. The students wear a Japanese school uniform copied from the late nineteenth century Japanese army uniform- which will remain the norm in the postwar period, as a residual cultural element. In addition, their hair-cuts follow military regulations. The school staff includes male teachers and servicemen who impart physical and moral training. Visually, the photographs of young boys standing in rows with guns, or training to fight are striking (fig.74). The disciplining of the child is thus highly visible. Moreover, the uniform is part of a display of bodies made to 'impress a foreign national gaze' (Kinsella, 2002, p.216) through their attire and regulated posture. In the expansionist politic of 1940s Japan, photographs of armed, dressed and regulated children construct a discourse of invincibility and unity of all citizens to the war efforts. The child as 'little citizen', as Aiji was portrayed, is 'a national possession trained to possess moral fortitude and physical

vigor' (Jones, 2010, p.118). Thus the regulation of the body of the child with military discipline works openly in the direct interest of the state.

Furthermore, several regulations and Ordinances punctuated the 1930s and 40s and influenced the lives of Japanese children, directly enacting politics on childhood discourses. After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937, leading to war between China and Japan, the government published explicit guidelines for 'the implantation of the National Spirit Total Mobilization' (Kokumin Seishin Sō-Dōin) in elementary schools (Khan, 2000, p. 220). By the early 1940s, national education was even referred to as 'Cultivation of Imperial Subjects' (Kōkokumin Rensei) (Khan, 2000, p.217-8). Throughout this decade a yearly succession of laws inscribed the school within nationalistic and military perspectives. The regulation and discipline of the child as little citizen was thus enacted both physically, as seen in the 1942 school photographs, and morally, as the terminology employed within the school highlights.

If the war years have rendered particularly explicit the link between childhood and national identity, school have had, through the modern period, an important stake in the creation of the imagined community that the state was attempting to build (Anderson, 1983, p.121). It allowed all Japanese children to share a common experience which is essential to 'the image of [the] communion' (Anderson, 1983, p.6) and to inculcate values and a sense of belonging through a common, if mythologised, historical past (Anderson, 1983, p.205). State education developed in the nineteenth century with one main goal: 'to create a national identity, a shared sense of nationhood, among people who had until then associated themselves with their respective feudal lords, and to train people for the building of a modern nation-state' (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p. 14). The institution thus created an imagined community while attempting to erase previous regionalisms.

Just as I maintain in Chapter One with photographs of childhood, in the postwar period, the school imagery became also less overtly nationalist. Nonetheless, the regulation of childhood and the imagined community remained pivotal to the school as state apparatus. As Herbert Passin affirms, 'except for the totalitarian states, no modern nation has used the schools so systematically for purposes of political indoctrination as

Japan' (1982, p.149). In the following sections of this chapter, I further analyse how the school album as a display of photographs, through the image of the child as pupil, is a highly specific site of Japanese national identity. I focus on three main aspects that define the shared experience of Japanese state education: the regulation of gender roles, already mentioned in Chapters One and Two, the disciplining of hierarchy and age-appropriate social behaviours, and graduation as a rite of passage.

Educating Boys and Girls: Gender and Visual Discipline

Until 1947, when the Japanese educational system became co-educational, middle schools were male-only establishments. Prior to this date, following graduation from elementary school, girls could attend a girls' high school (*kōtō jogakkō*). The government requested at least one secondary school for girls in each prefecture to address a shortage of provision for girls but this remained a problem. Indeed, by the mid-1890s there were still only eight public girls' high schools in Japan (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p.21). Instead, girls' secondary education has been dominated by private schools since the early Meiji period and until the postwar period (Bernstein, 2005, p.87-88). Women's education became a state concern in the late nineteenth century at the time when childrearing 'was proclaimed the most important charge of the late Meiji highly educated woman' (Jones, 2010, p.117). Education for girls was thus promoted to discipline them in their future role of mothers. Indeed, educated mothers were needed to raise the next generation according to the ideologies of the new imagined community. At the time when the state was constructing the 'little citizen' as the dominant discourse of childhood, new discourses of womanhood also needed to be formulated (Jones, 2010, p.121). Thus Japan's imagined community was constructed, as I already mentioned in Chapters One and Two, on "traditional" gender roles.

The evolution of the curriculum, in particular of the homemaking courses for girls, point to the institutionalised gender expectations. As Atsuko Kameda points out, the school reproduces gender roles through the curriculum, as well as school rituals and practices (1995, p.108). The differences in curriculum between elementary, junior high and high schools show that age is an important feature of gender socialisation. Below lower secondary education, there seems to be no gender socialisation and boys and girls are equally encouraged to participate in all courses. In junior high school, gender expectations are built up within the curriculum and prepare male and female students for their respective expected roles. Since the postwar period, the Japanese schools tend toward more gender equality in teaching and school practices. Kameda highlights as one example the 1990s change from two gender-separated call rolls to a single list (1995, p.114). This challenge to dominant gender discourses makes possible the emergence of discourses such as the nurturing father considered in Chapter Two.

The school albums offer a representation of the spatial repartition and separation of male and female students. Many choreographies of the gendered body are photographed. They however, always imply a gender separation: 'boys and girls are lined up separately, and boys are paired up with boys and girls with girls for a variety of activities. Also, boys and girls are often placed in separate teams for sports and other competitive activities' (Kameda, 1995, p.114). Already, in the pre-modern period, when many of the private academies were co-educational, boys and girls had to sit on opposite sides of the classroom (Tocco, 2005, p.49). Visually, the 1977 album offers a very interesting perspective into gender separation. This album has in the double page dedicated to each class a group portrait, classroom photographs as well as smaller groups (*han*). We can then see juxtaposed three settings with the same cohort where gender ordering is displayed. This separation of male and female bodies is also visible in most of the Family Day Posters (Chapter Two), indeed in fig.8, 23 and 26, the son is standing next to his father, and the daughter next to her mother. Holland notes in Western popular imagery a similar alignment of genders (2004, p.52). Thus, the dominant gender relations described in Chapter Two are here also visible and expressed through the spatial separation of the sexes inside the photographic frame.

The portrait photographs as well as the snapshots taken in the classroom setting are performance contexts. The genders are then ordered for a public, whether for the very short moment of the taking of the photograph, the duration of a song, or for a year-long in the classroom in front of the eyes of the teacher and headmaster. We are shown what the institution wants us to see. The absence of certain choreographies does not exclude the possibility of their existence, but points rather at a careful choice of images, at the construction of the school's discourse. As in the previous chapter, the representation of the child as pupil is constructed around the inclusion/exclusion of certain images. For example, in the photographs of the swimming pool, the bareness of the flesh or its being covered still makes the bodies recognisable in term of gender distinction. Nonetheless, there seem to be a vague disposition of bodies, an absence of disciplined choreography that invites he viewer to read the image as an expression of the agency of the pupils. Even though gender disciplining is not explicitly visible, two of the photographs show a physical separation which I have indicated in fig.75 and 76 with a black line. Hence, the body of the child as pupil is disciplined into gender performances.
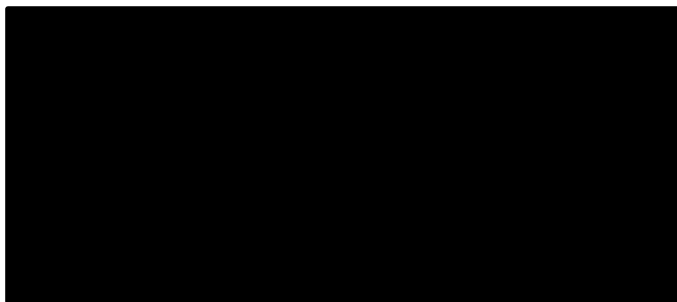
Figure 75- Pool activity 1, 1977 school album
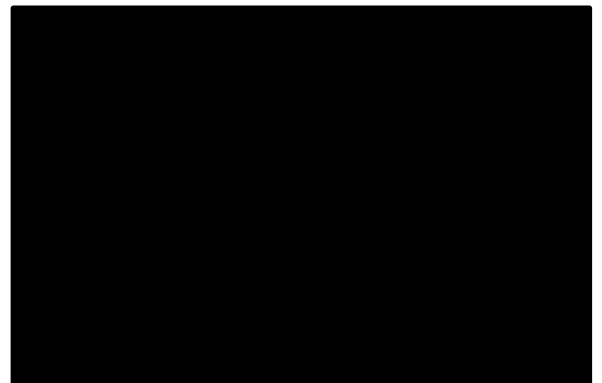
Figure 76- Pool activity 2, 1977 school album

The disciplining of the child as either male or female – dressing him/her in the appropriate clothing and regulating him/her in gendered body postures, as seen for women in Chapter Two (fig.36) – constructs a binary gender identity with clear delimitations and based on the sex of the child. In the dominant discourse of the state, then, sex defines gender, and each gender has a state-approved role to fulfil for the "good of the nation". The imagined community is built on this discourse of "traditional" genders, which as I have noted in Chapter Two is central to issues of childbearing and rearing, and, in the terms of the Japanese state, endangers the nation.

