

# CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN JAPANESE FEMINIST MAGAZINES:

## *FUJIN SENSEN* (1930-31) AND *ONNA EROSU* (1973-82)

Andrea GERMER

### Introduction

In the field of women's history, there is an ongoing theoretical discussion addressing the problem of change and continuity (*Women's History Review* 1993; *Journal of Women's History* 1997). Judith Bennett (1993: 1997) argues that narratives of transformation of women's status over time are unduly dominant in women's history. Her work suggests a patriarchal equilibrium that has worked to maintain the low status of women in times of political, social, and economic change. She disclosed a history that is, in part, a history of "change without transformation" in which, despite many changes in women's lives, the imbalance of power between the sexes has not been significantly transformed. Ultimately, Bennett proposes a theoretical and historical approach that grapples with the challenge of understanding patriarchy (Bennett 1997: 88). In the same vein, Gerda Lerner (1997) has emphasized the continuity of the discursive power of patriarchy as a system of ideas. Bridget Hill (1993), on the other hand, criticizes these views and stresses the importance of economic factors (capitalism, industrialization) leading to changes in women's lives.<sup>1</sup>

In this paper, I will connect this theoretical issue to the topic of how women expressed themselves in periodicals of the twentieth century in Japan. I will discuss the issue of discursive continuity and change asking the following questions. Firstly: do the periodicals and the ideas they emulate reflect transformation or, rather, continuity of political ideas? Secondly: do the editors and contributors actively stress ideas of transformation or continuity in feminist struggles through the ages?

My approach focuses on an explicitly feminist-inspired segment of female articulation in the media. It deals solely with feminist women's magazines published by and for women who thereby consciously create an oppositional discursive space to the mainstream print-media. My view is diachronic and centres on two magazines: *Fujin sensei* (The Women's Front; 1930-31) sprung from the first women's movement, and *Onna erosu* (Woman Eros; 1973-1982) born out of the second women's movement in Japan.<sup>2</sup> In between those two periodicals lay not only a time span of roughly four decades, but also a devastating war and the defeat of Japan as well as her rise to a leading economic power, breathtaking technological advances, far-reaching social and demographic change and the deployment of a wholly transformed legal and political system that granted, for the first time, equal rights to women and men. With these changes in mind, I am looking at the discourses conveyed in feminist magazines. The question I am

raising is mainly a theoretical one. Therefore, I am consciously limiting my study to two periodicals, not intending to give a chronological presentation of the development of feminist women's magazines across the century.

First, I will introduce *Fujin sensen*, focusing on major themes and the historical consciousness displayed within the magazine. References to a feminist tradition within which the magazine posits itself are of special interest with regard to the question of continuity and change. Next, I will turn to *Onna erosu* and the circumstances of its beginnings. Again, my focus lies on the recurring themes and on the function historical predecessors play in the "creation" of a feminist tradition. Finally, I will highlight discursive continuities and changes in order to assess transformations as they are reflected in these two magazines.

## ***Fujin sensen* (The Women's Front)**

### **"Women-Onlys" (1)**

Of the several women's magazines devoted to the cause of women in prewar Japan, there are four titles brought forth by the women's movement that stand out for their feminist political stance of making a magazine published solely by women. The first magazine of this kind was the well-known *Seitō* (Bluestocking) launched in 1911, which is often in a rather simplistic manner associated with the birth of the women's movement in Japan. Next was *Nyonin geijutsu* (Women's Arts) emerging in 1927. Edited by Hasegawa Shigure the magazine gradually took a strong stance in favor of Marxism and contemporary Soviet women's politics. In the so-called anarchist-bolshevist debate by women (*ana-boru ronsō*) that continued through 1929, the split between Marxist and anarchist contributors to *Nyonin geijutsu* became obvious.<sup>3</sup> As a result, the anarchist feminists withdrew and launched their own magazine, *Fujin sensen* in March 1930. When its chief editor Takamura Itsue<sup>4</sup> withdrew publication ceased, but *Fujin sensen* was followed, in 1932, by the journal *Kindai fujin* (Modern Woman). Edited by Kamitani Shizuko and other former contributors to *Fujin sensen* this anarchist magazine ceased publication after only three issues.<sup>5</sup>

The magazines listed were all concerned with women's arts and thought. Despite their diverging political stances, all presented themselves with the idea of "women only," displaying the need to construct a cultural and public sphere more or less separate from the male dominated main stream. Moreover, they were tied together by close personal relationships or, at times, intense ideological conflicts between the women who edited them and contributed to them. These women had a strong sense of being connected, notwithstanding the political, social, and historical lines that divided them. In the two decades from the 1910s to the early 1930s these magazines were not the sole, but prominent platforms for debates on women's arts and political theory expressing — some explicitly, some by implication of the women-only-staff — the need for a women's culture and separate women's media.

### *Fujin sensen* — the Magazine

*Fujin sensen* was the organ of a feminist and anarchist women's group called the Proletarian Women's Arts League (Musan Fujin Geijutsu Renmei). At the time of this group's establishment on January 26, 1930, it consisted of fifteen members (*Takamure Itsue zenshû*, vol.10: 234), two of which have prominent places in the history of Japanese feminist thought: Hiratsuka Raichô who had launched the above-mentioned *Seitô*, and Takamure Itsue, the general editor of *Fujin sensen*. There were further members who joined or left the group later until publication ceased with the sixteenth issue in June 1931. *Fujin sensen* was a monthly journal with a circulation of about 5000 copies.<sup>6</sup> Each issue had about sixty pages and presented three or four articles dealing with an overall theme. There were literature and poetry sections, letters from readers, book reviews, and limited advertisements.<sup>7</sup> The cover design was kept in the colours red, black, and white and, with few exceptions, had no visuals apart from the Chinese characters (*kanji*) in a kind of woodblock print style. The style resembled that of its sister journal *Kaihô sensen* (Liberation Front) which championed the anarchist peasant movement.<sup>8</sup> There were close and intimate personal ties between the two journals' editors and contributors as well as to the makers of another journal of the peasant movement titled *Nômin* (The Peasant).<sup>9</sup> *Fujin sensen* certainly was a journal of the intellectual movement rather than the organ of an institution or of a broader social movement (Nishikawa 1975: 277; Tsurumi 1985).

The house of the editor Takamure and her husband Hashimoto Kenzô, who initially helped with the editorial work, served as the busy meeting place for the group and was occasionally under surveillance by the police. Apart from hosting her comrades Takamure was overburdened with editorial work, and she also wrote numerous articles to fill the pages of the magazine using different pen-names. As she herself admitted: "This over-work did have an influence on the edition, and the magazine came to lose its lively spirit" (*Takamure Itsue zenshû*, vol.10: 237). Diversity, being one crucial aspect and condition sine qua non of the magazine as a type of text that is to reach a wider public, is seen to be infringed here by the concentration of editorship and main authorship in one hand. By the end of the first year the magazine sold badly, and several attempts to collect the money needed to keep the journal going remained unsuccessful.<sup>10</sup> Despite the strong influence of Takamure, no homogeneity of opinion was displayed in the magazine. Individual authors<sup>11</sup> with different fields of interest and, at times, ideas that were challenging Takamure's, were among the regular contributors. From the fourth issue on, an international section in *Fujin sensen* featured international news and took up letters as well as some rare articles by male foreign fellow anarchists. Takamure's lead article, "Standing on the Women's Front" ("*Fujin sensen ni tatsu*") and Matsumoto Masae's article on "The Problem of Jealousy" ("*Shittoshin no mondai*") were translated into French, German and English, published in organs of the anarchist movement in Europe and elicited responses and comments and again published in *Fujin sensen*.<sup>12</sup> Compared to the number of literary pieces and theoretical essays on gender-relations, articles taking up eco-

nomic questions were rather rare.<sup>13</sup> The limited number of contributors and the style and size of *Fujin sensen* were more like those of a membership magazine (*dôjin zasshi*), but the circulation numbers were too high for that. *Fujin sensen* deliberately presented itself as an open forum, inviting readers' comments on articles published in the magazine or on themes to be discussed in subsequent issues.

## Prominent Themes

There are two interdependent themes running through the pages of *Fujin sensen*. One comprises the debate between Marxism and anarchism as well as criticism of the capitalist system; the other deals with female subjectivity being discussed in terms of motherhood, eugenics, chastity (*teisô*), and the family. These two sets of issues, in a sense the political and the personal, were, however, not divided but understood and presented as one coherent and interconnected view of looking at world and society.

### Authoritarian society or The Public and the Private

The manifesto of *Fujin sensen* which was printed in the very beginning of the first issue puts up the above mentioned two themes in a far-reaching universal manner. Its three mottoes propagate the negation of an authoritarian society ruled by men and the creation of a new culture brought about by the "rebirth of the female."

1. We will abolish authoritarianism and look forward to a society of self-rule. Slogan: Negate Authoritarianism!
2. Our basic tactics are to expose and liquidate the everyday realities of male autocracy and thereby raise the consciousness of ordinary women. Slogan: Down with Men!
3. We are conscious of our duty to offer new ideas and solutions from the female point of view in order to build a new culture and society. Slogan: Rebirth of the Female!<sup>14</sup>

References to these mottoes were made throughout the magazine, including literary or poetic texts and letters of readers. As Takamura maintained in her lead article "Standing on the Women's Front," authoritarian rule was the enemy of the liberation of all repressed social groups. Only the growing "consciousness of workers as workers (1930a: 8)...of peasants as peasants (9)...of women as women (11)" would pave the way to the abolishment of the exploitative system and its replacement by a system of self-rule. With regard to the position of women in present societies — be they capitalist or socialist — she wrote:

Authoritarian societies first vice against women is the notion of worthlessness of women's special concerns (menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, childrearing). In authoritarian



societies these special concerns are considered to be private matters, each person's position being solely assessed according to so-called public matters. Therefore, in authoritarian societies, even if several of the special obligations of women are reduced by the socialization of facilities such as maternity hospitals or nurseries, still menstruation, pregnancy, and giving birth, are valued negatively in regard to women's public life. Accordingly, in authoritarian societies where each person's position is solely assessed by public matters, it is natural that finally, and eternally women's place will be lower than that of men. (Takamura 1930a: 9)

Takamura carried on, saying that the special concerns of women were valued as "special defects" in capitalist societies as well as in the Soviet Union. Another crucial contradiction in authoritarian society, she maintained alluding to Ellen Key, was that women's consciousness was deliberately seen as related only to the motherly instinct, the negation of birth control, or the freedom and rights of children. This ideology served the interests of the ruling classes by increasing the number of slaves born into a perverse society and had, according to Takamura, nothing to do with natural motherhood and childrearing which were essentially opposed to authoritarianism.

According to Takamura, the Proletarian Women's Arts League was not just another "women's group," but "has in every sense arisen as one determined part of a movement concerning the whole of society" (Takamura 1930a: 16). Anarchism was used and applied freely in *Fujin sensen* as a theory that rejected authority.

