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国家を超えた女性の移動と国民国家・国家間関係の変容

Movements of Women across Nations
and
Their Effects on Nation-States & International Relationships

甲南大学総合研究所
叢書　131

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はじめに

本叢書は、2015年から2016年の甲南大学総合研究所公募による共同研究「国家を超えた人の移動と国民国家、国家関係の変容」の研究成果をまとめたものである。

かつてアメリカ合衆国の歴史は、1607年大西洋岸ジェームズタウンでのアメリカ大陸初のイギリス人恒久的植民地建設に始まり、自由と平等を理念として多様な人々を内包しながら生まれたアメリカ人が「未開の土地」を開拓･文明化していく輝かしい近代的国民国家建設の物語であった。しかし、公民権運動と対抗文化の産物として誕生したマイノリティ研究がその成果を公表し始めると、 それまでの白人また男性中心の「アメリカ史」は、大きな変容を迫られた。同時に下から目線の社会史や周縁部に目を向ける地域史も台頭し、歴史家たちはアメリカの多様な人々の多様な歴史的体験に耳を傾け始めた。

アメリカ社会、またアメリカ史の白人および男性中心主義、また人種･民族･ジェンダー間の歴史的認識の差が浮き彫りとなり、かつての歴史的英雄（白人男性）を軸とする歴史物語は求心力を失っていった。地球の縮図ともいえる程に先住民および多様な国々から移住し/させられてきた人々の物語を内包し始めたアメリカの歴史学研究は、国家の枠を超えて先住民国家、および奴隷や移民の母国へと目を向けた。同時に、19世紀末までに世界最大の生産国となったアメリカの、オランダそしてイギリスから拡大し始めた近代的世界システムの拡散者としての役割を、地球規模で検証しようとする試みも始まった。こうして、国家の枠組みを超えて歴史的現象を捉えるトランスナショナル・ヒストリー、またその近代世界システムの拡大との関わりを明らかにしようとするグローバル・ヒストリーが、アメリカの白人中心主義、さらには 人種・民族・階級・性・国籍などによる差別や序列の存在を、アメリカ特有の例外的な現象としてではなく、人類の歴史的体験の一事象として語るようになってきた。また、今やこのような変化は日本やヨーロッパを含めて多くの国々の歴史学研究にも影響を及し始めた。

このような動向を背景に、アメリカ研究者４名とヨーロッパ研究者１名からなる本チームの研究員は、「国家を超えた人の移動と国民国家、国家関係の変容」を共通のテーマとし、15世紀末に本格化し18世紀に加速化する地球規模での人・物・運動・思想の移動、またそれに伴なうローカル・ナショナル・トランスナショナル、またインターナショナルな変容に注目する研究を、それぞれに進めてきた。

総合研究所からの助成によって、2015年には、有志でパネルを組み女性史研究国際連盟（International Federation for Research in Women's History）の第22回大会でその成果を発表し意見交換することが可能になった。また、2016年には、チーム全員が甲南大学に集い、研究紹介や意見交換を行うこともできた。さらには、 アリゾナ州立大学アメリカインディアン研究学科教授 Myla Vicent Carpio 教授を講師として迎え、甲南大学では学部生向け公開講義、またハヤシ研究員の所属していた京都大学でも大学院生向けのシンポジウムが実現した。Carpio 教授が Karen Leong 研究員と共に担当した甲南大学での公開講義は、近年アメリカ合衆国の国民国家形成の分析に用いられ始めた定住者植民地主義（Settler Colonialism）という新しい概念を、第二次世界大戦中に先住民居留地の一画に強制収容された日系人と先住民との関わりからわかりやすく解説するもので、 学生にとっても刺激的かつ有意義な時間となったようである。