In the school photographs, this separation of genders regulates the body of the child as pupil through appropriate gendered social relations. A similar spatial gap between pupils of opposite sex, as in the swimming pool photograph, is visible in many other choreographed images. The class group photograph is composed of several ranks with boys on one side and girls on the other, the teacher sitting in the middle, as a guarantor of the morality and compliance with gender expectations and difference. In a class photograph of Midori's album (fig, 77), there is even an empty space between the rows of boys and girls that lets us see the building in the background.
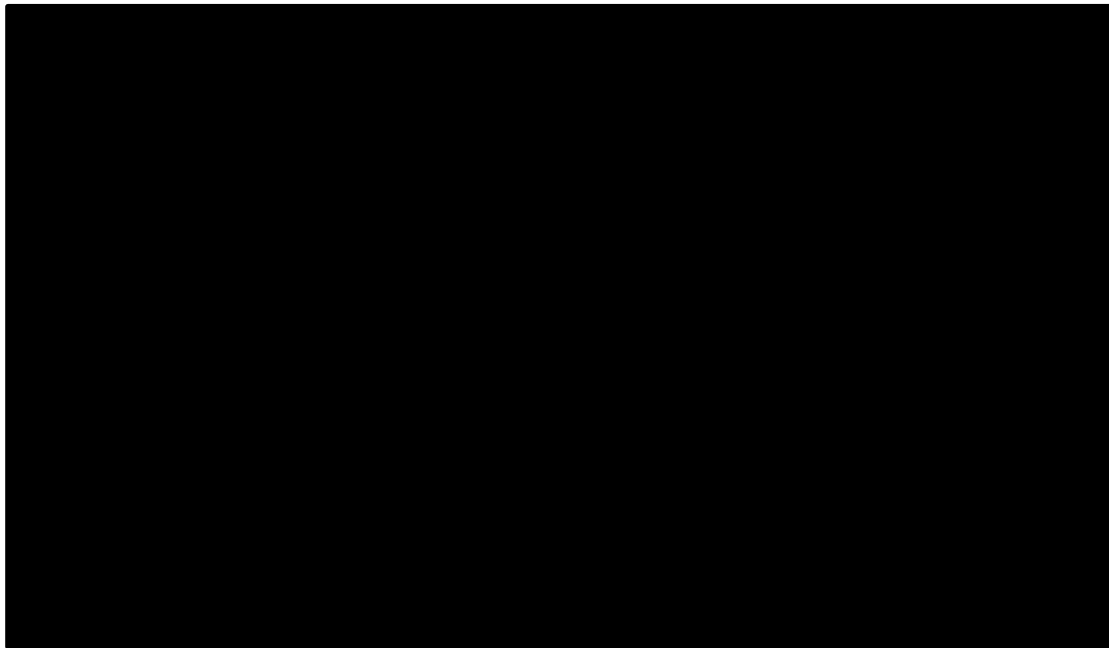
Figure 77- Class photograph, 1977 school album
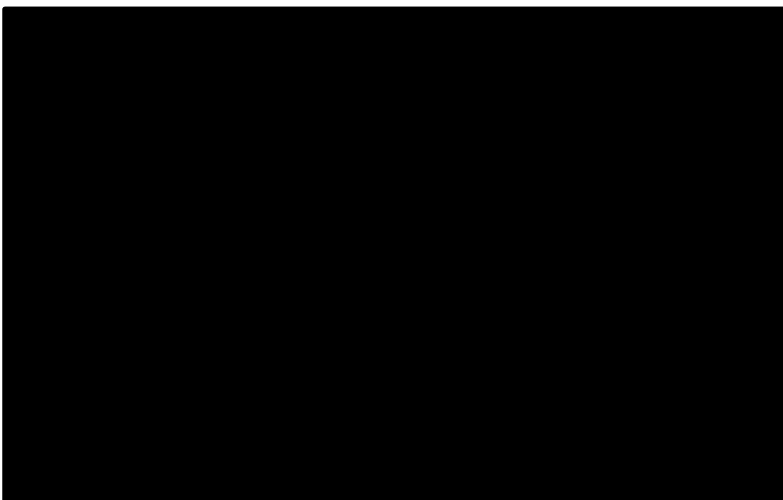
Similarly composed, the group photographs taken during trips (fig. 78) illustrate the same separation between boys and girls, each

Figure 78- school trip, 1977 school album

placed on one side, as two juxtaposed but not communicating groups.

Figure 79- Han photograph 1, 1977 school album

Likewise, the *han,* into which the class is separated, also shows an interesting variation of gender choreographies. Whether boys and girls are lined up in different rows or separated in right and left sides, both sexes are never mixed up. They seem to co-exist side by side but not in interaction. There is a physical gap between the boys and girls
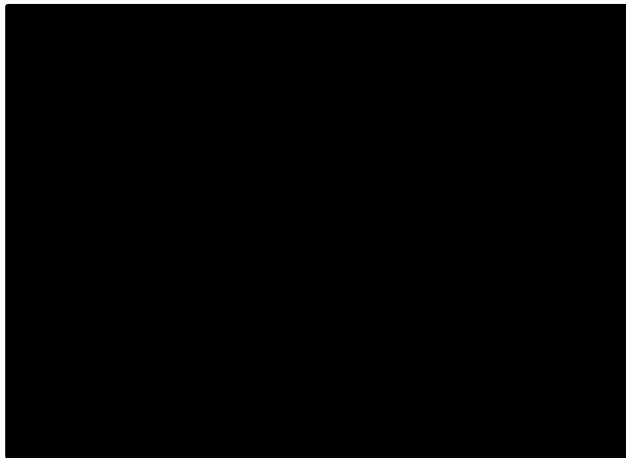
Figure 80- Han photograph 2, 1977 school album

standing next to each other, which does not exist between members of the same sex, as is visible in fig. 79. Furthermore, the bodies of the "frontier" boy and girl are slightly inclined toward their own gender side, the girl's upper body inclining left, and the boy's one towering on the right.

Also, the classroom seating arrangement shows predominantly rows of children, boys and girls separated (fig. 81). Here again, morality is preserved by displaying the pupils in fixed genders without interaction. Through these examples of various schooling choreographies, we can see that gender disciplining prevails, introducing a physical gap between them (fig. 79) or separating the bodies either in rows (fig.80). We then have several examples of choreographed bodies, i.e. disciplined by the school, that depict a spatial separation between boys and girls: the class photograph (fig.77), the *han* picture

Figure 81- Classroom photograph, 1977 school album

(fig.79), the classroom setting (fig.81), and other educational activities, such as the field trips (fig.78). So, not only are boys and girls educated according to dominant gender roles through the curriculum and normalised within gendered uniforms, but the bodies are disciplined into appropriate gender interactions – or the lack of them. Although I focused on the analysis of the 1977 school album because it offers more choreographies of gendered bodies, such as the *han*, not photographed in the other albums, all four albums – I exclude the 1942 album which is of a boys-only school – show similar regulating of the bodies. I compared this with primary school albums, where the gender difference is not imprinted upon the bodies and minds of the pupils (Fig. 83). Moreover, the disciplining is also lessened by the lack of uniform in primary schools. It suggests that gender socialisation is carried out in junior high school. Indeed, as I noted above, primary and junior high schools have different goals.