### Negation of the City

As Murakami Nobuhiko notes in his *Taishō joseishi* (Women's History of the Taishō-period), the growing disparity between city and country was a marked phenomenon since the Taishō era (1912-1926) when being from the countryside became associated with an increasingly negative image that stood for out-and-out backwardness, in contrast to the rapidly growing cities, especially Tōkyō (Murakami 1982: 100). Most of the contributors to *Fujin sensen* had come to Tōkyō from rural areas, and a prominent theme in the magazine is the cultural, aesthetic, and economic gap between city and country. One special issue dealt with the "Negation of the City" (1930, 8) criticizing mercantilism, and the exploitative economic conditions of the countryside. The city was negated because it fed on the peasantry (e.g. Takamura 1930c). Takamura also theorized about the aesthetic gap, asking why there were more beautiful women in the cities than in the countryside. She mentioned several reasons such as the availability of fashion and make-up. More important, she questioned the aesthetic standards, namely the fact that those standards were exclusively determined by the city. She concluded: "It is in this one respect — beauty — that women of the countryside are dominated by women of the city....at the same time women of wealthy families dominate women of poor families" (Takamura

1930d: 20). Peasant and urban women were seen as divided along class lines in the same vein as along standards of beauty.

### **Anti-Marxism**

Political conditions in the Soviet Union were critically discussed by people like Yagi Akiko (1930), who wrote about Stalin's collectivist measures and his violent repression of peasant opposition. The negation of authoritarian society and thought seemed most often to be directed against other socialists, be it Marxist men and women or even anarchist men. A series of articles starting in the first issue dealt with and attacked the writings of Marxist feminists and socialist men.<sup>15</sup> The June 1930 issue was devoted to the overall theme "Beat Bourgeois and Marxist Men" ("Buru Maru otoko o utsu"). The tenor of the contributions was summed up in an article on "Proletarian Women and a Critique of Men" ("Puro fujin to dansehi hihan") that attributed the weakness of women's sections in bolshevist groups to their failure to criticize men and their lack of a theoretical standpoint of their own as women (Futsukawa 1930: 13).

A short literary piece titled "Mimiko be Brave!" ("Mimiko yo yûkan ni!") by Jô Shizuka (1930: 49-51) comprehensively shows the stance of the women and their writings in the magazine. It reflects a newly gained consciousness and self-esteem for women adhering to a left-wing scenario: Mimiko is married to a paternalistic Marxist who neglects her and the home for his activities and makes her read the Marxist classics. When Mimiko does not follow his convictions, he becomes angry and ridicules her. She, on the other hand, discovers Kropotkin's texts, and starts to follow his type of anarchism. She finally leaves home to embark on an independent life of her own. The story ends with the letter she leaves her husband:

Mimiko wants to expand her own way of thinking. Mimiko will definitely cut her ties with this family-system that puts men first and in which she, and even her thinking, can be controlled by the husband (*shujin*) in the family. She does so because she thinks it is necessary for the sake of a better future that sees the liberation of humankind as one of freedom and equality (1930: 51).

This short piece of literature is reminiscent of the beginning of Kobayashi Takiji's novel on the proletarian movement, *March 15, 1928* (1928, 3, 15).<sup>16</sup> The novel starts with the depiction of Okei, the wife of an active member of the trade union movement. Serving tea to the union members assembling at her house, she overhears a short conversation during which the men ridicule her for being ignorant of socialist thought. Her husband calls her an idiot because she does not know who Rosa (Luxemburg) was. Okei still tries to be a good wife and even though her husband hardly talks about his dangerous activities that affect the whole family, she stands by him and feels proud of what he and his companions are doing.

The protagonist Mimiko in Jô Shizuka's piece presents a different and proud stance of a woman who counters the derisive attitude of her husband by developing her own ideas: "While my husband was consumed with Marxist mania, I myself took one more step forward, thinking that I should study for the creation of a society granting equality and freedom to each and every individual" (Jô 1930: 51).

### Negation of the Family

The negation of the family was another important issue. Contributor Matsumoto Masae, for example, was outspoken in her critique of the theories as well as the private lives of male Marxist and anarchist theoreticians. She criticized early French anarchist thought, especially Proudhon, whose theories bound women theoretically to the family (*katei*). She called this reactionary and put forward her own political stance (1931: 14). Her article "Women's Socialism" ("Josei no shakaishugi") begins with the following sentences: "By the term family (*katei*) I mean the situation of a male-centred coupling of man and woman. The man is the sovereign, and the woman and the children are slaves to him." (1930a: 6) She ends the article with the words: "We are socialists. But we call for the negation of the family (*katei*). It is a socialism that rejects male autocracy and the androcentric view of the world" (1930a: 8).

The negation of the family is a theme running through all of the issues of *Fujin sensen*. It is of special importance because it connects in a most comprehensive manner the political with the personal, that is the criticism of authoritarian society and of Marxist thought on the one hand, with the issues concerning sexuality and female subjectivity, on the other hand. Moreover, the topic of negation or transformation of the family called for the most diverse stances among the contributors to the magazine. Mochizuki Yuriko, Itobe Keiko, and Sumii Sue denied the family on the grounds that its social and personal relations were still determined by "a family-ideology of old tradition" (Mochizuki 1930a: 4; Sumii 1930a: 9). However, they still envisioned an ideal family yet to come that allowed individual freedom (Mochizuki, Sumii, *ibid.*) or went beyond bourgeois individualism and eugenics to allow natural motherhood (Itobe 1930b: 15).

In contrast, Matsumoto and Takamura agreed about the total negation of the family as an institution, and deconstructed the widely held ahistoric notion of the Japanese family. Matsumoto saw the family as a contingent historical phenomenon with no essential content: "...this form (i.e. the family) has constantly been changing according to the various economic, social, historical, political, and cultural circumstances and will keep on changing" (1931a: 15/16). She defined the contemporary family as "one economic unit within a society governed by the system of private property" (1931a: 16), a unit that historically emerged on the basis of capitalism and would wither when the capitalist system eventually disappeared.

Takamura, whose provocative style of writing was remarkable (1930b), argued that in authoritarian — that is bourgeois and Marxist — thought and society the private and the public

were defined along the lines dividing women from men. Moreover, the private sphere, which includes feeling, love, family, women was placed below the public sphere, which was associated with men, politics, and power (1931, 3: 10f; 1930b). The rejection of the family thus followed for several reasons: The association of women with the family placed them inevitably below men. Furthermore, love and sex became distorted within the male dominated and repressive unit of the family. Takamure agreed with Matsumoto's theoretical approach to the family as an economic unit. Yet she carried it further to make essential assumptions about the nature and functions of sex, and maintained a difference between the sexual instinct of men and the procreative instincts of women.

### Chastity or the Prostituted Wife

Women's sexuality was seen as being controlled by the system of private property since access to property, controlled by men was viable only through chastity (Matsumoto 1931a, 1: 16). This, Matsumoto maintained, was not the case in former social arrangements such as the clan-society (*shizoku*) where there was no private property and female sexuality was not inhibited. Itobe made a similar historical argument,<sup>17</sup> but she considered chastity an anachronistic remnant of the feudal past (Itobe 1931a: 23). Matsumoto, in contrast, maintained that the idea of marital chastity was closely connected to the repressive system of private property and as such a timely phenomenon. It was for this reason that women themselves, "and even women with a consciousness" (*jikaku shita fujin de sae mo*) came to defend the idea of chastity as an important value to be preserved (Matsumoto 1931b: 8). This explanation takes into consideration the fact that women themselves have created and formulated a complex chastity, something Muta Kazue (1992) has pointed out. One means to establish female subjectivity was the active participation of women in the discursive control of female sexuality. Yet, Matsumoto in this article, entitled "The Economics of Chastity" ("Teisô no keizaigaku"; 1931b) traced this phenomenon down to the economic base of the social relations of the sexes, prominent in the family. She also referred to the phenomenon that in remote areas such as Yamagata "love between young men and women was extremely free" and suggested that, in contrast to areas close to cities, remote farming communities "were not aware of chastity as a commodity, and consequently chastity was valued lightly and love was practised freely" (1931b: 9).<sup>18</sup>

In *Fujin sensen*, prostitution was not — as in the bourgeois anti-prostitution movement — attacked for harming chastity or as a moral defect of women, but as a consequence of one's economic plight (e.g. Kamitani 1931a: 10-11). The fact that peasant daughters were sold into prostitution in the cities was referred to with sympathy and understanding for the exploitative economic conditions of the peasantry.

On a theoretical level Takamure connected the concept of prostitution to the concept of marriage. Transcending the public-private-dichotomy,<sup>19</sup> she implied that the private sphere was permeated by the market. She thus created the image of the prostituted wife:

What is a wife? She is one privately owned instrument of procreation, a privately owned house-worker....The work of an instrument of procreation means prostitution. Prostitution is the form of a sex-life in which the sexual instincts of men distort the procreative instincts of women. (Takamura 1931b: 13)

Takamura also warned about the “prostituted thought on sex” that she saw accompanying socialist revolutions such as that of France and Russia. This kind of “sexual freedom” appeared to her to be nothing but “the victory of the male thought on sex” that would not shake the family-system but, instead undermine the sexual and procreative authority of women (ibid.).

### **Motherhood and Eugenics**

The nature of motherhood and childrearing was theorized in several ways. Sumii Sueko defended motherly love (*boseiai*) as a natural feeling against the demand of the ruling elite for mothers to “sacrifice themselves so their children could rise in the world” (1930: 14). In contrast, she asked mothers to reject this kind of thinking for the sake of their children. Sumii’s the other contributors’ understanding of motherhood as motherly love was distinguished from the state-sanctioned “good mother” (*ryōsai*). By directly addressing the readers and maintaining that worrying about one’s children in this insecure society (1930: 13) lead to an understanding of what was really going on in the world, Sumii recurred on a shared identity with other mothers based on common experience. In regard to this sharing and emotional aspect of motherhood, her ideas are similar to Nishikawa Fumiko’s private, or emotional concept of motherhood in the 1910s that Wöhr distinguished from the ideal of the “good wife, wise mother” (*ryōsai kenbo*) as well as from “maternal feminism” (Wöhr 1996). Nevertheless, the overall notion of motherhood displayed in *Fujin sensen* is that of a “maternal feminism” as it bears a mission for the whole of society.

The most outspoken maternal feminist and proponent in *Fujin sensen* of an essential difference between the sexes was Itobe Keiko (1930a; 1931a). She argued that in contrast to men, women should have the consciousness of a mother (*haha no ishiki*) in order to live up to their true human potential (1931a: 12). Although critical of the undervaluing of women’s capacities (1931a: 13) and aware of the historical contingency of social life and the meanings attributed to maternity (1931b: 21), she essentially saw men as the makers and women as the guardians of culture. Itobe rejected the individualistic understanding of motherhood and stressed its social aspect. She also rejected the notion of motherhood, however, displayed in the *Onna daigaku* (Women’s Greater Learning) published in 1716 and attributed to Kaibara Ekken, where childlessness is coined as one of the seven vices of women, and quantitative and qualitative eugenic demands as they were displayed in the contemporary pronatalist slogan *umeyo fuyaseyo* (Bear and increase!) (1931b, 3).