本叢書には、それらの交流をしばし持ちながら 各メンバーがそれぞれに進めてきた研究成果の一部、またはそれに関連して生まれた副産物的研究成果や考察を論文としてまとめたものが収められている。アメリカ女性史およびアジア系アメリカ人史を研究してきた Judy Tzu-Chung Wu 研究員は、アジアからの移民・難民やその子孫たちの国家の枠を超えた移動と新たな共同体建設、帝国主義や戦争、また経済のグローバル化に関して、多くの研究者によるこれまでの研究を鳥瞰的に分析しながらジェンダーと人種を軸にトランスナショナルな視点から理論化を試みた。そして、それらの研究がアジア系アメリカ人フェミニスト研究とも呼べる重要な一分野となり得ることを検証し、白人男性中心主義への挑戦を続けてきたフェミニスト研究が未だに男性対女性また黒人対白人というパラダイムを基盤として理解されることが多いことに一石を投じる。

アメリカ史、アジア系アメリカ人史を専門分野とする Bryan M. Hayashi 研究員は、膨大な一次資料の中から第二次世界大戦時に戦略諜報局（OSS）の諜報員として働いたアジア系アメリカ人女性および白人女性たちの活動を明らかにし、その任務や評価にジェンダー、人種また民族という要因がどのように作用したかを分析した。

アジア・太平洋・アメリカの歴史的関わりの研究に従事する Karen Leong 研究員は、日中戦争開始後、中国政府とアメリカの親中派、さらには合衆国政府が、日本の中国侵略を「南京の強姦（Rape of Nanking）」というジェンダー化された表象を用いてイメージ化したことに目を向け、トランスナショナルおよびインターナショナルな軍事的・政治的駆け引きに、ジェンダー化また人種化された性や暴力の表象がどのように用いられたのかを分析した。

ヨーロッパの法律および国際関係を専門とする小西幸男研究員は、イスラム教徒の難民の受け入れを巡る EU 加盟国内での最近の法的言説をジェンダーの視点から分析した。

環太平洋地域の女性ネットワークの研究を行ってきた安武留美は、国籍及び市民権を夫とは独立した女性独自の権利としたケーブル法制定のための女性運動、その運動に接点を持った環大西洋及び環太平洋の女性ネットワーク、またアメリカ太平洋岸及びハワイのアジア系（特に日系人）社会に目を向け、国籍および市民権の問題をジェンダー、人種、国家の視点から分析した。

（代表幹事　安武留美）

Defining Asian American Feminisms: Intersectional Theorizations of Transnationalism

Judy Tzu-Chun Wu

【要旨】

これまでに、黒人、ヒスパニック、先住民フェミニズムと認識される一連の多くの研究が生み出されてきた。しかし、アジア系アメリカ人フェミニズムと呼べる研究分野は未だ確立されていない。その一つの理由は、米国におけるアメリカ研究またフェミニスト研究という「人種」研究において、白人対黒人というパラダイムがデフォルト化し、アジア系アメリカ人も人種化されたグループであることが十分に認識されていないことにある。また、アジア系アメリカ人は模範的マイノリティとして表象されることが多いため、名誉白人として認識されがちであることにも起因する。多様な背景を持つアジア系アメリカ人女性たちの体験から、抑圧と抵抗を分析また理論化して、フェミニスト的研究を生み出すにはどうすれば良いのであろうか。

本論文は、その答えを見出すためにアジア系アメリカ人女性の研究が、米国におけるアメリカ研究およびフェミニスト研究のトランスナショナル化の最先端に位置してきたことに注目する。アジア系アメリカ人というカテゴリー自体、アメリカに居住するアジア人を祖先とする人々－移民、難民、アメリカ生まれのその子孫－が、移住、帝国、経済のグローバル化というトランスナショナルなプロセスの中で出現したことを認識させる。アジア系アメリカ人女性の体験や表象に注目すると、そのトランスナショナル性がいかに人種化またジェンダー化されているかを明らかにすることができる。本論文は、人種、ジェンダー、トランスナショナリズムの関係を以下の３つの点から検証していく。１）人の移住と国家によって形成されたアジア系アメリカ社会には、どのようなジェンダー力学が存在するのか。２）グローバルな生産ラインとケアビジネスの展開により、世界経済にはどのような人種化及びジェンダー化の力学が作用しているか。３）軍と性の複合体は、アジア人及びアジア系アメリカ人女性の生活にどのような影響を及ぼしてきたか。この３つ