The images of the playful, free child taken by Ken Domon in the immediate postwar period, also make abstraction of such gender separations among younger children. Fig. 82 is particularly significant of the lack of awareness of gendered bodies and behaviours. Pre-school age children play together at *oshikuramanjyu*, a traditional Japanese game consisting of shoving each other. The children are tightly holding and pulling on the person in front, without showing concern

Figure 82- Oshikuramanjyu game, Ken Domon, 1954

whether it is a boy or girl. Gender roles are thus imprinted upon the child as pupil as part of the disciplining of the school and are pivotal in the construction of the Japanese postwar imagined community.
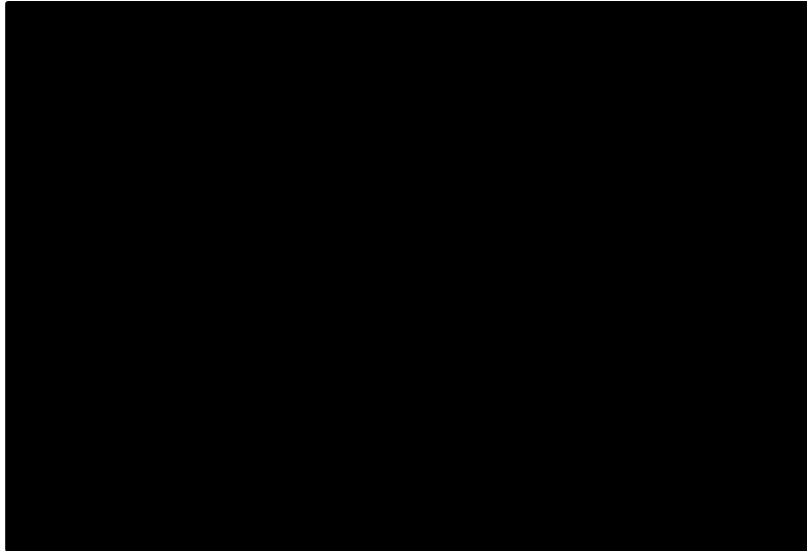
Figure 83- Class photograph, primary school, 2002

Hierarchy and Respect for the elders

Junior high school is often referred to as a 'transitional' time, when pupils leave behind the relative freedom of elementary school and embrace more personal responsibilities (Fukuzawa, 1994, pp.84-85; LeTendre, 1994, p.57; Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999, p.60). Its functioning is described as similar to other Japanese organisations (LeTendre 1994, p.57). According to Gerald LeTendre, 'entry into middle school signifies a child's first steps into adult life and being a middle schooler means that the child must function in an organisation replete with rigid social hierarchies and an intricate system of committees' (1997, p.57). The child as pupil will then be disciplined into his/her proper position in the imagined community, based on age and respect in the Confucian tradition.
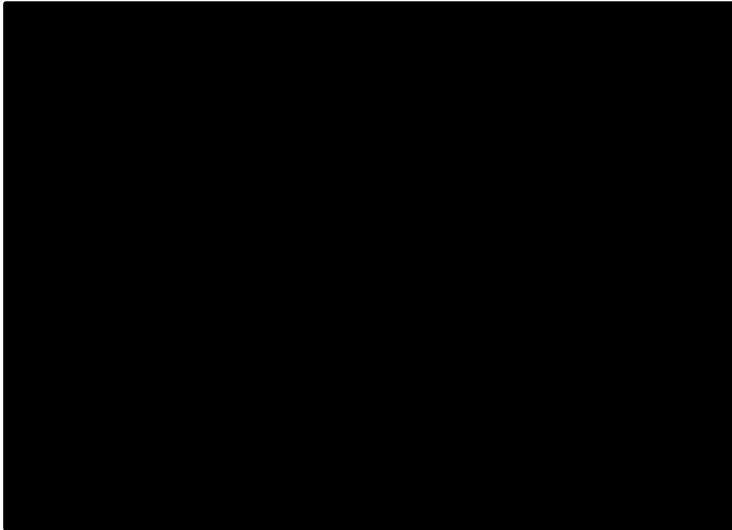
Figure 84- Graduation ceremony, 1977 school album

The main recipient of the pupils age-based respect is the teacher or *sensei*. The term *"sensei"* used today is reminiscent of the respect of the *o-shishō-sama* (master) of the *juku* schools[14]. Usually translated as "teacher", this word covers much more than its European translation. This can be understood when considering the existence of another term, *kyōshi*, also translated as "teacher" though it applies specifically to academics, as is the case with the European "teacher". *Sensei,* however, is an honorific title granted to teachers, but also to doctors, writers and other socially valued positions. The term *kyōshi* is very rarely used by schoolchildren to address or refer to their teacher, instead, *sensei* is used. The term thus implies not only a relationship based on a function (teaching), but a hierarchy of status. The Chinese characters used in the word *sensei* (先生) mean "before" and "born", so literally it refers to a person who is "born before". This birth is a spiritual one; the *sensei* is leading the path of knowledge. In fig.84, this meaning is literally followed with the students following the teacher to their graduation. Rebecca Fukuzawa and Gerald LeTendre complete the description of this early model of the figure of the teacher: 'The notion that the master or teacher would act as instructor, guide, mentor, and role model was widespread in Japan by the onset of the modern era (1868)' (2001, p.67).

If the students in the albums form a cohesive and undifferentiated group, except for gender identification as noted in the previous section, the adult stands out. In the class photographs, s/he is a dominating figure, differentiated by the lack of uniform and his/her uniqueness as the only adult in the picture. Within the boundaries of school, the

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[14] The juku are the forerunner of schooling, which developed from individual enterprises that could be qualified of "private schools". Those *juku* took place in private homes or temples where a teacher taught neighbours' children (Numata, 2003, p.252).

teacher is a central figure, highly identifiable among the mass of uniforms. The teacher distinguishes her/himself both by her/his costume and physicality, and those differences visually confer on her/him the title of *sensei*. The attire thus highly regulates the bodies within defined identities, not only of gender as I outlined in the previous section, but also of age-based hierarchy. The military-style dress indicates that power is exerted upon the body that wears it, whereas the civilian clothes, although also regulated by social and moral norms, indicates the knowledge and possession of power.

The teachers are present in the traditional class photographs, but also in the trip snapshots and group pictures, in the club portraits and in the diverse events and ceremonies such as Sports Day, the Culture Festival or the graduation ceremony, that punctuate the year in Japanese junior high schools. They are an omnipresent visual figure whose field exceeds that of the classroom. This is a definition of the teacher's role outside the school characteristic of Japanese education, in which the institution – through the teacher – exits the walls of the school and extends its authority beyond. Homeroom teachers (*tannin-sensei*) visit the house of their pupils to assess their home environment and parental support (Fukuzawa, 1994, p.76). They also patrol the
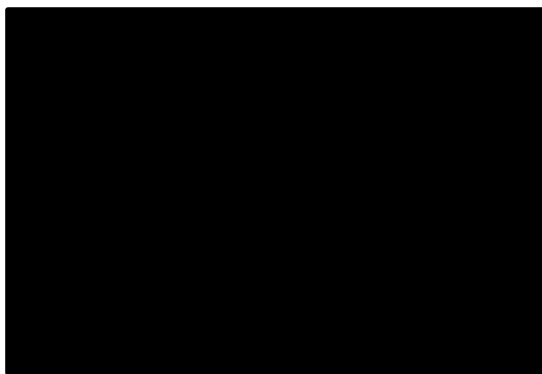
Figure 85- Book club, 1951 school album

surroundings of the school to make sure of the whereabouts and behaviour of the students outside school hours and during summer holidays (LeTendre, 1994, p.49-50; Gordon, 2005, p.467). Thus, through the teacher and the school, there is a strong regulation of the pupils who are expected to comply with normative behaviours both inside and outside the school. So, the child as pupil is an identity that is not only regulated within the school, but also outside. The body and behaviour of the child as pupil is thus monitored not geographically, i.e. within the school, but temporally, i.e. until graduation.

The club photographs reproduce a similar spatial distribution of the bodies as the class photographs (fig.85 and 86), with rare exceptions. The students are presented as a group, posed in an orderly way in the centre of the photograph, the teacher in charge next to them or at the centre. It shows that the club, as much as the class cohort, is a highly hierarchised place, where each has a social position to occupy. Indeed, being disciplined in the relationship between older
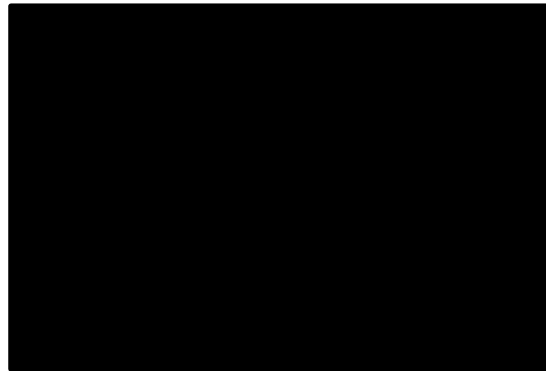
Figure 86- Biology club, 1951 school album

(*sempai*) and younger students is considered as one of the major goals of clubs. For junior high school students, it is often their first occasion to socially interact with a group of older children to whom they owe the respect of age, as the imagined community disciplines them to do.