By the end of the 1920s birth control was frequently discussed in the media by sexolog-

ists, social reformers, and maternalists who developed various arguments and strategies to counter the government's restrictive policies toward birth control.<sup>20</sup> The economic depression in Japan strengthened the position of those members of the movement whose motives were informed by eugenics and "social hygiene" for the amelioration of the Japanese race and not by ideas of individual freedom and choice for women (Frühstück 1997: 173).

The stance of the magazine toward eugenics was closely tied to the critical mission it associated with motherhood and the critical view of the state's policy toward birth control, but it was not unanimous.<sup>21</sup> The most critical assessment of eugenic arguments was made by Matsumoto in her article "Love and Eugenics" ("Ren'ai to yūsei"). She critically opposed social Darwinism and deconstructed biological arguments by asking whose political interests they served and to which social and economic conditions they related. She called the eugenic approach disdainful for humanity and argued for the unlimited complexity of human life that resisted simple categories like good and bad breeds (Matsumoto 1930c).

### Political Correctness

*Fujin sensen* had a mission that, just like two of its three mottoes, was termed as negation: the negation of an authoritarian, that is modern society and its vices, and the negation of male dominance. The explicit and implicit aim of a feminist magazine is the search for a new subject position. This aim is mainly pursued through the form of denial, but not exclusively. Feminist journals, just like popular women's magazines, define their readers as women, and thereby they also embody positive definitions and construct fantasies of the ideal liberated woman (see Winship 1987: 127). The third of *Fujin sensen*'s mottoes, the "Rebirth of the Female," speaks to this now progressively defined subject position. It was Mimiko, who left her Marxist husband and built her own identity upon anarchist thought (Jô 1930a). It was the mothers conscious of their social mission who became as strong as lions in fighting authoritarian society (Takamura 1930a), or who refused to have children with men they did not love. Another example is an article on the French anarchist Louise Michel (Mochizuki 1930b) that reads like the portrait of a heroine and serves as a model for the ideal socially awakened woman. The ideal reader of the magazine was depicted in one of the letters to the editors: a humble but determined and hard-working factory worker who by her monthly salary not only supported herself and her family, but also the women of *Fujin sensen* by subscribing to the magazine.<sup>22</sup> In another letter a factory worker who had "raised her consciousness" and therefore hesitated to put on make-up like the other women workers around her asked the editors' opinion about this dilemma. Takamura answered that "when one is healthy, it is desirable not to use any make-up." (Takamura 1930e: 21) It is remarkable that the reader turned to the editors as an authority on an aesthetic question that was conceived as being closely linked to political consciousness. And Takamura answered the question in the manner it was asked, suggesting what kind of aesthetic was politically correct for a woman. The depiction of the

liberated woman and of a “female culture” in the pages of *Fujin sensen* was, on the one hand, open and unspecified. On the other hand, it was closed by assumptions of feminist political correctness.

### The *Seitô*-Tradition (1)

The lead article of the first issue of *Fujin sensen* began by paying homage to the first women-only magazine of Japan:

The *Seitô* movement opened the first page of the history of women’s consciousness in our country. This movement, as everybody knows, dealt with the “individualistic consciousness” of women. As some time has passed since then, it is here and now that we should generate an epochal movement that is based on the “social consciousness” of women..../ That means that our movement should fill the second page in the history of women’s consciousness.... (Takamura 1930a: 8)

This beginning served several functions in the process of starting a new magazine. It gave *Fujin sensen* a historical perspective as it traced “the history of women’s consciousness” back to the first feminist women-only magazine. With the recourse to *Seitô* that “everybody knows,” the new magazine also traced its descent back to a well-known and accepted origin. Although new and progressive, *Fujin sensen* was thus backed up by historical predecessors. And by returning to the past, the women of *Fujin sensen* invented a feminist tradition and placed their own magazine within this tradition. Continuity was stressed by the claim that a history of women’s consciousness existed, and that the new magazine was a part and one more page of it. The present, or the “here and now” was in line with, rooted in, and evolved from a feminist tradition in search of women’s consciousness. In other words: in search of a female subjectivity and a new subject position.<sup>23</sup>

In the second issue of *Fujin sensen* Hiratsuka Raichô answered the lead article in the first issue by confirming the notion of continuity:

It is a great pleasure for me at this time owing to the editorship of Ms. Takamura Itsue, for whom I have long felt a mysterious (*fushigi*) attraction, like that of a spiritual sister, to welcome a new league of anarchist oriented women united by *Fujin sensen*. One might say a “a second *Seitô*” has been born (Hiratsuka 1930: 39).

Raichô repeatedly supported and confirmed the mission of *Fujin sensen* and its position as the heir of a feminist tradition that started with *Seitô*. Continuity in terms of sisterhood between women and a change in political ideas were not viewed as contradictory.

The idea of the inheritance of a feminist “tradition” was developed again four decades later



with the launching of *Onna erosu* (Woman Eros), a magazine that was started by women involved in the second women's movement in Japan. It evolved during the early 1970s under very different social, economic, and demographic conditions from those that existed in prewar Japanese society in the early 1930s. The continuities and changes in political thought that were presented and theorized about in this magazine offer clues with regard to the question of discursive as well as social transformations reflected in feminist women's magazines.

## ***Onna erosu* (Woman Eros)**

### **“Women-Onlys” (2)**

In the postwar era only educational or practical women's magazines were published, but in the 1970s a new wave of women's journalism appeared with the political women-only magazines. The first magazine to appear was *Agora*, published from February 1972 and continuing today.<sup>24</sup> It dealt and still deals with the problems of working women: discrimination in the workforce, the compatibility of work and motherhood, and wage labour — all prominent issues that confronted an increasing number of women working outside the family from the seventies (see Oka 1981: 215). As the title implies, *Agora* mainly addressed women's public roles. The second women-only, *Onna erosu*, however, concentrated more on personal issues, and as the title implies, served as a forum where sexuality and women's bodies were discussed in an open manner as personal politics. Another women-only titled *Feministo* (*Feminist*) was launched in 1977 and coined itself the new *Seitô* in a more explicit way than *Fujin sensei* and *Onna erosu* had. Its international orientation was marked and the fourth issue was kept in English. In design, format, and the use of visuals the magazine came closer to resembling glossy publications than other previous feminist magazines. In addition to these nationally distributed magazines put out by publishing companies, there was a rich variety of women-only-*minikomis* (self-made small-scale publications) by different women's groups within the heterogeneous movement that came to be called the *ûman ribu* (women's liberation) movement.<sup>25</sup>

### ***ûman ribu* and *Onna erosu***

*Onna erosu* was a product of and is known as the one magazine representative of the so-called *ûman ribu* movement in Japan.<sup>26</sup> A main feature of this movement concerned the problematization of the male and the liberation of female sexuality, as Tanaka Mitsu called it in her 1970 famous essay, “Liberation from the Image of the Toilet” (“Benjo kara no kaihô”). For a man, a woman's existence was divided into two images: either the gentleness of motherhood, that is the image of the mother, or the tool for satisfying their sexual drives, that is the image of the toilet (Tanaka 1992: 202). Many women in the *ribu*-movement had been active in the student

struggles during the late sixties, and had been confronted by the sexism of their male comrades (Zadankai. *Ribu* 1996: 211).<sup>27</sup> In the sixties, Marxist dominated discussions about women's liberation that argued for the socialization of housework and childrearing and the full integration of women into the workforce took place. *Ribu*, in contrast, consisted of women often working part-time and searching for ways to combine childrearing and work without being rendered underprivileged and exploited because of their work status (Kanô 1994: 295f.). Moreover, the postwar women's movement was a part of other movements that advocated socialism or peace. Indeed, it was with *ûman ribu* in the seventies that women formed their own movement employing non-hierarchical styles of group-politics (Lenz 1998). The movement began in 1970 and expanded rapidly, with the first summer camp (*ribu gasshuku*) held in the mountains of Nagano in August 1971. Most of the women, who were to publish *Onna erosu* two years later, met at this camp. At the time, several women's groups were publishing *minikomis*, pamphlets, and flyers, but there was no feminist women's magazine that comprehensively presented what *ribu* was about and formed a counter-public to the negative and distorted image created by the mass media.

Four of the five initial editors of *Onna erosu* were working women around the age of thirty.<sup>28</sup> In contrast to the younger women living together at the *ribu*-centre in Tôkyô,<sup>29</sup> the editors of *Onna erosu*, even though three of them had experienced divorce (*Onna erosu sôkan* 1996: 293), were settled and never aimed at forming a commune.

The first issue of *Onna erosu* appeared on November 28th, 1973 and the seventeenth and last issue appeared on June 25th, 1982. The magazine was planned as a monthly, but finally appeared on the average of twice a year. At the time it came out it aroused the interest of the mass media and during its best times the circulation went up to twenty thousand copies. Each issue was comprised of about two hundred pages (*Onna erosu sôkan* 1996: 287ff.).

### **The Manifesto**

The manifesto of *Onna erosu* was a spirited text that presented the prominent themes the magazine would feature in the nine years of its existence. It began with the words: "Here and now we proclaim that we are women who are not regulated by anyone or anything./ We women are first women and then human beings" (1973, 1: 7). This theme, rejecting the rhetorics of equality, and asserting that women are self-governed subjects was stressed at several points. The factors that regulate and bind women were, among others, identified as: "Capitalist production which rests on the present system of private property, and the marriage-system of which the emperor-system....forms the peak" (8). The most frequently recurring issue in *Onna erosu* was the marriage-system and the need for its dissolution.

The women of *Onna erosu* traced their roots back to farming villages and positioned themselves on the side of the proletariat:

Based on the division between the farming village and the city, modern capitalist society means production by the division of labour and circulation of money. In the course of such development it has brought forth a huge class of proletarians./ The villages collapsed, and men as well as women flowed into the cities./ We are the descendants of the women who made the exodus from the villages. (7)

Women were depicted as having a cultural mission: “Now, each and every woman is not regulated by anyone or anything. As nameless women we cry out in fresh voices. This is a unique and valuable way to create new values” (9). “Starting with the individual expression of women who want to achieve their full potential,” (9) a new culture was in the process of being created. One means to realize this was through the magazine itself, “created only by womens’ hands” (10). The society that is envisioned was one

...where any kind of authority (*kenryoku*) is rejected. We seek a free and equal society in the true sense, without any kind of discrimination — a society of mutual help in which women can live as women, men as men, and nature as nature. (8)

Mothers were seen and valued as the ones who historically “passed on love for humanity and nature” (8). What women now were struggling for so diligently, they would pass on to the next generation of women, to create a women’s culture” (10). The last sentence of the manifesto recounts historical predecessors:

We also put our energy into excavating material concerning the movement and the culture that women up to now have created. We thereby want to create the opportunity to encounter important things that we should inherit and follow. (10)

The expression of a need for a history of feminism within which to inhabit a place was marked. *Onna erosu*, in the section, “Excavations” (“Shiryô hakkutsu”) in the first issue reprinted the *Seitô* manifesto “In the beginning, woman was the sun” and Takamura’s lead article from the first issue of *Fujin sensen*, “Standing on the Women’s Front.” Moreover, in a commentary on the selection of the material, it stressed that *Seitô* was the first magazine solely published by women. *Fujin sensen* was introduced as an offspring of *Seitô*, and its content was characterized as “giving us a shock that clears our eyes [even] today with regard to problems we have been thinking about” (*Onna erosu* 1: 152). The three mottoes of *Fujin sensen* were quoted at length in this commentary, supposedly written by Yoshikiyo Kazue.