の点をアジア系アメリカ人女性たちの体験を通して明らかにすることにより、アジア系アメリカ人フェミニズムと呼べる研究分野を確立するための識見が得られるであろう。

Substantial and cohesive bodies of scholarship have emerged that feminist scholars now identify as black, Chicana/Latina, and indigenous feminisms. However, there is no comparable recognition of a field or body of work that could be named as Asian American feminisms.(1) Part of this oversight has to do with the racialization of Asian Americans in the U.S. Studies of race, both in American and feminist studies, default to a black-white paradigm. Also, Asian Americans, given their popular representations as model minorities, tend to be regarded as honorary whites.(2) But, what if we did take seriously the idea that centering on the experiences of Asian American women (in all its diversity) might generate feminist modes of analysis and theorizations of oppression?(3)

This essay begins to answer this question by arguing that studies on Asian American women have been at the forefront of the "transnational" turn in American Studies and feminist studies. The very category of Asian American emerged in recognition of how people of Asian ancestry in the U.S., including immigrants, refugees, and those born in the U.S., have been shaped by transnational processes of migration, empire, and globalization of the economy. Furthermore, focusing specifically on the lives and representations of Asian American women reveal the gendered and racialized workings of transnationalism. To illuminate the connections between race, gender, and transnationalism, this article addresses three topics: how migration and the state created Asian America and shaped the gender dynamics within these communities; how the global assembly line and chain of care reveal the gendered and racialized dynamics of the world-wide economy; and how the military-sexual complex shapes the lives and representations of Asian and Asian American women. These three processes of migration, globalization, and militarization impact men and women of various racial, economic, and national backgrounds. However, analyses of these phenomena, revealed through a focus on

Asian American women, generated important conceptual insights and bodies of scholarship that should be recognized as constituting a field of study, namely Asian American feminisms.

Gendered Migration and the State

The very presence of women of Asian descent in the U.S. reveals how transnational flows of people have changed the composition of American society as well as how the U.S. nation-state has intervened in managing that migration. The transnational flow of people, both historically and in contemporary society, generated anxieties about who should be allowed to enter the country and receive full benefits of belonging. The U.S. state regulated the social reproduction of its residents by passing and enforcing immigration laws. These policies created geopolitical borders that were classed, racialized, gendered, and sexualized. Some of these regulations emerged specifically in response to Asian American women or had a gendered impact on Asian American communities.

Policies regarding immigration, naturalization, land ownership, taxation, and miscegenation combined to exclude, marginalize, and segregate Asian Americans from the U.S. polity.(4) Anti-immigrant sentiment in the late 19th and early 20th centuries tended to target Asian male laborers for exclusion and expulsion but eventually almost all Asian immigrants, regardless of class, were designated aliens ineligible for citizenship. Filipinos were "nationals" rather than "aliens" due to American colonization of the Philippines, but they, too, were not full-fledged citizens.

In addition to these racialized exclusions, Asian American women faced additional legal challenges. Their sexuality or perceived sexuality became the basis for immigration exclusion or admission.(5) For example, the 1875 Page Act both banned Chinese prostitutes from entering the country and treated all Chinese women as likely to be prostitutes. Also, following the principle of *femme covert*, Asian immigrant and even American-born Asian women were defined by their relationships to

their husbands or fathers. For example, in administering immigration policies that excluded based on class and citizenship, the status of Asian American men largely defined the legal identities of Asian American women.