Figure 87- Classroom photograph, 1942 school album
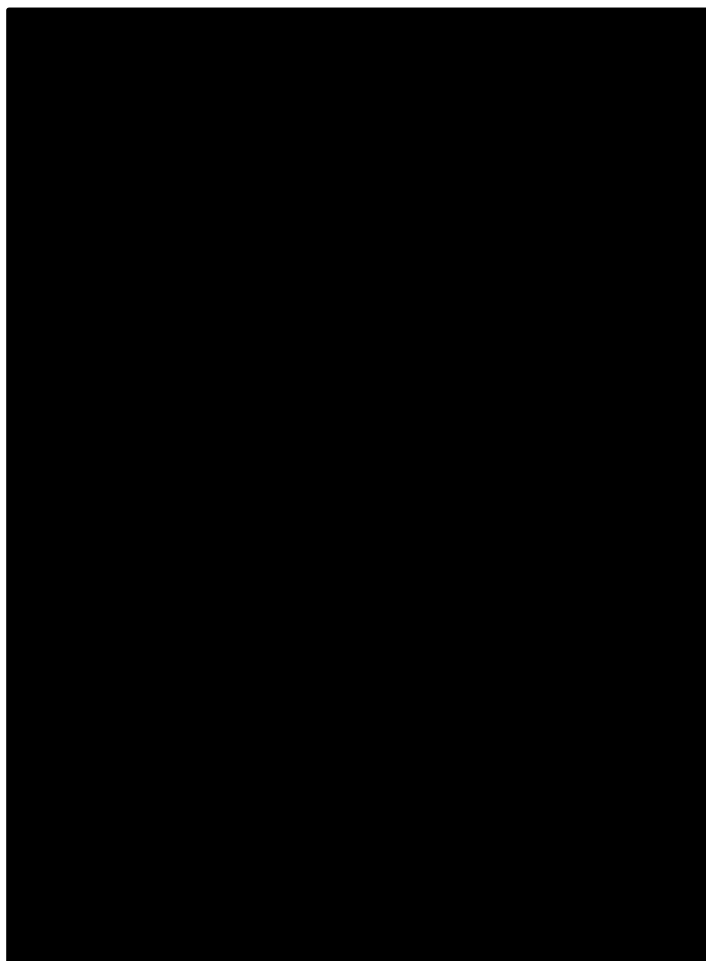
In addition to being an incarnation of the power of the state as mentioned earlier in this chapter, several of the photographs also place the teacher as the source of knowledge. The 1942 photographs are taken from the back of the classroom (fig.87), thus enhancing the position and authority of the teacher and even showing what is being taught. The 2000s photographs, in contrast, are taken from the teacher's perspective – and even by the teacher for most of them – thus
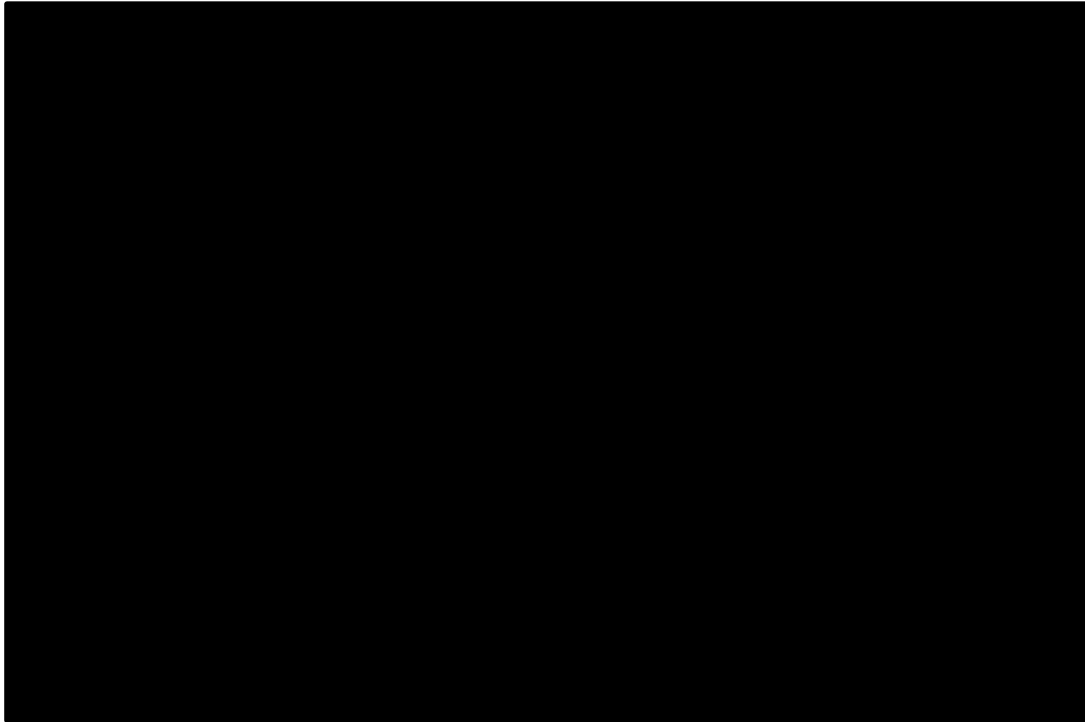
Figure 88- Classroom photographs, 2005 school album

focusing on the students (as in the right-page larger image in fig.88). Only the double page spread 'School life', in the 2005 album, relocates the teacher within the classroom, though not in a similar situation. The teachers are photographed individually, in a close mid-height portrait, most of them in front of the backboard, although two of them are shown standing in front of students, with a TV set, a sign of new teaching methods, behind them, as seen on the middle right photograph in fig. 88. This technique is also used, though in a lesser degree, in the 2010 album. In this case, the classroom is only represented in a double page titled 'That Day, That Time: Third Year' (fig. and only three of the photographs represent a traditional 'choreography' of schooling (Eggermont, 2001). The other images show children reading, displaying their art work or eating lunch at their desks. The classroom is not only a place of learning but is shown as a convivial and student dominated space. First represented as the place of highly hierarchised relationships and of the teacher's authority, the classroom becomes a place inhabited and dominated by the students.
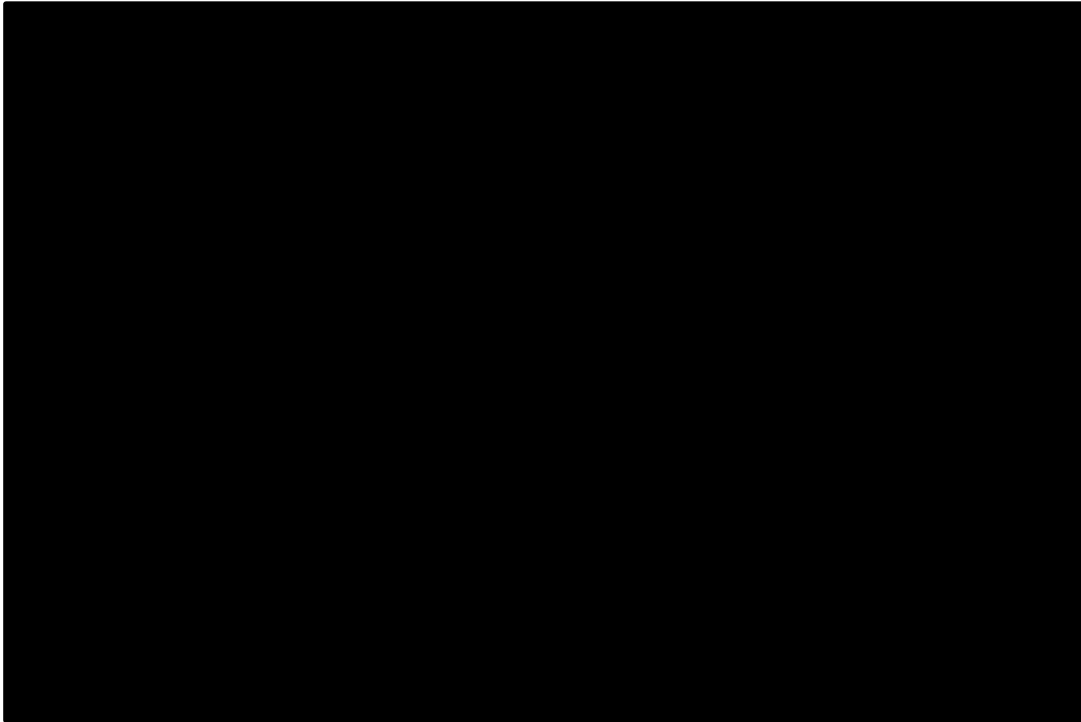
Figure 90- Classroom photographs, 2010 school album