The themes and expressions in *Onna erosu*’s manifesto are astoundingly similar to the lead-article and the mottoes in *Fujin sensen*: The need for a women’s consciousness, the rejection of the modern capitalist and authoritarian society, the notion of disparity between villages and cities, the rejection of marriage or the family as binding women, the sense of mission for

the creation of a new female culture, as well as the vision of a society of mutual help. A closer look at *Onna erosu* will serve to scrutinize the impression that the women of the *ribu*-movement were fighting the same theoretical fights that women four decades earlier had struggled with.

### “*Onna erosu*”

The editor Yoshikiyo Kazue was the backbone of *Onna erosu* and the author of its manifesto. She and some of the contributors were influenced by the writings in *Fujin sensen* and of Takamura Itsue and stressed a sexuality that considered motherhood and childrearing as prominent themes in the question of liberation. Yet next to these there was another group of editors for whom sexual liberation was a central motive. Most of them, notably Saeki Yôko, Funamoto Emi, and Ôtani Junko (and Mizoguchi Akiyo as a later editor) were influenced strongly by Wilhelm Reich’s works.<sup>31</sup>

The title of the magazine was provocative in both of its parts. The term *onna* (“woman”) was conceived as a discriminative word (*sabetsu yôgo*) (Akiyama 1993: 184) as it stressed the biological and sexual aspects of womanhood. “Erosu,” in a narrow sense, also denotes sexuality. As Kanô notes, the term *eros* had been used in a wider sense since the translation of Marcuse’s *Eros and Civilization* (“Erosuteki bunmei”) had appeared in the fifties (“*Onna erosu*” sôkan 1996: 292). Nevertheless, the sexual meaning was central to the women of *Onna erosu*. Saeki’s words in 1996 speak to this position:

It was a time when it was considered strange for women to talk about sexuality at all — maybe as women’s private gossip but not in public. When *Onna erosu*’s first issue came out, we were convinced that sexuality was not a vulgar subject, but rather one that was important to talk about in a just and proper and all-exposing way. Because we had doubts about our own sex-life, and we always thought that something was wrong, we purposely took up sexuality or words like *eros*. Thereafter, even in weekly magazines more and more discussions (*taidan*) appeared where women talked about sexuality. One could say that *Onna erosu* played a pioneering role for such. (*Onna erosu* sôkan 1996: 292)

Saeki is in accordance with Reich’s position of repressed sexuality, what Foucault termed and criticized as the “repression hypothesis.” According to Foucault (1995), to talk about sexuality and to analyze its functions are not per se a means of liberation, but part of an older and all-encompassing discursive process, in which through various ways — prohibition, science or emancipatory thought — sex becomes the ever increasing dominating discourse. Were the women of *Onna erosu* the liberators and pioneers working against social odds as Saeki pictures them, or were they simply fulfilling the tide of the time and increasing the power of sexual discourse by one more aspect? A similar question is posed by Muta Kazue and Shin Jieweon in

their comparative views on the “new women” (*atarashii onna*) in the USA, Korea, and Japan. They also ask if feminists today, by centering on sexuality, are not strengthening the social assessment (and confinement) of women as sexual beings? (Muta; Shin 1998: 111). However different the image, content, and context of the historical “new women,” it was always sexuality that formed the key of society’s attack (1998: 108). As I argued elsewhere in regard to the women of *Seitô* and the first women’s movement in Japan, they were thus forced to enter a discourse that they had not initiated (Germer 1998). Foucault concluded from the feminist movements’ discursive struggle with sexuality that they “start from the sexuality in which they are tried to be colonized, and pass through it to reach other affirmations” (Foucault 1978: 184/185). Nevertheless, I would maintain that the struggle for meaning and identity with regard to sexuality was not to be skipped. It was and still is one indispensable element in the constitution of a subject position otherwise denied (Germer 1998).

### **Sexuality or: Self-Governed Subjects**

An important issue that had unifying effects on the *ribu*-movement in the seventies was the Eugenic Protection Law that was much discussed in *Onna erosu*. The existing law was liberal as it legalized abortion on psychological, medical, and economic grounds.<sup>32</sup> Several conservative attempts to revise the law finally led to a draft introduced to the Diet in 1972, proposing, on the one hand, the deletion of the “economic reasons”-clause and, on the other hand, the permission of abortion in case of foetal disease or defect. The bill was debated and opposed by feminist groups, by handicapped people’s organizations as well as other interest groups and was successfully turned down in 1974.<sup>33</sup>

The first theoretical article in *Onna erosu* “The Robbery of Sex” (“*Sei no shûdatsu*”) written by Iijima Aiko from the group Ajia Fujin Kaigi (Asian Women’s Conference) was a detailed and radical analysis of the law that called for freedom of abortion. Iijima compared state regulated eugenic measures and control of female sexuality to the Nazis’ eugenic policies against Jews (Iijima 1973: 27). She connected the political and economic system of capitalism to gender-relations: “Even men’s and women’s individual sexual relations are regulated by social and economic relations” (1973: 32). She held women’s unliberated sexuality to be divided into the basic roles of wife and prostitute. Iijima looked beyond Japanese society and warned of the eugenic and population policies in Third World countries and of economic invasion motivated by the interests of Japanese monopoly capital and disguised as economic aid (1973: 38).

Calling for the total liberation of abortion she was, at the same time, aware of the misery abortion brings for women. In roundtable discussions organized by *Onna erosu*, participants also questioned the possibility of “freedom of abortion” under economic conditions that did not allow a woman to raise a child (Zadankai. Tatakai 1974: 147), and stressed the need for a society where women “can give birth freely” (Zadankai. Sei 1973: 105; see also Yanagimoto 1976: 110). Yoshikiyo, in one of these discussions, went on to stress that beyond the right to

choice and the demand for social conditions that allow such a choice, there was the need to develop an ethics of women centring on themselves (*jibun e no rinri*) (Zadankai. Tatakai 1974: 148).

### Subjectivity and Lesbianism

In the first article dealing with sexuality and female subjectivity Funamoto Emi<sup>34</sup> disclosed the mechanisms popular women's magazines used in regulating and, thus, constructing "woman":

If you look at the women's weeklies that sell up to a million copies, you will certainly get the impression that "women are constructed." / My marriage (*watashi ni totte no kekkon*), my lovelife, my man. My family. And at the same time the appropriate "I" that fits this given man, lovelife, and marriage. It is an idle posture in which one is not turning to the other person, but one's own existence is matched to the other like an accessory. (Funamoto 1973: 40)

Funamoto thus deconstructed the image of "woman" in the media, and went on to deconstruct the "accessories" of marriage and heterosexual morality. Finding out about sexuality irrespective of men, procreation or marriage was, according to her, a means of deregulating female subjectivity. Funamoto discussed lesbianism openly and introduced it not only as a sexual preference or practice, but as a way of living (1973: 50). Her claim that homosexuality had to be reconsidered was met with acceptance by the other editors of *Onna erosu* (Zadankai. Sei 1973: 103). Furthermore, *Onna erosu* featured photos of the feminist and lesbian community in the USA (4), and appeals from lesbian groups in Japan such as Mainichi Daiku (1978: 164). In the 1974 Japanese translation of *Our Bodies, Ourselves*,<sup>35</sup> a major book in the *ribu*-movement, the chapter on lesbianism had been omitted. This chapter appeared in Amano Michimi's translation in serial form in *Onna erosu*. There were also voices that were critical of lesbian politics, such as Kôno Nobuko's concern about an understanding of eros (by lesbians) that was too narrowly confined to sexuality and not related to work (1978: 144).

### Body and Sexuality

The Japanese translation of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* initiated a discussion on women's bodies in the movement and in the pages of *Onna erosu*. The meaning this book had — namely, the increase of knowledge it afforded women about their own bodies — was expressed by Saeki Yôko:

In America, where the value of a women is determined by how attractive she is as an object of sex, women, who felt that their sisters (*onna dôshi*) were isolated and prevented

from gaining knowledge and information about their own bodies, by their own hands brought forth this book on woman's sexuality, the body, childbirth and pregnancy. (Zadankai. *Onna* 1975: 114)

Here again we find evidence of Foucault's observation that women who are defined and confined to be sexual beings and "objects of sex," resort to this confinement, pass through it by gaining knowledge about their bodies, and make their bodies the "starting point of thinking" (*karada kara no hassô*) (Iwatsuki 1975: 7). I want to stress the importance of the fact that this book was put together "by their own hands," thereby serving the development of a subject position. This is a complex process that does not automatically imply "progress" or unity, but is controversial and at times contradictory. In one and the same issue of *Onna erosu* there was, on the one hand, a theoretical exploration and rejection of the image that menstrual blood was unclean (*kegare; obutsu*) (Iwatsuki 1975) and, on the other hand, an advertisement for o.b. tampons that read: "You can't see it...you don't feel it... and it's safe" (*mienai... kanjinai ...soshite anshin*) explaining that "everything is disposed of within your body" (1975: 155). The mention of blood was avoided and the graphics reflected a clean, sanitary image of the body. What was hidden and implied in the words and in the picture was the notion that blood represented the unclean female body, and a woman's shame.

The first roundtable discussion in the first issue of *Onna erosu* dealt with "The State of Sex" (Zadankai. Sei 1973). It showed the significance of sexuality as an issue and introduced the various and conflicting notions held by the editors. Discussions on the lack of sex education in schools, contraceptive devices such as the pill, abortion, giving birth, pregnancy (introduction to the Lamaze-method, by Yamada Mitsuko 1977: 163), and on the topic of handicapped people and sexuality (issue no.16) were some of the ways in which women's bodies and regaining control of them were taken up in *Onna erosu*.

One group of writers in *Onna erosu* basically accepted the theoretical division of sex and procreation as a way to liberation and an opening up of new sexual spaces that women could inhabit. They constructed women as active sexual subjects as for example when they planned to feature a male nude photograph in *Onna erosu* (Onna 1974: 191), or when Saeki described men as objects of her gaze (Saeki 1976: 42). The other faction argued against the division of sexuality and procreation (*sei to seishoku*). These writers were often influenced by the writings in *Fujin sensen* and by Takamura's theoretical and historical works (see issues no.7: 109; 10: 9; 12: 7). Children were included in the argument for a society determined by the "female principle" (*onna no ronri*). Such an ideal society was seen to be in contrast to the present situation governed by the "male principle" (*otoko no ronri*), where women's sexuality was analyzed as being divided into sex as a commodity provided by the prostitute and as procreation provided by the housewife.<sup>36</sup> One of the writers even contended that sexual liberation was a male principle and that Reich also had an exclusively male viewpoint (Yanagimoto 1976: 110).