The highly imbalanced gender make-up of the Asian American community transformed in the post-World War II period, particularly after the passage of immigration laws to allow entry of women who marry American military personnel as well as the 1965 Immigration Act. Asian women entered in equal and even greater numbers compared to men, due to laws that privileged family reunification, certain categories of labor migration, as well as adoption and refugee migration.[6] However, gender and sexuality scholars point out that the principle of family reunification tends to be defined via heteronormative understandings of kinship.[7] Heteronormativity assumes the naturalness of a gender binary as well as the belief that male-female marital and sexual unions are the normative units of kinship and should form the basis of social organization. As an indication of the heteronormative basis of immigration law, Asian women who entered through their marital relationships to American men continue to be legally dependent on their male partners for their immigration and citizenship status. These women's political vulnerability became heightened in cases of domestic violence, because state authority tends to reinforce male power within the family.

In the era of neoliberalism and post-9/11, Asian American men and women face racialized as well as gendered suspicions about their eligibility for immigration entry and national belonging. Asian men, particularly South Asian, West Asian and Muslim men, become likely suspects of terrorism.[8] Some working-class Southeast Asian Americans (most notably Cambodians), who arrived as refugees and lived in impoverished neighborhoods, become vulnerable to deportation due to their entanglements with the carceral state. Asian women also face heightened suspicions as likely welfare and immigration cheats through their capacity to give birth to anchor babies.[9]

Scholars who focus on Asian American women's immigration experiences reveal

how the U.S. nation state intervened to control the social reproduction of its residents. Exclusion laws sought to dictate the ethnic and racial makeup of the country through national-origin quotas and also the biological reproductive capabilities of certain communities. This state regulation of reproduction occurred through a combination of anti-miscegenation laws and exclusion acts that led to highly gender imbalanced communities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[10] The state also facilitated biological and social reproduction by privileging heteronormative family reunification in immigration laws, especially during the post-World War II era. These insights, which focus on Asian American women's migration, provide the basis for feminist theorizations regarding racialized, classed, and gendered forms of migration, the state, and social reproduction.

The Global Assembly Line and Global Chain of Care

Just as research on Asian and Asian American women expose the workings of the U.S. immigration apparatus, their labor experiences reveal the gendered and racialized stratification of global capitalism. Women of Asian ancestry, both abroad and in the U.S., contribute to the global economy. They work in garment and electronics factories in immigrant communities and in global processing zones, providing essential cheap labor for highly competitive industries. They also offer reproductive labor, both paid and unpaid, as domestic workers and care providers. Their labor allows other women to enter the work force, either as more highly paid professional and businesswomen, or "freeing" these women to work transnationally, sometimes as caregivers themselves. Asian/American women also work as highly trained professionals, prepared by imperial and global circuits of knowledge, to undertake careers in medical and STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) fields in metropoles and global cities. These circuits of travel and labor serve as the basis for theorizations of the global assembly line and global circuits of care.[11]

A racial and gender stratified economy differentially positions men and women of

Asian ancestry both in the U.S. and globally. During the first wave of immigration in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Asian laborers, an overwhelmingly of male population, were deemed "cheap labor" by their American employers not only due to their racial otherness. Asian labor was less expensive partly because the costs of social reproduction were born by their female partners and extended family members in Asia.[12] The small numbers of Asian women who migrated to the U.S. during the first wave and the larger numbers in subsequent waves of migration contributed in terms of their productive, reproductive, and sexual labor to maintain the overall Asian American community.[13]

The American labor force during the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century continues to be stratified in terms of race, gender, and immigration/citizenship status. On the one hand, Asian American men and women have greater access to the primary economy (i.e. stable jobs with benefits, higher pay and prestige) and even gain entry to the U.S. because of their professional skills, financial assets, and educational background. On the other hand, the racial and gender glass ceiling continues to exist. Asian Americans also are heavily concentrated in the service industry and the secondary economy.[14] Asian American men and women with limited English skills and uncertain immigration or citizenship status are particularly vulnerable to economic exploitation, sometimes by their own family members and co-ethnics.[15]