This is also visible in the most recent class photographs. Unlike the earlier versions (fig. 77 and 90), in the 2005 and 2010 albums, the teacher is photographed placed at the side of the group (fig.91). The class occupies the central space of the frame and of the attention. This change is not a simple exclusion of the teacher, but a (visual) redefinition of his/her role. The teacher has to lead the students not only through theoretical knowledge, but also in their learning of society's rules. Fukuzawa affirms that 'Japanese teachers portray the ideal teacher not as a strict authoritarian figure, but as a caring role model who exercises implicit, not explicit control over student's in-school and out-of-school' lives.' (1994, p.70). LeTendre
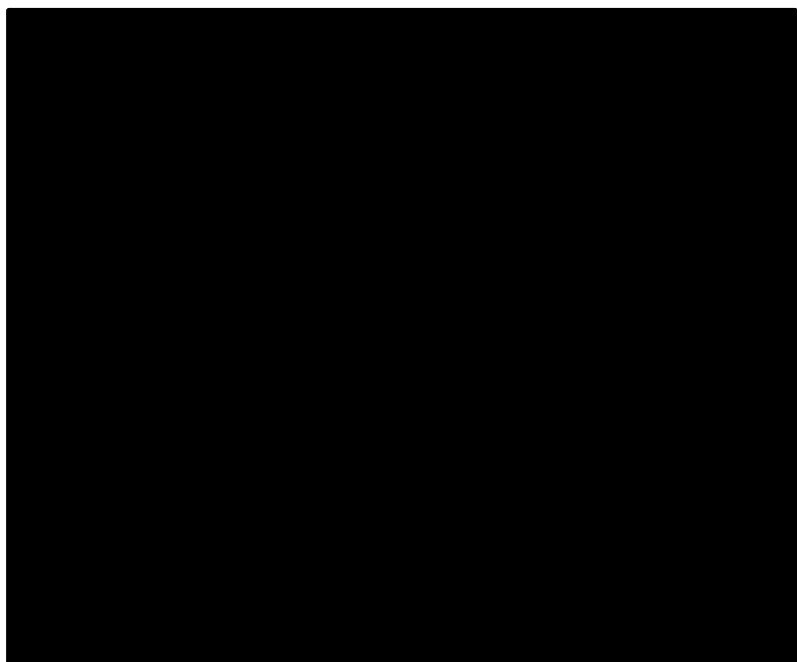
Figure 89- Class photograph, 1951 school album

(1994) focuses on the teacher's role of "guidance" (*shidō).* The second kanji of this term (*dō)* means "path". The teacher figuratively leads her/his students towards graduation, and, more symbolically, towards adulthood. As mentioned above, the 1977 album offers a great example of this, showing each teacher leading in an orderly manner his students away from the school building, visible in the background, symbolically towards the next stage of their life (fig.85). Two long ranks, boys on the left and girls on the right, walk away while being applauded by parents and younger students standing on both sides, as they would in a parade.

These images display a shift in representations of the "actors" within Japanese schooling. The visibility of the teacher gives way to that of the pupils. As June Gordon (2005) expresses it, it represents a change in focus from the 'revered teacher' to the 'treasured child'. The role of the teacher is redefined as s/he leaves a position of authority to be a "guide". Visually this emerging discourse results in a move away from the centrality of the picture. We can impute part of this shift to historical changes. Fukuzawa and LeTendre identify the 'cold, distant and unbending' (2001, p.67-68) teacher of the nationalistic period of the first half of the twentieth century, compared to the compassionate ideal of the teacher that developed later in the postwar period. However, it is also important to consider the development of the photographic practice that influences how and what or who we photograph. Although the albums are still
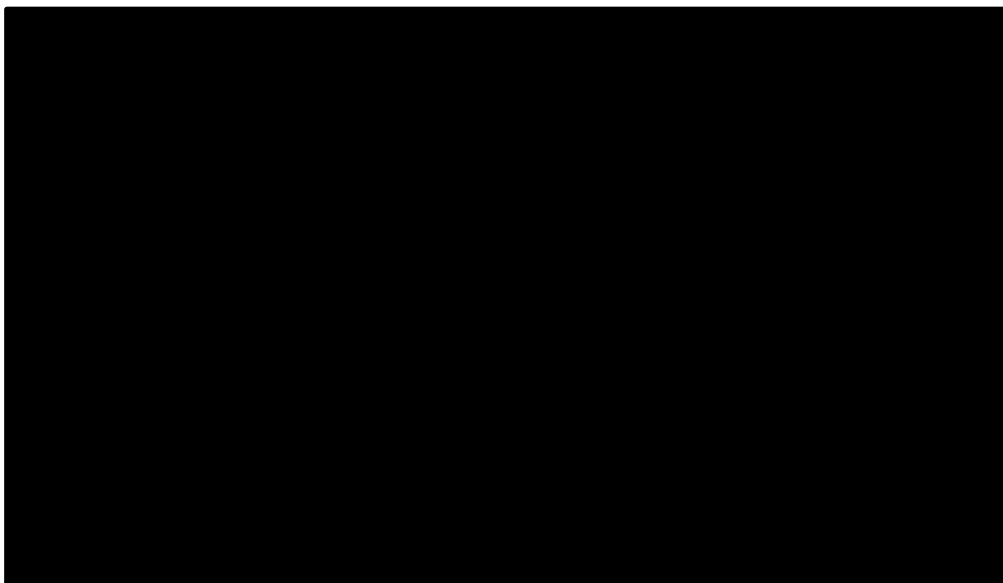
Figure 91- Class photograph, 2005 album

made by the teachers, increasingly the pupils participate and are able to offer their own vision of the school experience.

Despite these changes in school practices, and their visual impact on the photographs, the bodies are in both cases constructed within specific roles and regulated accordingly, as either child as pupil or adult as teacher. What the 2000s albums illustrate is a higher concern for the child who becomes central during the *shōshika* period in the representations of the imagined community, as we have seen in Chapters Two and Three. Nonetheless, the dominant discourses of childhood, and their association with the Japanese identity remain similar through the postwar period. In the next section, I develop how belonging to the imagined community is sanctioned through graduation as a rite of passage.

The *Sotsugyō Arubamu*: Graduation as a Rite of Passage

The school albums are sometimes referred to in Japan as "graduation albums" (*sotsugyō arubamu*). From elementary school to university, they are symbolic objects. Every year, students are part of a class photograph, in which they stand alongside their teacher and classmates in the courtyard. This practice is similar to the contemporary European one. However, in a highly ritualistic society like Japan, graduation had to be differentiated from other years. The need for differentiation comes from a sensitivity to the stages of life and the passing of time. Hiroyuki Numata explains it by a cultural appreciation of childhood as a stage of life: 'In Japan, as in Korea, people enjoy the process by which children gradually become adults, as if they do not want children to become adults too quickly' (2003, p.249). The album is one of the graduation rituals. This photobook incarnates a (past) period of life that can now be closed. Drew Chappell, Sharon Chappell and Eric Margolis (2011) define the class photographs as a coming of age marker. Their concept can be extended to the whole graduation album: 'The ritual documentation of class pictures represents a linear developmental path associated with maturation into adulthood' (Chappell, Chappell and Margolis, 2011, p.63). Through the pages, an

initiatory path[15] can be read. The album encloses and closes a period of life. Thus the child as pupil is regulated temporarily by the duration of state education. Foucault describes 'disciplinary time' applied to modern schools as,

> specializing the time of training and detaching it from the adult time, from the time of mastery; arranging different stages, separated from one another by graded examinations; drawing up programmes, each of which must take place during a particular stage and which involves exercises of increasing difficulty; qualifying individuals according to the way in which they progress through these series. (1975, p.159)

So the school album sanctions the child's success through the previous stages, each year of junior high school. Some albums also include photographs of the first and/or second years, emphasising this temporal and conceptual idea of the path. For a child to graduate alongside his/her age-peers also defines him/her as "normal", that is as progressing within the timeframe defined by the state as the norm. Graduating, i.e. possessing a school album, means that the required knowledge and behaviour have been mastered and the state regulations interiorised, as illustrated by the disciplined bodies in the school photographs.