### **Divorce or: Shaking the Marriage System**

Six of the seventeen issues had an overall theme dealing with the problem of women bound to marriage or the family. The first issue's theme was expressed in the slogan "Shaking the Marriage System" (*Kon'in seido o yurugasu*), and its first contribution was an autobiographical account of a woman's marriage and her reasons for divorce. Many such personal accounts were published in *Onna erosu* and the reasons given for divorce were various. The need to talk about these experiences and to exchange them with other women is keenly apparent and exemplified by one divorced woman who wrote about the intolerance of her surroundings (Hashimoto 1980: 170).

The editorship of the twelfth issue, "Release the Spell of Marriage Registration" (*Kon'in todoke no jubaku o toke*) was assumed by "Sekiran," a women's group from the Kansai region whose agenda called for the abolition of the marriage registration system. The essays were highly theoretical; the first one combined Reich's theory in "The Invasion of Sex-Morality" ("Sei dōtoku no shutsugen") with Takamura's findings on the Japanese marriage system in *Shōseikon no kenkyū* ("Studies in Uxorilocal Marriage").<sup>37</sup> Another article on "The Japanese Family System" (*Nihon no kazoku seidō* 1979) summarized Takamura's historical work *Josei no rekishi* ("A History of Woman"). The following issue, "Towards the Dissolution of the Family" (*Kazoku kaitai ni mukete*) stood in contrast to the previous theoretical issue and called for contributions and accounts of personal experiences from readers of *Onna erosu*. Again, in the fourteenth issue, the editors noted that some readers obviously had found the "dissolution of the family" a frightening thought, and, therefore, the special theme dealt with different forms of living and communal life. In 1979, the family was a nationally discussed issue since the Jimintō (Liberal Democratic) government had introduced a "Family Day" into the national calendar.

### **Mothers and Children**

Mothers and their experiences were not excluded from the pages of *Onna erosu*. There were accounts of mothers and how they managed life (8: 143) and of mothers who were overburdened with childcare (7: 152). Also documented were the problems working mothers faced due to the limited options of child-care institutions (4: 20), several cases of couples who fought over child custody (e.g. 1: 153) and the lot of illegitimate children (12: 133). Two opposing theoretical positions toward "motherhood" were developed. Kunizawa Shizuko called for the dissolution of the concept of "mother" because it served to establish a discriminative distinction between women giving birth and childless women (1975: 34). On the other hand, Kimura Hisako spoke of a "civilization of motherhood" (1974: 104). In *Onna erosu*, motherhood and childrearing were not negated as such. Rather the economic conditions and social structures like marriage were criticized for infringing on mothers and children. Even though in the

manifesto of *Onna erosu*, motherhood was accorded rather limited space, it was not negated, but attributed with cultural and humane functions. Many of the magazine's editors were mothers and some of the photo sections featured pictures of children, of activists with children, and of the editors with children. Life with children was a topic in the *ribu*-movement and was put in practice by the Tōkyō Komûne (Tōkyō Commune) at the *ribu*-center in Shinjuku.

### **Women and Work**

Compared to sexuality and subjectivity, women's paid work was a minor issue. Yet, there was a series of eight articles on "Women and Work" ("Onna to rôdô") by Kôno Nobuko and three of the seventeen issues of *Onna erosu* had an overall theme related to the workplace. Again, most contributions were personal accounts that were combined with theoretical conclusions. The difficulties for women to combine work and private life because of insufficient public childcare were recurring themes. Beyond that, as Komano Yôko wrote, the double burden of family and paid work could not be as easily proposed to women, as she herself had done before, because with the growing number of working women it had become apparent that financial autonomy alone did not signify liberation. In turn, many housewives made "the effort to establish female subjectivity and their own liberation in other places than in the workplace" (Komano 1974: 15). Kunizawa Shizuko similarly argued that the woman question discussed by left-wing authors on the basis of Marx, Engels, and Lenin had not gone beyond the questions of public canteens and nurseries (Kunizawa 1974: 51). The articles quoted above reflected a concern about values and lifestyle, but they also questioned the hierarchical structure of the workplace (Fujieda 1974: 33). Work and financial autonomy were seen as important, but not as the sole means to liberation and female subjectivity.

### **Connections: Readers and Movements**

*Onna erosu* had a connection with diverse movements concerned with the rights of Koreans, Burakumin, Ainu, Okinawans, the handicapped and others. It featured articles on women from Okinawa or Shinshû, the periphery of Japan — articles that took a stand against prostitution tours, or contained supportive documentation on the farmers' fights against the confiscation of their land for the construction of Narita Airport (e.g. issue no.7). Furthermore, it featured calls for the *ribu* summer camps, and appeals for consumers' boycotts (issue no.8). It supported women's protest actions and supplied information about women's counselling centers (Yoshikiyo 1975) and about women's groups supplying space for their appeals and introducing women's *minikomis* as well as women's music (Miki 1977).

One of the messages that came across especially in the first issues of *Onna erosu* was that "the movement was fun" for the women participating in it as it allowed for new viewpoints of the world and of oneself (Zadankai. Tatakai 1974: 149) This atmosphere was conveyed by the

photo sections, that featured summer camps, concerts, meetings and protest actions, and the American feminist and lesbian community. Women were depicted as the subjects of action and change. What also came across was a sense of humour as displayed in feminist *manga* and the humorous handling of anti-feminist attitudes of public personae by putting up a “Women’s Suppression Award” (Matsuo 1975).

Women were actively invited to participate in the making of *Onna erosu*, and more than six hundred women contributed to the magazine during the course of its existence. The enthusiastic reaction to the announcement of the publication of *Onna erosu* documented by letters from readers in the first issue illustrates the need for and the timeliness of the magazine. In each issue readers were invited to meetings held to review and discuss the magazine (*gappyōkai*), which provided close contact between readers and editors.<sup>38</sup> It was a women-only culture that was cultivated in the pages of the magazine and through the actions and groups behind it.

### The *Seitō*-Tradition (2)

Readers were taking up the meaning of *Onna erosu* as a woman-only magazine and a space to theorize about woman as a free subject. One letter read: “I’m interested in this magazine put out by women only.” She continued, drawing the historical line: “Please publish a magazine even better than *Seitō*” (Shimai 1973: 203). Another reader’s expectations were expressed in her request “to continue searching for an image that transcends the image of woman supplied by the system.” This woman also referred to *Onna erosu* as “the new *Seitō*” (Shimai 1973: 206).

Kanō Mikiyo (1996: 285) called *Onna erosu* a “second *Seitō*,” an expression that Takamura Itsue and Hiratsuka Raichō used to denote *Fujin sensen*. The same image was conveyed by the manifesto, written by Yoshikiyo Kazue, who recalled in the seventh issue:

The *ribu*-movement taught us that there is no other way of changing the situation of women than by women’s solidarity....In this sense I believe that we should continue to follow *Seitō* and *Fujin sensen* in our own time (Hatazawa 1976: 147).

This single image of historical inheritance, however, was not shared by all the editors. *Onna erosu* turned out to be conceived as deviating from its historical predecessors and bearing more resemblance to a contemporary Western model. Saeki commented:

One could say that I had *Seitō* in my mind, but that I really wanted to make something like the American *Ms*. My true desire was to cry out for Eros, that is for sexual liberation (Hatazawa 1976: 147).

Even though Yoshikiyo maintained that the editors spoke with one voice, the individual differences and the variety of thought patterns developed in *Onna erosu* were marked. As such, it is also representative of the heterogeneous, transient and fluid *ribu*-movement itself that had no solid structures, institutions or compulsory programmes to adhere to.

## Conclusions: Feminist “Traditions”, Continuity and Change

For *Fujin sensen* as well as *Onna erosu*, the magazine *Seitô* functioned as a historical sign to refer to — a sign that signified women’s subjectivity. It was not conceived and treated as a body of content with fixed meanings. Rather it denoted a vacancy that could be filled with meanings provided by women in contemporary times expanding either on the ego, talent, sexuality or motherhood in their search of subjectivity.

In fact, it was *Fujin sensen* and the later writings of historian Takamura that were taken up in bulk in *Onna erosu* (e.g. 7: 108; 12: 2; 10: 9). The lead article of *Fujin sensen* and a programmatic article by Takamura in the sister journal *Kaihô sensen*, as well as the mottoes of *Fujin sensen* were reprinted as historical material in *Onna erosu*. *Fujin sensen* took a strong and heated anti-Marxist stance, and a critical view of socialist women’s liberation theory was apparent in *Onna erosu*. *Fujin sensen*’s criticism of capitalism, that is modern society, a solidarity with other social movements, notably the peasant movement and the social component of women’s liberation, echoed in the *Onna erosu* manifesto. *Fujin sensen* called for the “Negation of the Family,” while *Onna erosu* demanded its “dissolution” (13). The family structure was deemed as binding women’s subjectivity (be it her sexuality, her creativity, or her social mission) in several distorted ways. Both magazines were in various forms and degrees allies of other social movements. Both, however, distinguished women by their having a distinct and comprehensive mission toward society. Both shared the rhetoric of autonomy and mutual help as well as the notion that women can create a new culture and a better society for all.

In both magazines, the recourse to previous feminist magazines created a feminist tradition within which to situate their magazine and its cause. The making of a history seems necessary for the constitution of the feminist project and its justification. The references to former magazines parallel the references to history made within some contributions in *Fujin sensen* as well as in *Onna erosu*. History serves as a “conceptual weapon,” as Winship (1987: 137) noted of feminist magazines, in “attempts to grasp a collective social heritage in order to wrestle with contemporary womanhood.”

As feminist magazines *Fujin sensen* and *Onna erosu* both aimed at publishing diverse writings. They propagated and theorized the need to strip off femininity and its accessories and the roles that mould women into a homogeneous group that exists first in relation to the family. The discourses on femininity that popular magazines address are admittedly heterogeneous (Beetham 1996: 3 f.),<sup>39</sup> but they are still tied to social institutions like marriage, the market and medicine, and thus they confirm the social existence of women structurally (Ballaster et al.

1991). Yet in feminist magazines, on the other hand, we also find the constraints of a now progressively defined subject position closed by assumptions of feminist political correctness which were particularly pronounced in *Fujin sensen*.

The similarity of discourse and the continuity of thought in *Fujin sensen* and *Onna erosu* is remarkable. Nevertheless, the differences between the two magazines are significant, too, as they imply discursive transformations in feminist articulation.

The contributions in *Fujin sensen* aimed at deconstructing contemporary demands on chastity, yet women's sexual and personal liberation remained bound to an imagined higher and social mission. In *Onna erosu* we find more of an experimental air of finding out what women's sexuality and subjectivity is about. One important idea introduced by *Onna erosu* was the vision of lesbianism — as a new subjectivity and a way of living that was neither justified in regard to men nor in regard to a higher social mission (as in *Fujin sensen*). Kakefuda Hiroko in her essay on *Onna erosu* (1992) from a young feminist's point of view lamented the fact that only a few women discussed lesbian views in *Onna erosu*. However, there are historical reasons for this lack that Muta and Shin (1998) have elaborated on. Beyond that I would argue that the discursive space opened up in *Onna erosu* for heterosexual as well as homosexual women can only be assessed and appreciated adequately by a historical look at the magazine's predecessors and the struggles over meaning and for subjectivity displayed there. In *Fujin sensen*, for example, we find brilliant analyses of male-centered contemporary society, and demands for free divorce. The discourse itself, however, stayed completely within a heterosexual framework and no mention of any woman-identified way of life was made.