In these settings, gender matters as Asian American women are perceived to be particularly suited to certain forms of manufacturing or care work. In some cases, their economic exploitation allows for the financial survival of a business or company in an ultra competitive and increasingly globalized economy. In addition, domestic care, paid or unpaid, continues to be regarded as female work. The reproductive work that some Asian American women perform for pay, such as domestic service, childcare, elderly care, and health care work, allow other individuals (men as well as women, Asian as well as non-Asian American) to be relieved of their family responsibilities and to enter the paid work force. Even when Asian women

migrate as the primary breadwinners and are separated from their children and partners in Asia, these female-led split households elicit gendered recriminations and feelings of guilt as women are charged with "abandoning" their mothering responsibilities in order to financially sustain their families.[16]

Focusing on the labor of Asian/American women — productive and reproductive, paid and unpaid, exposes how globalization relies upon stratification of the economy. Certain groups, based on gender, race, nationality, and age tend to be allocated particular types of jobs. Asian/American women perform the necessary labor (waged and unwaged) to maintain their families, sometimes located far away from the women themselves. Asian/American women provide the desired "cheap" and "expendable" labor that enable companies to profit. Asian/American women also become entrepreneurs and skilled professionals, who in turn employ other Asian/American women to maintain their businesses and households. As neoliberal governments increasingly defund social welfare programs, Asian/American women and other racially and nationally marginalized groups take on the crucial work necessary to maintain communities and households. The analysis of Asian/American women and labor generates profound insights regarding the global nature of economic stratification.

The Military-Sexual Complex

Finally, Asian/American feminists have been critical knowledge producers of the racialized, gendered, and sexualized impact of militarism. Inspired by President Eisenhower's warnings regarding the "military-industrial complex," sociologist Joane Nagel coined the phrase "military sexual complex" to describe how military institutions and practices inevitably foster particular types of sexual relationships and policies.[17] These range from the creation of red light districts to serve as rest and recreation facilities for the predominantly male military personnel stationed away from home, the various forms of sexual intimacies (coerced and voluntary, informal and marital) that develop between soldiers and "natives," the homoerotic

and queer sexual encounters within the military and locals, as well as the use of sexualized violence as weapons of war. Given the centrality of Asia as a site of U.S. war-making and military bases throughout the long 20th century and particularly after World War II, the military-sexual complex plays a central role in generating representations of and shaping treatment towards Asian and Asian American women.[18]

For example, the U.S. War in Viet Nam, a foundational event that inspired the political creation of the category of Asian American, fostered discussions and theories regarding the centrality of gender and sexuality as key components of war and war making as well as race and race making.[19] Activist Evelyn Yoshimura articulated this perspective in an essay entitled "GI's and Racism." The article first appeared in the Asian American movement newspaper *Gidra* and then was reprinted in an important Asian American women movement publication, *Asian Women*. Yoshimura argues that the U.S. military relied upon and reproduced racial hatred for Asians to motivate American soldiers to fight in Asia. By promoting the "view of Asian people as sub-human beings…the U.S. military…can instill the values and mentality that is necessary to become effective killers."[20] These racial attitudes both originated from the U.S. and returned with the soldiers.

In this transnational racial socialization process, the representation of Asian women played a significant role. As part of the militarization experience, U.S. soldiers learned to regard "Asian women as a symbolic sexual object."[21] They did so through the widespread practice among G.I.s of frequenting Asian prostitutes. The U.S. military institutionally facilitated these practices through the systematic creation of red light districts in Asian countries where troops were stationed.[22] Participating in sexual excursions were not just private affairs for soldiers. Instead, these practices became integral to military culture and discourse through the ritualized retellings of these experiences. As one Asian American Marine recalled of his boot-camp experience:

We had these classes we had to go to taught by the drill instructors, and every

> instructor would tell a joke before he began class. It would always be a dirty joke usually having to do with prostitutes they had seen in Japan or in other parts of Asia while they were stationed overseas. The attitude of the Asian women being a doll, a useful toy or something to play with usually came out in these jokes and how they were not quite as human as white women…how Asian women's vaginas weren't like a white woman's, but rather they were slanted, like their eyes.[23]

These racialized and sexualized depictions of Asian women, used to foster male bonding among American soldiers, influenced military treatment of Asian women not only in the brothels but also in the prosecution of war and in other realms of civilian interactions.[24]