The albums also function as a school calendar, taking us through the different stages of the year. The major, and ritualistic, events of the year are recorded: sports day, cultural festival, graduation ceremony. As I have noted earlier, they are present in the five school albums I analyse. They are common to all Japanese children, and an important part in the construction of their identity as a 'whole person' (Fukuzawa, 1994, p.61). They contribute to the normativity of childhood that goes through regulated cycles and events that frame Japanese childhood. So the regulation of activities at a nation-wide level, and with little differences since the end of the Second World War, produces connections of time and space that enable children to imagine they are connected to other pupils, and thus construct the imagined community.

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[15] The idea of path is more appropriate here than the one of a journey which assumes a geographical movement. The path of junior high school pupils is one leading to knowledge and social integration.

Figure 92- Graduation Photographs, 1977 album

The school album, simultaneously, is part of the ritual of graduation and records it. Midori's 1977 album is the one that more strongly emphasises the graduation ceremony (fig.92). Like the other albums, it displays photographs of students being handed their diplomas by the headmaster. Besides, in this album, the teacher and students are represented parading between of parents and younger students applauding them. For practical reasons of place, not all students are shown receiving their diplomas, but the similarity of several pictures reproduced suffice to suggest the ritual in its totality. This regulated display of the successful pupils for others to see, and the formalism of the ceremony, with the headmaster wearing a tail, is thus part of the 'panoply of national symbols' (Smith, 2001, p.8) that construct the child as a member of the imagined community. Junior high school graduation is particularly important, being the end of compulsory education. Although over 90% of students will attend a high school, the remaining students are ready to enter employment and adult patterns of responsibility. This ritual marks the end of childhood – assimilated in the modern period with schooling – and their successful preparation to enter Japanese adult society.

In brief, the school album regulates childhood as a life cycle, defining the child as pupil for a normalised temporal frame. The possession of a school album and the graduation ceremony validates the status of the child as a "normal" member who has been disciplined by the dominant state ideology, i.e. gender roles and age hierarchy. Moreover, the shared experiences of schooling documented by the photographs through time and schools construct a "national" childhood which enables the pupils to imagine they are connected and part of the Japanese imagined community.

Conclusion

Despite being a cultural object that has attracted little attention in academia, the school album interestingly enables us to outline the link between technology and ideology, the construction of the child as pupil and its regulation. Moreover, this disciplining speaks of Japanese identity and produced connections across time and space that enable the imagined community.

The school, like the museum, builds national identity through the myth of a shared experience of childhood both within an age cohort and through time. The essence of Japaneseness is carried on by a continuity of practices, from club activities to graduation, and the residual photographic practices that document them. The shared experiences of schooling formulate a "national" childhood which enables the pupils to imagine they are connected and part of the wider Japanese imagined community.

The school albums record the socialisation process of the younger generation into future citizens of the imagined community. As I have pointed out, school photographs, unlike the state photographic archives considered by Tagg, do not point to alienation and non-conformism, but rather document the normativity of the child and its successful disciplining into appropriate behaviours and postures. The junior high school albums of this sample show a conception of childhood constrained within the school, the uniform and the photographic frame. The documenting of the graduation ceremony further highlights this successful disciplining and constructs the child as pupil within a delimited life cycle. The graduation ceremony as ritual validates the status of the pupil within normalised stages of disciplining. The school album is thus a symbol of a modern rite of passage that sanctions the shift from a carefree and innocent childhood – as is visible in the exhibitions of Chapter Three – to the socialised Japanese child.

The school album as a modern technology has been central to the practice of school photography as a disciplinary mechanism. Through the photographs, as I have noted, the child as pupil is constructed within gender and hierarchical relations, that are seen as emblematic of the Japanese national identity. The construction of the child as pupil segregates genders and assimilates sex with gender identity, which is defined by the

state under "traditional" claims of separation of public and private spheres. The Japanese child as pupil thus has a clearly defined gender identity and role associated with it. In addition to gender disciplining, the imagined community relies on a strong age hierarchy. Visually, the social hierarchy is mainly that of the adult and child, teacher and pupil. The child is defined in a power relation of submission to the adult authority which symbolises the power and knowledge of the state.

As we have seen, the history of the Japanese school album started more than a hundred years ago. Its main characteristics were already established by the mid-twentieth century. Over the three generations of albums I analysed in this chapter, the discourse of the child as pupil has changed very little. Aiji's 1942 album should be set apart as it is a wartime construction of the child as little citizen, and an overtly nationalist imagery. There are however similarities with the other four albums, especially regarding the regulation of hierarchy, thus outlining that if the postwar identity was reshaped, it was not from a *tabula rasa*. On the contrary, as I have highlighted previously in this thesis, some characteristics from the pre-war period, such as "traditional" gender roles, were integrated into the postwar national identity. The comparison of the grandparents' albums with the later ones highlighted a shift in the position of the child to centrality. Indeed, the 2000s albums illustrate the *shōshika* period's concern for the child who becomes then central in state discourses, as we have seen in the previous chapters. The positioning of the child at the heart of the image and state concerns is crucial for this thesis. Truly, the child is a pivot of Japanese postwar imagined community, envisioned both in the past (Chapter Three), present (Chapter Four) and future (Chapter Two).

Conclusion of the thesis

If the school album, and associated graduation ceremony, is a nation-wide rite of passage, *seijin no hi* (Coming of Age Day) marks the end of childhood. Since 1948, on the second Monday of January, all Japanese citizens who turned twenty the previous year are invited to a ceremony organised by the city to celebrate their entrance into adulthood. It is a residual rite from the eighth century's *genpuku* (coming of age ceremony) in which young men exchanged their childhood attire for adult-appropriate clothing. On *Seijin no hi*, young Japanese continue to dress carefully. Men wear either a traditional kimono and *hakama* or, increasingly, a Western-style suit, while women dress in the formal *furisode* (a long sleeve kimono) (fig. 93), traditionally worn by unmarried young women. Dressed up in adult-style clothes, they leave behind them their school uniform which had become the emblem of their childhood, and of Japaneseness (Ashcraft and Ueda, 2010). Thorough all the postwar period, each generation of Japanese men and women has gone through the same coming of age ritual, dressing their bodies into age and gender appropriate clothes. This ceremony contributes to create a feeling of belonging to the imagined community with a shared coming of age, rather than an individual celebration (as is the birthday in the West). All Japanese of the same age become adults together, while listening to the speeches of the mayor or prefect.

Figure 93- Seijin no hi, Kobe, 2011

Through the chapters of this thesis, I have shown how the body of the child is disciplined and normalised, even as foetus, with the sonogram and monitoring of the pregnancy (Chapter One). From birth to adulthood, the Japanese child is moulded into appropriate behaviours – gender roles, age hierarchy. Even images of past children are appropriated by the state to build narratives of national identity (Chapter Three). What has emerged from the photographs analysed in this thesis is not personal experiences of lived childhood, but an imagined Japanese child, whose identity is multifaceted. The Japanese ideal postwar child is healthy and born to a young married couple who desires several children to be raised by their mother while their father will play with them in his free-time from work. The Japanese ideal postwar child has been the victim of the adult world and the ravages of the war, and yet, despite everything, s/he is still innocent and cheerfully playing in the devastated streets or poor neighbourhoods. The ideal Japanese postwar child will be the future perfect citizen, socialised into appropriate gender roles and hierarchical relationships. I started this thesis arguing that the Japanese state apparatuses use and have been using images of the child and childhood, and especially photographs, in the creation of an imagined national community. These are three conceptions of childhood that the Japanese state apparatuses, such as schools, political entities (Ministries, Offices, Bureaux) and museums, have popularised through photography in the postwar national identity. I do not claim that these are the only representations, they are however dominant discourses constructed and displayed by the specific state apparatuses I considered through this research.

At the outset of this thesis, I highlighted four main goals. I asked how are discourses of childhood nuanced by the concerns of the state; in what ways are images of childhood embedded in the formulation of a specific Japanese imagined community; do the dominant photographic images offer and promote normative representations of childhood; and, if there is a homogeneous representation of childhood throughout the post-Second World War period. To conclude it, I consider each one of them separately, gathering the conclusions from each chapter.