While in *Fujin sensen* a sense of negation prevailed, the scope was widened in *Onna erosu* and more positive projects, examples of different lifestyles, experimental communal living, and women's networking were introduced. This suggests a wider range of social, legal and economic freedom and autonomy for Japanese women in the 1970s than for women in the 1930s. *Fujin sensen* was published in the 1930s in a tightening political climate, right before the Manchurian incident. Its dogmatic and belligerent tone reflects a political and social dead-lock situation. *Onna erosu*, in contrast, started in the third year of the burgeoning *ribu*-movement. The contemporary political awakening was described as fun for the women participating, and occasionally a sense of humor came across in the pages of *Onna erosu*. The magazine was only one of a wide variety of small women-only publications. Moreover, *Onna erosu* started two years before the UN decade of women began to bring women's politics to an administrative level.<sup>40</sup> When after nine years of existence *Onna erosu* ceased publication because it did not sell any more, feminist topics had been taken over and shifted to other magazines and media as well as to the academia (see Lenz 1998).

Returning to the question of continuity and change or discursive transformation, there is an astounding continuity regarding the topics of feminist discursive struggle. From the point of view of the women's magazines under scrutiny, their self-proclaimed need for a female

counter-culture refers to the discursive power of the androcentric idea-system that seems to have sustained regardless of the change of time, and the changes in the legal, political and economic conditions in Japanese society. Even by the 1970s, the value-system with regard to gender-roles had apparently been hardly affected or transformed by these changes. What had been transformed as reflected in the magazines were the educational, economic and activist opportunities as well as an increasing sexual individuality that women had gained by the second wave of feminism in Japan.

#### NOTES

- 1 Several other authors have contributed to this discussion. Karen Offen (1997) accepts Bennett's framework of continuity regarding women's work status but sees valid transformation in the history of female education. Sandra Greene (1997) points out that historians of African women's history have in their work emphasized both continuity and change. According to her view, the challenge in this field lies, rather, in recovering historical evidence itself.
- 2 See Fujieda (1990) for a periodization of the Japanese women's movement. She argues that a "second stage" was entered with the occurrence of the women's liberation movement in the seventies. Lenz (1998) acknowledges the consecutive waves but emphasizes the continuities of the Japanese women's movement. My selection of the magazines was initiated by Oka Mitsuo's mention of *Onna erosu* and *Fujin sensei* (see Oka 1981: 220).
- 3 The *ana-boru-ronso* started initially as a literary debate on proletarian literature between the feminist anarchist Yagi Akiko and the proletarian writer Fujimori Seikichi. It instantly turned into a political discussion on the compatibility of Marxism and anarchism, with Yagi denying such a compatibility (July 1929) and Fujimori reproaching Yagi of "petit bourgeois consciousness" (August 1929). The following seven months several women including the anarchist feminists Takamura Itsue and Matsumoto Masae as well as the Marxist feminists Kamichika Ichiko, Matsuda Tokiko and Hasegawa Shigure joined the debate and clarified their positions. When in December 1929 the publishing house Kaihōsha agreed on putting out an anarchist feminist journal the anarchists withdrew from *Nyonin geijutsu*. See Jō 1972; Akiyama 1973; *TIZS* 10.
- 4 Takamura Itsue (1894-1964) poet, novelist and feminist anarchist of the first women's movement, and, from the 1930s, pioneering historian of women's history in Japan. During World War II she propagated ideas of national culturalism and thus collaborated with the regime. Her anarchist writings and historiographic accomplishments were taken up again in the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, and her national culturalism has been controversially discussed since the late 1970s. See Germer 1996.
- 5 *Fujin sensei* (in 1983) as well as *Kindai fujin* were reprinted as facsimiles by Ryokuin Shobō. *Seitō* and *Nyonin geijutsu* were also reprinted in the eighties with the spread of women's history in Japan.
- 6 *TIZS* 10: 233. Compare to *Seitō*'s circulation of about 300 copies (Tsurumi 1985: 11).
- 7 Most of the advertisements were for other publications by the publishing house Kaihōsha and for anarchist writings, but also for commodities such as soy sauce or for the Mitsukoshi department store.
- 8 See Nishikawa 1990. *Kaihō sensei*'s five issues were edited Matsumoto Masae's husband Nobeshima Eiichi from October 1930 through February 1931. A facsimile was published in 1990 by Ryoku'in Shobō.
- 9 *Nōmin* was the organ of Zenkoku Nōmin Geijutsu Renmei (National Peasant Arts League) edited by Ishikawa Sanshirō. The staff of the three journals met irregularly for study meetings.
- 10 In the five issues from January to June 1931, urgent calls for financial support were made, which, as a short list in the July issue shows, were answered only by a few main contributors to the magazine. This may show that the imagined reader, the propertyless working woman, simply did not



- have the financial resources for support, or that an intellectual magazine like *Fujin sensen* did not reach the imagined readers in a substantial measure.
- 11 For an account of the individual life courses see Nishikawa (1975 and 1991), who interviewed some of the authors in 1986. Yagi Akiko was concerned with the overall political and economical effects of the Great Depression and did not touch on sexuality or the woman question. She was criticised by her comrades in the anarchist Farmers' Youth League for her engagement with *Fujin sensen*, and withdrew from the magazine after the third issue. Matsumoto Masae was working as a typist in a German company at the Ginza. She was one of the few with a regular income, supporting the magazine financially. She was married to the editor of *Kaihō sensen*, Nobeshima Eiichi who, under a female pen-name (Kawai Kiwa) also contributed to *Fujin sensen*. Matsumoto dealt with gender relations mainly from a social and economical aspect. Mochizuki Yuriko, who had lived in France, translated and introduced the autobiographical writings of international women anarchists like Flora Tristan or Louise Michel. At the same time she worked for Ishikawa Sanshirō's journal *Dainamikku* ("Dynamic") and ceased writing for *Fujin sensen* after the fourth issue. One of the authors specializing on literary contributions was Jō Shizuka (pen-name Natsuko), who took over the editorship for the last issue of *Fujin sensen*. Jō's numerous literary pieces were city-oriented. Sumii Sueko, in contrast, wrote regular literary contributions whose main characters were peasants, as she herself was the daughter of a poor peasant family (1930b: 15). At the time of *Fujin sensen* she was a mother of four children. Later in her life she became famous for her novels on and her engagement in the burakumin movement and its organisation, Suiheisha.
  - 12 Takamura 1930a; Matsumoto 1930b. The articles were supposedly also translated into Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and Russian and discussed in respective organs. See "Kokusai Fujin sensen" 1931: 25. Matsumoto's article takes up the proponents of a mainly French movement to eliminate jealousy and the individualistic anarchists in the West whom she calls "amoralists." She theorizes jealousy as an emotion that is aroused by unjust social conditions be it between classes or between the sexes. Her article triggered off a response by M. Acharya (1931), who in turn was criticised by Takamura (1931a) as just another male view on sexuality. Even though there is no editorial explicitly excluding men, *Fujin sensen* certainly was conceptualized as a women-only magazine featuring solely women's contributions. The fact that Matsumoto's husband Nobushima Eiichi wrote theoretical articles for *Fujin sensen* under a female pen-name shows all the more the concept of the women-only. The anarchist feminists had targeted their criticism mainly at Marxist men and women as well as at some male anarchist theoreticians, yet they were allied with other anarchist oriented parts of the workers' and peasants' movements that were male dominated in their publications and in the production of theory. Cooperation took the form of joint study-meetings, joint lectures or the contribution of articles written by women of *Fujin sensen* to magazines like *Kaihō sensen* or *Nōmin*.
  - 13 An exception was Kawai Kiwa's article on "Women and the problem of depression" (1930a) which presented statistics of rising unemployment among women. Pointing to the rise of prostitution in times of depression the article claimed that the market affects women in special ways, and that women need their own strategies to grapple with economic crisis.
  - 14 Musan Fujin Geijutsu Renmei 1930: 4. Translated by compare Tsurumi 1985: 11.
  - 15 Attacked were women like Yamakawa Kikue (1930, 1), Hirabayashi Taiko (1930, 2), Kamichika Ichiko (1930, 3), Nakamoto Takako (1930, 4), and men such as Hasegawa Nyōsekan (1930, 5), Yamakawa Hitoshi and Morito Tatsuo (1930, 6), Hirabayashi Hatsunosuke (1930, 7), Chiba Kameo (1930, 8), Ōyama Ikuo and Hososako Kanemitsu (1931, 9). All articles were written by Takamura Itsue alias Shōchi Ayako (1930/31).
  - 16 Next to "The Factory Ship" (*Kani Kōsen*), this was one of the two novels that established Kobayashi's reputation as the most prominent writer of proletarian literature.
  - 17 Itobe notes that from Heian literature one can conclude that chastity was not demanded from women before the feudal era, but was a moral code pertaining to the ie-system which was established during this period (Itobe 1930b: 12/13).
  - 18 Compare to the accounts of peasant life in Southwest Japan in the first field study of this kind undertaken in 1935/6 by John F. Embree (1964) in *Suye mura*. See also the accounts of his wife in