In addition, Viet Nam veterans brought these beliefs and practices back to the U.S. Evelyn Yoshimura reminded readers of her article, "G.I.'s and Racism," that:

> We, as Asian American women, cannot separate ourselves from our Asian counterparts. Racism against them is too often racism against us…. The mentality that keeps Suzy Wong, Madame Butterfly and gookism alive turns human beings into racist murdering soldiers and also keeps Asian American from being able to live and feel like human beings.[25]

This analysis of how racialized sexualization travels across borders emphasizes the mutually destructive impact of the war on Asians and Asian Americans. Suzie Wong and Madame Butterfly both refer to fictive representations of Asian women who engage in sexual and romantic relationships with western men. Suzie Wong, created by novelist Richard Mason and immortalized on screen by actress Nancy Kwan, is a prostitute with a heart of gold who caters to British and American sailors in Hong Kong during the Cold War. Madame Butterfly, the title of Giacomo Puccini's 1904 opera, refers to a Japanese woman named Cio-Cio San who marries an American naval officer and has a child with him. When he abandons her for a white American woman, Cio-Cio not only gives up her child to the father and surrogate mother but also commits suicide. Yoshimura connects both of these

representations of Asian women, which emphasize their sexual availability and vulnerability to western military men, to gookism. The term gook, which initially referred to a low-class prostitute, has historically been utilized by the American military as a racial epithet to refer to Asian enemies. It was used during the U.S.-Philippine War, fought by Americans to prevent Philippine independence; the term surfaced again during the Korean War, in which the U.S. attempted to prevent the reunification of Korea under socialist leadership; finally during the U.S. War in Viet Nam, the word "gook" became widely used to refer to Vietnamese enemies, both real and imagined.[26] By linking Susie Wong, Madame Butterfly, and Gookism, Yoshimura emphasizes the connections between sexual and racial dehumanization of Asian people by the U.S. military. She also stresses that these perceptions have implications for Asian people globally, both for those in Asia and for people of Asian ancestry in the U.S. Asian American women recognized how colonization and gender oppression operated in tandem both abroad and at home.

The extensive presence of U.S. military bases throughout Asia and the Pacific fostered critiques of militarized sexual practices of extraterritoriality and tourism.[27] In addition, the migration of international war brides and orphans to the U.S. generated rich scholarship about how unequal international relations and hierarchical forms of humanitarianism have shaped ideas about interracial and international families. For example, Korean women during the U.S. occupation in South Korea may have searched for "Prince Charmings" among white American military personnel, but their partners were searching for Asian "lotus blossoms."[28] Both these transnational-interracial marriages as well as transnational, trans-racial adoptions represent a domesticated version of American imperial ambitions in Asia. Adoption allowed (predominantly white) American families to embrace Asia. However, there were clear power differentials (amongst nations and within families) between those giving humanitarian aid and those receiving assistance. The hierarchy between white parents and Asian children also has a gender dimension. American families adopt more Asian girls compared to boys. These girls are viewed in the

U.S. as unwanted in Asia, due to the presumed patriarchal and anti-female values of these Asian countries. In contrast, Asian girls are desired in American society for their presumed docility and adaptability.[29]

The rich scholarship on Asian and Asian American girls and women implicated in the military-sexual complex reveal the interpenetration of the global, national, and the local. Foreign relations and war profoundly shaped racialized and sexualized representations as well as practices of coercive and voluntary forms of intimacy and family formation. These insights reveal how power pervades both the international and the domestic realms of life.

Conclusion

By focusing on Asian and Asian American women's lives and their representations as migrants, workers, and subjects of the U.S. military-imperial complex, scholars have already created a rich body of research. Their work illuminates how the transnational is at the heart of Asian America. In addition, their collective insights constitute a coherent field that we might call Asian American feminisms.