Representations of Childhood by State Apparatuses

The first aim of this thesis, as listed in the introduction, was to demonstrate how Japanese state apparatuses have constructed representation(s) of childhood(s) through photography. A panoptical state presence across all aspects of social life is a distinctive feature of Japanese postwar culture, exemplified by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare campaign encouraging the father-child relationship or by certain school regulations obliging pupils to wear the uniform outside the school, at the same time extending the school-behaviour imperative (McVeigh, 2000, p.81). Such situations have helped create a permanent system of surveillance that permits the continuous monitoring of the social integration and academic success of the child, from school (examined in Chapter Four), through the need for more children (Chapter Two), and in the emphasis on continuity with the childhood of the past through the state sanctioned archiving of particular photographs (Chapter Three). This process of imbrications of disciplinary techniques has created a regime of truth around childhood in Japan constructed through these different yet connected apparatuses of the nation-state (Foucault, 1975). The consequence has been the production of a highly visible symbol of postwar Japanese culture: the Japanese child.

Nonetheless, if the state attempts to create the imagined community through a common experience of childhood and a common past, the case studies carried on in the chapters of this thesis point to the difficulty of identifying one image of childhood. Rather, each government entity, each socio-cultural context calls for an image that matches the dominant discourse on Japaneseness. I have shown in the different chapters how different representations are created. Indeed, they are endlessly redefined depending on the needs of the state. This account of a plurality of powers, which entails a plurality of disciplinary discourses, is also an evocation of the panopticon and its surveillance mechanisms. Thus I conclude that among the variety of available representations of children – the innocent childlike child, the little citizen, the child as pupil, the healthy child – the Japanese government entities, and through them, the state, endorse certain images at specific points to fulfil their purposes. It then normalises

childhood experiences around the state-sponsored representations, as is visible through the *koseki* or the mother-child handbook in Chapter One, or in the museum exhibitions analysed in Chapter Three.

Childhood as a Recipient of Japanese National Identity

The second aim of this thesis was to analyse how and why childhood has been a highly specific site of Japanese national identity. I defined in the introduction national identity within the theoretical framework of Anderson (1983) and Smith (1991). After the defeat of the Second World War, Japan had to redefine its national identity and, I argued, childhood was central in this new conception. Within the constructivist view of childhood that I adopted, the child is a recipient of the culture that frames it. Hence, the cultural politics of Japanese postwar childhood must include the affirmation of a national identity, central to the Japanese state.

Childhood has been a recipient of Japanese national identity, in the same way as it is in most imagined communities, because of its symbolism. Childhood is both past, present and future. It is past because we have all been children, it is present through the current generation of children and it is future as those children will grow up and become the next citizens, and will themselves reproduce and continue the cycle of life. Children represent the continuity of the nation, explaining the sentiment of crisis faced with a lower birth rate.

Each chapter has shown the centrality of childhood in the imagined community of Japan, whether as the unborn child that could help overcome the "fertility crisis", the victim of wartime that contributes to redefine a new identity, or the child as pupil being socialised into appropriate behaviours to become the future citizen of Japan. Each of those aspects of childhood have been incorporated into the national imagining thanks to 'a multiplicity of often minor processes, of different origin and scattered location, which overlap, repeat, or imitate one another, support one another, distinguish themselves from one

another according to their domain of application' (Foucault, 1975, p.138). The case studies considered through the four chapters of this thesis show how the images of childhood and children impregnate Japanese daily life. The images are widely available and become symbols of Japanese childhood: from the posters in the train stations and neighbourhood panel board, to the mass produced school albums bought by all pupils from primary school to high school at graduations. Even the images included in the exhibitions I analyse are, in majority, resonant images, used for some in two or three of those exhibitions, as well as in the many photobooks on childhood that I mentioned in the introduction.

As I noted in Chapter One, childhood was already a recipient of Japanese national identity before the Second World War, especially through the conception of the 'little citizen' (Jones, 2010). The body of the child was explicitly dressed with national symbols as I have pointed out in the example of fig.7. The postwar state erased such obvious propaganda, nonetheless disciplining mechanisms and discourses remained in a less explicit nationalist agenda. As I stressed in Chapter Two, certain residual apparatuses were still used, such as public service advertisements. Moreover, certain discourses, such as "*umeyo fuyaseyo*" (give birth and multiply), are still deployed by the Japanese state in the *shōshika* period. In Chapter Four, I also bridged pre- and postwar identity with, for example, the regulation of social hierarchy. In other words, although there is an identifiable postwar Japanese identity, it is not completely built in opposition to pre-war discourses. It is not either the beginning moment of the use of the child in the construction of an imagined community. What I argued is that the child was particularly central in the reconstruction of the immediate postwar years – as seen in Chapter Three – as well as in the *shōshika* period (Chapter Two).

Photography as Means of Social Control in the Production of the Imagined Community

As part of the third goal of this thesis, I established how photography has been used as a means of social control, through the production of imagined identities, of both individual and social groups. The disciplining of the child and children by the state has been recognised by childhood researchers:

> when children venture into the community, the State seeks to regulate them and it is in this context that policies relating to education, health and crime become crucial mechanisms through which the State seeks to impose varying degrees of normalcy, standardisation and conformity in the construction of childhood and is varyingly tolerant of difference. (James and James, 2004, p.112)

Developing a Foucauldian approach to visual images, I considered different types of photographic images, aimed at private and public eyes, and taken with different goals. These images are less direct in their function of social control as the mug shot photographs of the nineteenth century (Finn, 2009). Nonetheless, the photographs I examined in this thesis are rooted in a discourse of normalisation and regulation of the imagined community.

Through the examples developed in the previous chapters, three main disciplinary mechanisms stand out: the regulation of the space of childhood, the disciplining of the body of the child and the normalisation of the child. The space of childhood is framed in Chapters One and Two as the space of the family. The young child exists – or should exist only – within the family unit. Chapter Four maps out the school as the frontier within which the child is defined and socialised. Even when outside its material walls – during field trips or holidays – the teacher is there to control the behaviour and whereabouts of the pupils, thus extending the regulative capacity of the school as state apparatus. The photographs of the exhibitions seem to grant on the contrary an unlimited freedom to the children, especially in the 1940s and 1950s pictures, which use the streets as their playground. However, this period was one of devastation after the war, and the freedom of the child was symbolic of claimed to the nation's freedom at a time of foreign

occupation. Moreover, it symbolises the wide array of possibilities now presented to Japan. The nation could be rebuilt both materially and symbolically on new grounds.

Discipline is exerted onto the body of the child to constrain it within the imagined community. The body is both 'object and target of power' (Foucault, 1975, p. 136) Japaneseness is constructed around specific behaviours: gender roles, respect for the elders and superiors and pre-eminence of the community over the individual (Yoshino, 1992; Dale, 1986). The inculcation of such behaviours creates 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1975, p.138). Photographs themselves discipline the bodies into specific poses, as is visible in Chapter Four, with the regulation of the bodies within the uniform, the classroom or the photographic frame.

In the postwar period, the child is normalised first as desirable. The campaigns considered in Chapter Two aim at encouraging more couples to give birth to children. Some politicians, as mentioned in Chapter Two, have even clearly stated as "abnormal" women who do not have children. Second, through welfare, the body of the child is normalised within standards of healthiness, as shown in Chapter One, and the intellectual development and good behaviour of the child as pupil is sanctioned in the school albums (Chapter Four). The process of normalisation has been carried out by establishing norms, such as growth curves in the mother-child handbook or the TFR (Total Fertility Rate) that defines the average number of children per women. Another process, more specific to the interests of this thesis, is the constitution of an archive of images that enables us to compare and note the 'smallest deviations' (Tagg, 1988, p.64). Indeed, Tagg defines photography as an 'instrument of new disciplinary power' (2009, p.xxvii). Chapter Three forms an archive of past childhood, a "national", shared memory, whereas Chapter Four constructs a record of the successful process of socialisation. Those images 'form a repository (...) to be drawn upon by successive generations of the community' (Smith, 1991, p.38).