- Smith and Wisswell (1982), on the women of Suye mura.
- 19 Takamura rejects the so-called “thesis of love as a private matter” (*ren'ai shijisetsu*) arguing that “if love was a private matter then eating is also a private thing. But for the people this private matter forms the center of their lives” (1931b: 11). Because she held the love of women to have all-incompassing social and procreative functions she rejected the label of privacy constraining women’s lives.
  - 20 The main groups of the movement were the Ōsaka Sanji Seigen Kenkyūkai (founded by Yamamoto Senji in April 1923; championing contraception) and the Nihon Sanji Chōsetsu Kenkyūkai (founded by Abe Isoo, Suzuki Bunji, the medical doctor Kaji Tokijirō, Yamakawa Kikue, Ishimoto Shizue and her husband; accepting and even propagating eugenic ideas). By 1929 the two groups had composed a petition asking for legal recognition of birth-control, for contraception and for the legalization of abortion until the third month of pregnancy (Frühstück 1997: 164 ff.).
  - 21 Itobe rejected the birth control movement as a means to personal relief that leaves the repressive constitution of society unchanged (1931b). Takamura Itsue and Kawai Kiwa (Nobeshima Eiichi) both supported the birth control movement (Kiwa 1931a: 37).
  - 22 Nakamura 1930: 50-51. This is one of the letters that seem a bit construed. I agree with Nishikawa’s (1975) assumption that some of the readers’ messages may have been written by the members of *Fujin sensen* themselves.
  - 23 See the discussion of *Seitō* in Mae 1997. For a comprehensive treatment of *Seitō* see Neuss 1977.
  - 24 Agora was founded by the group “Bank of Creativity,” which existed since 1964. The chief editor who continued influencing the magazine for the longest period was Saitō Chiyo. For an outline of the magazine and an interview with Saitō see Buckley 1997: 245-271.
  - 25 The *Asahi shinbun*, at the times, reported on a demonstration of women’s groups which it interpreted as the American women’s liberation’s advent in Japan. The mispronunciation “*ūman ribu*” is due to this article and has been retained (Akiyama Y. 1993). A host of publications has appeared since the 1990s dealing with the significance of the women’s liberation movement in modern Japanese society. See Lenz 1998; Onnatachi no ima o tou kai 1996; Tanaka 1995; Akiyama 1993; Kanō 1994; Ueno 1994; Impakushon 1992; Ehara 1991; Terasaki 1991. Of special importance is the three volume annotated collection of material, *Shiryō. Nihon ūman ribu shi*, edited by Mizoguchi Akiyo, Miki Sōko, and Saeki Yōko 1992-1995. It gives a comprehensive selection of texts from pamphlets, flyers and feminist magazines as well as concise information about the various women’s groups.
  - 26 It is interesting to note that feminist magazines of other countries like the British *Spare Rib* (First issue: July 1972) or the Dutch *Opzij* (First issue: November 1972) were initially looked upon with suspicion by the then burgeoning women’s movement, or were made to change covers by the readers in order to be more in tune with the feminist lore (see Winship 1987; Hermes 1995).
  - 27 For a diverging view see Ueno 1995: 12. Ueno questions Tanaka Mitsu’s assessment that the *ribu*-movement was born out of the New Left. According to Ueno, only some *ribu* activists had been active within the New Left, and it was they who introduced left-wing terminology in the first *ribu* publications.
  - 28 Yoshikiyo Kazue, the editor who stayed through all of the seventeen issues of *Onna erosu*, was a divorced mother and working at a law office. Saeki Yōko was employed at the *Fujin minshū shinbun*. She did not have her marriage registered and after childbirth worked as a free lance writer for a health food magazine. She and Miki Sōko, who was married and working at a private university in Ōsaka, met at the first *ribu gasshuku* in Nagano, while Funamoto Emi who was and still is working in an advertisement company met Saeki at some other *ribu*-related event. Ōtani Junko, the youngest member and still a university student at the times, and Yoshikiyo Kazue met at the *minikomi* workshop of the first *ribu gasshuku*, and together with Inoue Teruko (who eventually did not become an editor) agreed on putting out a publication (“*Onna erosu*” sōkan 1996: 284ff.). In March 1972, Miki Sōko and Saeki Yōko had already started a handwritten *minikomi*, *Onna kara onna tachi e* (“From woman to women”; circulation of 70, then 200 copies) which was continued throughout the publication of *Onna erosu*. Funamoto Emi had started to publish another *minikomi*, *Hi* (“Fire”) in February of the same year. (“*Onna erosu*” sōkan 1996: 287)
  - 29 In September 1972, the *Ribu Shinjuku Sentā* opened and, starting in October, published the organ

- Kono michi hitosuji*. Most of the women living and working there were members of two groups: Gurûpu Tatakau Onna and Esu ũ Ekusu. They were experimenting with a new communitarian lifestyle of women as opposed to the family. Even though the movement at that time is recalled as being rather homophobic, quite a number of the women later became open lesbians and today are active in lesbian groups (Zadankai. Ribû 1996: 205).
- 30 See "Onna erosu" sōkan 1996: 292; Mizoguchi Akiyo in an interview in July 1997.
  - 31 The Engenic Protection Law was passed in 1948 and revised in 1949 and 1952. Its measures on abortion were liberal because of mainly two reasons: the strong interest group of doctors who were profiting from legalized abortion and the national interest of lawmakers who believed that curbing population growth in the immediate postwar years was necessary to rebuild the economy. See Norgren 1998.
  - 32 The bill passed the House of Representatives in 1974, but did not reach committee discussion in the House of Councillors because politicians within the ruling party, LDP were unable to reach a compromise (Norgren 1998: 74). Yet, revision finally passed in 1996.
  - 33 Having read the feminist classics Greer, Millet, Davis, Robin Morgan, and Firestone, Funamoto positioned herself as part of the "Western faction," in contrast to Yoshikiyo's "Japanese faction" (1973: 41).
  - 34 Published by the Boston Women's Health Collective in 1973. Translated by Akiyama Yōko, Yamada Mitsuko, and Kurihara Kazuyo as *Onna no karada*, and published in 1974 by Gōdō Shuppan. A revised edition of the original appeared in the U.S. in 1984, and a team of Japanese feminists completed the translation in 1988. The Japanese version made creative and feminist critical use of the Japanese language and provided supplementary information for Japanese readers (see Akiyama 1993: 154 ff.; Buckley 1997: 187 ff.; Ogino 1997: 202 ff.). This recent Japanese edition with the new title *Karada. Watashitachi jishin* was published by the bookstore Shōkadō and this time the chapters on lesbianism were included.
  - 35 Iijima Aiko had elaborated on this idea in her various highly theoretical contributions to left-wing magazines, to *Onna erosu*, and other *ribu*-publications and her writings had influenced Kanō Mikiyo (1994: 300). Tokoro Mitsuko had coined the term "female principle" (*onna no ronri*) and she, in turn, had been influenced by the writings of Takamura Itsue.
  - 36 See "Kokka ni yoru sei no kanri" (1979). (The authors of Sekiran signed with their given names only). The article holds marriage relations to be central to the formation of a state with a class and private property system. The control of sexuality was due to economic demands, served the interests of the ruling class and at the same time accompanied the process in which patriarchy succeeded. Reich's book was apparently translated from the German version, *Der Einbruch der Sexualmoral* (1932; 1935). It had been translated into English and revised to *The Invasion of Compulsory Sex-Morality* in 1951.
  - 37 Although intended as a space for reactions from the readers, these meetings seem to have had the function of consciousness-raising, supplying a women-only space for women to express themselves. See "*Onna erosu sōkan menbā zadankai*" 1996: 295.
  - 38 I agree with Beetham's approach to popular women's magazines as "feminized spaces." She sees them not exclusively as instruments of domestic ideology or sexual repression. Since there are multiple, at times incoherent or contradictory discourses on femininity offered, identifications constantly have to be reworked and it is through this process that the 'resisting reader' is empowered to 'diverse readings' (Beetham 1996).
  - 39 There is a gap between the *ribu*-movement and the administrative feminism that came with the UN decade of women starting in 1975 (see "Zadankai. Tōdai" 1996: 55). Some grassroots *ribu*-activists criticize that this strategy "sucked out the soul" of the movement (Takigawa 1992: 84) or that the movement nowadays is in danger of being coopted by politics and the administration (Zadankai. Ribû-sen 1996: 245). Moreover, the term feminism is associated with women's studies (*joseigaku*) and academics, and the term *ribu* became confined to the movement.

## REFERENCES

### *Articles in Fujin sensen*

- Acharya, M. (1931): "Shittoshin no mondai ni tsuite", 2, 2 (February), pp.14-17.  
Futsukawa Shihori (Takamure) (1930): "Puro fujin to danseï hihan", 1, 4 (June), pp.12-13.  
Hiratsuka Raichô (1930a): "Fujin sensen ni sankai shite", 1, 2 (April), pp.34-39.  
Itoke Keiko (1930a): "Josei no ningenteki tokushitsu ni tsuite", 1, 1 (March), pp.42-44.  
— (1930b): "Teisôkan no tenkai", 1, 2 (April), pp.12-15.  
— (1931a): "Boseishugi shisô no tenkai", 2, 3 (March), pp.21-24.  
— (1931b): "Sanji seigen undô to tatakau beshi", 2, 4 (April), pp.6-10.  
Jô Shizuka (Natsuko) (1930a): "Mimiko yo yûkan ni", 1, 2 (April), pp.49-51.  
Kamitani Shizuko (1931a): "Baishunpu to nôson keizai", 2, 2 (February), pp.10-11.  
Kawai Kiwa (Nobeshima Eiichi) (1930a): "Fuukeiki mondai to fujin", 1, 8 (October), pp.28-31.  
"Kokusai Fujin sensen" (1931), 2, 3 (March), pp.25.  
Matsumoto Masae (1930a): "Josei no shakaishugi", 1, 2 (April), pp.6-8.  
— (1930b): "Shittoshin no mondai", 1, 5 (July), pp.26-31.  
— (1930c): "Ren'ai to yôsei", 1, 7 (September), pp.22-24.  
— (1931a): "Seiseikatsu no keizaigakuteki kansatsu", 2, 1 (January), pp.14-19.  
— (1931b): "Teisô no keizaigaku", 2, 2 (February), pp.6-11.  
Musun Fujin Geijutsu Renmei (1930): "Sôkan sengen", 1, 1 (March), p.4.  
Mochizuki Yuriko (1930a): "Jiyû to katei", 1, 2 (April), pp.4-5.  
— (1930b): "Warera no eien no josei Ruizu Missheru", 1, 1 (March), pp.30-31.  
Nakamura Keiko (1930): "Zenshin o kakete", 1, 3 (May), pp.50-51.  
Takamure Itsue (1930a): "Fujin sensen ni tatsu", 1, 1 (March), pp.8-16.  
— (1930b): "Katei hitei ron", 1, 2 (April), pp.19-23.  
— (1930c): "Museifu shugi no mokuhyô to senjutsu", 1, 4 (June), pp.30-36.  
— (1930d): "Bijinron", 1, 8 (October), pp.14-21.  
— (1930e): "Montôran", 1, 8 (October), pp.21.  
— (1931a): "Watakushiwa kô omou", 2, 2 (February), pp.18-23.  
— (1931b): "Fujin sensen ichinen. Fujin shisôshi", 2, 3 (March), pp.4-15.  
Shôchi Ayako (Takamure) (1930/31): "Waga Marukusu fujin no tônô haiken.  
Sumii Sueko (1930a): "Jijidai no katei", 1, 2 (April), pp.9-11.  
— (1930b): "Bosei to museifu dôtoku. Mazushiki haha wa sakebu", 1, 9 (December), pp.12-15.  
Yagi Akiko (1930a): "Shakai jihyô", 1, 2 (April), pp.24-27.

### *Articles in Onna erosu*

- Funamoto Emi (1973): "Shikijôteki ni geijutsuteki ni", 1, pp.40-54.  
Fujieda Mioko (1974): "Onna no jiritsu to kanrishoku", 3, pp.21-35.  
Hashimoto Sachiko (1980): "Sei no fukkatsu", 15, pp.170-184.  
Hatazawa Aiko (1976): "Haruka naru erosu o utau", 7, pp.146-150.  
Iijima Aiko (1973): "Sei no shûdatsu — Onna no sei kara mita yôsei hogohô", 1, pp.24-39.  
Iwatsuki Sumie (1975): "Karada kara no hassô", 5, pp.7-20.  
Kawamura Etsuko; Komano Yôko (1976): "Bryusseru kaigi no hôkoku kara", 7, pp.78-79.  
Kimura Hisako (1974): "Bokei shakai no jôken", 3, pp.93-104.  
"Kokka ni yoru sei no kanri", (1979), 12, pp.2-22.  
Komano Yôko (1973): "Shihôkai to kon'in seidô", 1, pp.162-169.  
— (1974): "Shokuba ni onna no rentai o!", 3, pp.7-20.  
Kôno Nobuko (1978): "Erosu kakumei", 11, pp.136-144.  
Kunizawa Shizuko (1974): "Shiteki rôdôsha no jiko ikensho", 3, pp.50-68.  
— (1975): "Han bosei ron", 5, pp.30-45.  
— (1979): "Kodomo takusan demo shizumanai hôhô", 12, pp.143.  
Mainichi Daiku (1978): "Mainichi Daiku apîru", 11, pp.164.  
Matsuo Kimie (1975): "Yûmoa tappuri josei yokuatsu shô", 5, pp.138-139.

- Miki Sôko (1976): "Ima wa minna sorezore no ba de — Kansai ribu renraku kaigi", 7, pp.151-155.  
 — (1977): "Onna o utau onnatachi", 8, pp.150-151.  
 "Nihon no kazoku seido" (1979), 12, pp.44-68.  
 Onna erosu henshû iinkai (1973): "Sengen", 1, pp.7-10.  
 — (1974): "Henshû goki", 3, p.191.  
 — (1978): "Tokushû. Genshi no seiji o saguru", 10, p.9.  
 Saeki Yôko (1976): "Shizen na kankaku o taisetsu ni shite erochikku na mono ni deaitai", 7, pp.41-48.  
 "Shimai kara no tayori" (1973), 1, pp.201-206.  
 Yanagimoto Akiko (1976): "Shiteki erosuron — Takamura Itsue 'Josei no rekishi' o motozuite", 7, pp.108-116.  
 Yamada Mitsuko (1977): "Koumi, inochi to inochi o kasaneru koto", 8, p.163.  
 Yamamoto Yoshiko (1977): "Kôgai rettô ni fubai de teikô", 8, pp.176-177.  
 Yoshikiyo Kazue (1973): "Seitô + Fujin sensen", 1, pp.152.  
 — (1975): "Kakekomidera aru ni wa aru ga", 5, pp.162-165.  
 "Zadankai. Sei no jôkyô" (1973), 1, pp.95-105.  
 "Zadankai. Onna no karada" (1975), 4, pp.114-120.  
 "Zadankai. Tatakai no naka kara" (1974), 3, pp.147-152.

#### Other literature cited

- Akiyama Kiyoshi (1973): *Jiyû onna ronsô. Takamura Itsue no anakizumu*. Tôkyô: Shisô no kakagusha.  
 Akiyama Yôko (1993): *Ribu shishi nôto. Onnatachi no jidai kara*. Tôkyô: Inpakuto shuppankai.  
 Ballaster, Ros et al. (1991): *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Women's Magazine*. London: MacMillan.  
 Beetham, Margret (1996): *A Magazine of her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine 1800-1914*. London; New York: Routledge.  
 Bennett, Judith M. (1993): "Women's History: A Study in Continuity and Change", in: *Women's History Review* 2, 2, pp.173-184.  
 — (1997): "Confronting Continuity", in: *Journal of Women's History* 9, 3 (autumn), pp.73-94.  
 Buckley, Sandra (1997): *Broken Silence: Voices of Japanese Feminism*. Berkeley: University of Cal. Press.  
 Ehara, Yumiko (1993): "Japanese Feminism in the 1970s and 1980s", in: *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, 4, pp.49-69.  
 Embree, John F. (1964): *Suye mura: A Japanese Village*. (1939). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.  
 Foucault, Michel (1978): "Nein zum König Sex. Gespräch mit Bernard-Henry Lévy", in: *Dispositive der Macht. Michel Foucault. Über Sexualität, Wissen und Wahrheit*. Berlin: Merve Verlag, pp.176-198.  
 ("Non au sexe roi", *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 644, 1977).  
 — (1995): *Der Wille zum Wissen (Sexualität und Wahrheit Bd.1)*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp. (Histoire de la sexualité, I: La volonté de savoir, 1976).  
 Frühstück, Sabine (1997): *Die Politik der Sexualwissenschaft: Zur Produktion und Popularisierung sexologischer Wissens in Japan 1908-1941. (Beiträge zu Japanologie Bd.34)*. Wien: Insitut für Japanologie.  
 Fujieda Mioko (1990): "Nihon no josei undô. Ribu saikô", in: *Joseigaku nenpô*, 11, pp.1-8.  
 Germer, Andrea (1996): "Genesis der Liebe - die sozialphilosophischen und feministischen Anschauungen Takamura Itsues", in: *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung*, Vol. 20, pp.119-186.  
 — (1998): "Liebe, Natur und Politik: Kontroversen in der ersten japanischen Frauenbewegung", in: C. Derichs; A. Osiander (ed): *Soziale Bewegungen in Japan*. Vol.128. Hamburg: OAG, pp.117-140.  
 Hermes, Joke (1995): *Reading Women's Magazines: An Analysis of Everyday Media Use*. Cambridge: Polity Press.  
 Hill, Bridget (1993): "Women's History: A Study in Change, Continuity or Standing Still?", in: *Women's History Review* 2, 2, pp.5-22.  
 Hobsbawm, Eric (1983): "Introduction: Inventing Traditions", in: E. Hobsbawm; T. Ranger (ed): *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1-14.  
 Jô Shizuka (Natsuko) (1972): "Uzumoreta fujin undôka (5): Furien sensen no hitobio", *Fujin kôron*, 6, pp.332-337.  
 Kakefuda Hiroko (1992): "Onna erosu", in: *Impakushion* 73, pp.136-137.

- Kanô Mikiyo (1992): "Hajimeni. Ribû nijûnen", in: *Impakushion* 73, pp.6-13.  
— (1994): *Mada "Feminizumu" ga nakatta koro*. Tôkyô: Inpakuto Shuppankai.  
— (1996): see (Ano erosu)
- Kobayashi Takichi (1989): *Kani kôsen. 1928. 3. 15*. Tôkyô: Iwanami. First published in 1928.
- Lenz, Ilse (1998): "Zum Verhältnis von neuer Frauenbewegung und Frauenpolitik in Japan", in: C. Derichs; A. Oslander (ed.): *Soziale Bewegungen in Japan*. Vol.128. Hamburg: OAG, pp.139-172.
- Lerner, Gerda (1997): "A Perspective from European and U.S. Women's History: Comment on 'Confronting Continuity'", in: *Journal of Women's History* 9, 3 (autumn), pp.114-118.
- Mae Michiko (1997): "Die Frauenbewegungen im japanischen Modernisierungsprozeß", in: Ilse Lenz; Michiko Mae (ed.): *Getrennte Welten, gemeinsame Moderne? Geschlechterverhältnisse in Japan*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, pp.210-246.
- Mizoguchi Akiyo; Saeki Yôko; Miki Sôko ed. (1992-95): *Shiryô. Ūman ribu shi. 3 vols*. Kyôto: Shôkadô.
- Murakami Nobuhiko (1982): *Taishô joseishi*. Vol.1. Tôkyô: Rironsha.
- Muta Kazue (1992): "Senryaku toshite no onna: Meiji, Taishô no 'Onna no gensetsu' o megutte", in: *Shisô*, 2, 812, pp.211-231.
- Muta Kazue; Shin Jieweon (1998): "Kindai no sekushuariti no sôzô to 'Atarashii onna'", in: *Shisô*, 4, 886, pp.89-115.
- Nishikawa, Yôko (1975): "Takamure Itsue to Fujin sensen", in: *Shisô*, 609 (March), pp.368-389.  
— (1990): "Kaisetsu", in: *Kaihô sensen* (facsimile). Tôkyô: Ryoku'in Shobô, pp.5-21.  
— (1991): "Jiritsu to kôdoku: Fujin sensen no hitobito o tazunete", in: *Oi o ikiru ba*. Tôkyô: Iwanami, pp.125-153.
- Norgren, Tiana (1998): "Abortion Before Birth Control: The Interest Group Politics Behind Postwar Japanese Reproduction Policy", in: *JJS* 24, 1, pp.59-94.
- Offen, Karen (1997): "A Comparative European Perspective: Comment on 'Confronting Continuity'", in: *Journal of Women's History* 9, 3 (autumn), pp.105-113.
- Ogino Miho (1997): "About the Japanese edition", in: *Buckley, Broken Silence*, pp.202-212.
- Oka Mitsuo (1981): *Fujin zasshi jânarizumu*. Tôkyô: Gendai Jânarizumu Shuppankai.
- "Onna erosu" sôkan menbâ zadankai (1996): "Ano erosu ni michita hibi yo!", in: Onnatashi no ima o tou kai (ed.): *Zenkyôtô kara ribu e.* (= *Jûgôshi nôto*, 8). Tôkyô: Inpakuto shuppankai, pp.284-301.
- Onnatashi no ima o tou kai (1996) (ed.): *Zenkyôtô kara ribu e.* (= *Jûgôshi nôto*, 8). Tôkyô: Inpakuto shuppankai.
- Smith, Robert; Wisswell, Ella (1982): *The Women of Suye mura*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Takigawa, Mari (1992): "Ko to mure — kokoro iki riburun", in: *Impakushion*, 73, pp.82-87.
- Tanaka Mitsu (1992): "Benjo kara no kaihô" (1970), in: Mizoguchi et al. (ed.): *Shiryô. Nihon ūman ribu shi*. Kyôto: Shôkadô, pp.102-107.
- Terasaki Akiko (1991): "Die Frauenbewegung in Japan während der siebziger und achtziger Jahre", in: Gössmann, Elisabeth (ed.): *Japan: Ein Land der Frauen?* München: iudicium, pp.211-227.
- Takamure Itsue zenshû*, Vol.10 = *Hi no kuni no onna no nikki* (1966). Ed. Hashimoto Kenzô. Tôkyô: Rironsha.
- Tsurumi, Patricia (1985): "Feminism and Anarchism in Japan: Takamure Itsue (1894-1964)", in: *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 17, 2 (April-June), pp.2-19.
- Ueno, Chizuko (1994): "Nihon no ribu. Sono shisô to haikai", in: Inoue Teruko et al. (ed.): *Nihon no feminizumu* 1. Tôkyô: Iwanami, pp.1-32.
- Winship, Janice (1987): *Inside Women's Magazines*. London: Pandora.
- "Zadankai. Ribû-sen o taguriyosete miru" (1996), in: Onnatashi no ima o tou kai (ed.): *Zenkyôtô kara ribu e.* (= *Jûgôshi nôto*, 8). Tôkyô: Inpakuto shuppankai, pp.204-251.
- "Zadankai. Tôdai tôsô kara ribu, soshite joseigaku, feminizumu" (1996), in: Onnatashi no ima o tou kai (ed.): *Zenkyôtô kara ribu e.* (= *Jûgôshi nôto*, 8). Tôkyô: Inpakuto Shuppankai, pp.38-70.