Historical Development and Divergence of Conceptions of Childhood in Postwar Japan

The fourth and last aim of this thesis was to demonstrate the historical development and divergence of conception(s) of childhood in the postwar Japanese case. This thesis relies on the conception of a constructed image of childhood, and thus one that can change and be redefined. I developed this thesis on the premises that pre-war conceptions of childhood informed its postwar redefinitions. William's (1977) concepts of cultural process have allowed me to highlight how dominant images were constructed around either emergent or residual elements, sometimes combining both, creating complex representations. In this way, the school albums revealed changes in the disposition of the bodies of the students in terms of social hierarchy (teacher/pupil), pointing to the emergence of new conceptions of the child as pupil (to be guided and accompanied, not directed). Nonetheless, the power relation between child and adult remains the same, with the teacher being the repository of the state power and knowledge to be imparted upon the body of the disciplined pupil.

Through the different chapters, I have highlighted different characteristics of Japanese postwar childhood that co-exist: the normalised healthy child of Chapter One, the desired, happy child of Chapter Two, the playful and victim child of Chapter Three and the disciplined and socialised child of chapter Four. I have superimposed those characteristics onto the pre-war middle class models of Japanese childhood defined by Jones (2010), mostly, the 'little citizen' and the 'childlike child'. One of the arguments of this thesis is that there is not a single representation of childhood, but a variety of discourses that are invoked by the state apparatuses. We cannot thus talk of a Japanese child or Japanese childhood unless we refer to specific contexts or subscribe to discourses of the imagined community that attempt to create a national identity around the figure of the child.

Limitations of this Thesis

This thesis is limited in various ways. My non-academic knowledge of the Japanese language did not allow me to review all the existing literature of childhood in Japanese. This has been addressed by attending and presenting in conferences and workshops in Japan, where I could interact with specialists of Japanese culture and obtain the needed feedback and information.

Issues arising from acts of translation are not confined to language but also come from working across different academic traditions – British and French. For instance, the French practice of reiterating the major theoretical thrust of the thesis at regular intervals is deemed unwarranted and clumsy in the British tradition. Thus, while writing this thesis in my second language, there has always been an accompanying effort to adopt a British form of presentation. Having become more closely attuned to the British tradition through the process of writing this thesis, I recognise in hindsight that the fluency of the thesis would be vastly improved if there were fewer recaps of 'imagined community'. However, with that said, this is largely a matter of fluency and the overall argument of the thesis remains unaffected by my learning curve in British forms of academic presentation.

The timeframe of the thesis assumes a rupture in the immediate postwar Japan. Such a rupture has been increasingly criticised by historians as arbitrary and even sometimes erroneous. Nonetheless, if from a historical point of view, the rupture could be legitimately questioned, from a cultural perspective, on the contrary, it enabled me to show how a specific identity is created from a definite historical moment which affects the imagined community. This is highly visible in Chapter Three, where I show that the wartime period has been nearly completely forgotten, and narratives focus on the postwar period.

To be clear, though this thesis is limited in its source of primary materials from which a substantial body of other sources was excluded due to lack of accessibility as well as

restrictions of space, this should not be seen as a weakness in the overall argument. Rather, despite being widely different in purpose and form and though showing few shared aesthetic or exhibition or consumption practices, the primary materials selected for this thesis nonetheless share a great deal in common in that they are all similarly representative of ideas of childhood circulating in post war Japan: ideas of childhood through which the nation was able to rebuild its post-war image, both within the nation and externally on a global scale.

I left out, on the contrary, posters such as those referring to child benefit policies (*kodomo teate*), as for instance the 2007 poster of by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare that illustrates the new Child Allowance System effective from the 1st of April of that year. It is available nearly exclusively in closed spaces such as government buildings or medical offices, thus contributing in a lesser degree to the imagined community of Japan by not being directed to and available for all its members. Another example is the focus on Chapter Four on junior high school albums rather than high school or university images. As I explained, it marks the end of compulsory education in Japan, and so of the shared experience of all Japanese children.

Moreover, the arguments drawn in this thesis cannot be raised to the level of universal arguments. They remain specific discourse analysis on small scale studies. In addition, the research is limited by the case studies selected here: posters, exhibitions and school albums; and those, though emblematic of the discourses of the time, are not the only places where I could have looked for official discourses of childhood. What interested me in these three media, was that, at least in the Japanese case, they had not yet attracted scholarly attention, and thus remained largely "undisputable" and could thus more easily be presented as "truth".

Moreover, the arguments drawn in this thesis cannot be raised to the level of universal since they are based on western discourses of childhood. My thesis shows that the child has figured in the construction of national identity in Britain. And considering the prominence of the child in post-war photography in many European nations, comparative research would be highly interesting with a high probability of identifying

a similar role being played in nation building by the figure of the child. However, it is unlikely that these ideas could be transposed to nations not exposed to western discourses of childhood.

Lastly, gender was not part of the original research questions. It emerged from the analysis of the photographs as a recurrent discourse surrounding national identity and childhood. The space, time and viability of this thesis meant that I was unable to follow up more fully on this. However, I recognise its importance in the construction of the Japanese imagined community and childhood, which has prepared the ground for further research.

Originality of this Thesis and Further Research

Figure 94- Shizuka Fujioka, Ambassador of Cute, Yokoso Cool Japan, 2009. By Kohji Shiiki

The dominant media image of the schoolgirl has been the focus of research on contemporary Japanese childhood and youth. This thesis aimed at showing that this image, highly mediated, is not the only vision of childhood. I showed how discourses on childhood were constructed and deployed by the different government entities. If the state encouraged a self-representation of a youthful and gendered Japan to exhibit abroad, especially through the campaign "Yokoso! Cool Japan" (fig.94), the image used on an everyday basis is quite different. Although the female high schooler is a "cool" and commercial image, it does not "sell" childhood to parents (Chapter Two) nor incarnates ideals of success and progress (Chapter Four). Whereas the media image brings to it a lot of

attention, the representations I studied in this thesis remained mostly unconsidered by scholars and the critics.

This thesis applies British cultural studies in an original manner to the Japanese discourses of childhood. Indeed, the photographs I analysed in this thesis are 'so much part of the world we live in that we take them, for the most part, for granted' (Smith, 1991, p.77). I conclude that the imagined community relies mostly on everyday representations, those going unnoticed, unchallenged and thus seemingly natural. The happy family of the poster, the playful child of the devastated streets of wartime Japan, and the studious child of the school photographs are overlapping images not only of Japanese childhood, but of the ideal imagined community of Japan. They incarnate the ideals of national identity, depicting a strong and devoted community working together for the greater good.

The findings of this thesis could be furthered by applying a similar method to other domains of Japanese life affecting the perception of childhood, such as the medicalisation of pregnancy and the normalisation of the foetus through sonograms, briefly mentioned in Chapter One. However, several studies have been carried out on this issue in different cultural contexts (Taylor, 2000; Pollack Petchesky, 1987; Cartwright, 1995). This thesis could also be expanded by enlarging the time frame to see how earlier images constructed the emergent imagined community.

Other aspects that this thesis brings into question concern the media used. In particular posters and school albums would deserve more academic attention. As I have pointed out in Chapter Four, the context of emergence of the school albums is unknown and still has to be determined. Doing so will enable us to understand better how photography, school and national identity merged.

Commercial photobooks focusing on children and photobooks made to comply with the family album specificities – briefly mentioned in the introduction and in Chapter Three – proliferate in the Japanese bookshops. However, they have not attracted the attention of academia. A comparative analysis of state-sanctioned images (especially exhibitions, and school albums) with commercial photobooks and family albums might interestingly

highlight the acceptance and/or rejection of state models of childhood and normalisation of bodies.

In concluding this thesis, it seems appropriate to reiterate the view that representations of childhood have been central in re-defining the imagined community of Japan since the postwar period. As I have highlighted, despite dominant representations, state apparatuses have been oscillating between available images of childhood, thus providing the state with a pool of available representations from which to choose in order to better share an imagined national identity.

Glossary of Japanese terms

Bakonka: trend to late marriage

Bansanka: trend to late delivery

Boshi kenko Techo: mother-child health handbook

Hakurankai: semi-official form of exhibit in the Meiji era with a double goal: education and promotion of the national image

Ikumen: father involved in the education of his child(ren)

Katei: family

Kodakara: child as treasure

Kodomorashiii Kodomo: childlike child

Kokuhō: national treasure (designated by the Agency for Cultural Affairs)

Koseki: family register

Sarariman: Japanese white-collar worker

Seijin no hi: Coming of Age Day (second Monday of January)

Shokokumin: Little citizen

Shōshika: period of low-birth rate

Ukiyoe: woodblock print

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