The examples offered primarily focus on Asian and Asian American women as subjects of state regimes, globalized capital, and militarization. However, it is equally important to understand Asian/American women as agents who resist power and challenge structural forms of inequality. Asian/American women found ways to navigate discriminatory immigration processes that disadvantaged them. They organized to protest labor conditions. They also identified and critiqued the military-sexual complex. Speaking truth to power and creating new ways to understand how power functions pave the way for new forms of creative political engagement.[30]

Notes

(1) Some noteworthy anthologies to define the field include: Asian Women United of California, *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings By and About Asian American*

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(2) William Petersen, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," *New York Times Magazine*, 9 January 1966; "Success Story of One Minority Group in U.S.," *U.S. News and World Report*, 26 December 1966.

(3) The ideas for this article draws from previous publications, specifically Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, "Gender," in *Keywords for Asian American Studies*, eds. Cathy Schlund-Vias, Linda Vo and K. Scott Wong (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 105-109; and Wu and Adrienne Winans, "Not Adding and Stirring: Women's History and the Transformation of Asian America," in *Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*, eds. Eiichiro Azuma and David Yoo (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 468-488.

(4) Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991); Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); George Anthony Peffer, *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration before Exclusion* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, 1999); Lucy E. Salyer, *Laws Harsh as Tiger: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1995); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1998).

(5) Sucheng Chan, "The Exclusion of Chinese Women, 1870-1943," in *Entry Denied: Exclusion and the Chinese Community in America, 1882-1943*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Martha Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration, and Citizenship, 1870-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Jennifer Gee, "Housewives, Men's Villages, and Sexual Respectability: Gender and the Interrogation of Asian Women at the Angel Island Immigration Station," and Erika Lee, "Exclusion Acts: Chinese Women during the Chinese Exclusion Era, 1882-1943," in *Asian/Pacific Islander American Women,* eds. Hune and Nomura; Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley:

University of California Press, 1995).

(6) Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1992, 1st edition and Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008, 2nd edition); Evelyn Nakano, Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, War Bride: Three Generations of Japanese American Women in Domestic Service* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Xiaojian Zhao, *Remarking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940-1965* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

(7) Eithne Leuibheid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002); Leibheid and Lionel Cantu, Jr., *Queer Migrations: Sexuality, U.S. Citizenship, and Border Crossings* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005).

(8) Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durnham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007).

(9) Lisa Sun-Hee Park, *Entitled to Nothing: The Struggle for Immigrant Health Care in the Age of Welfare Reform* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Eric Tang, *Unsettled: Cambodian Refugees in the New York Hyperghetto* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015).

(10) Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

(11) Xiaolan Bao, *Holding Up More than Half the Sky: Chinese Women Garment Workers in New York City, 1948-1992* (Urbana-Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Eileen Boris and Rhacel Salazar Parrenas, *Intimate Labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men;* Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Issei, Nisei, War Bride;* Lucy Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 5:1 (1979) 3-29; Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Rhacel Salazar Parrenas, *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration, and Domestic Work* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); *Children Of Global Migration: Transnational Families And Gendered Woes* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Melissa W. Wright, *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

(12) Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Split Household, Small Producer and Dual Wage Earner: An Analysis of Chinese-American Family Strategies," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 45:1 (February 1983): 35-46; Gary Okihiro, *Margins and Mainstreams* (Seattle: University

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(16) Boris and Parrenas, *Intimate Labors;* Parrenas, *Servants of Globalization* and *Children of Global Migration*.

(17) Joane Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality: Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 191.

(18) Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Katharine H. S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Heather Marie Stur, *Beyond Combat: Women and Gender in the Vietnam War Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Ji-Yeon Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown: Korean Military Brides in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

(19) Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Radicals on the Road: Internationalism, Orientalism, and Feminism during the Vietnam Era* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2013) and "Hypervisibility and Invisibility: Asian/American Women, Radical Orientalism, and the Revisioning of Global Feminism," in *The Rising Tide of Color: Race, State Violence, and Radical Movements across the Pacific*, ed. Moon-ho Jung (The University of Washington Press, 2015), 238-265.

(20) Evelyn Yoshimura, "GI's and Racism," *Asian Women* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, 1971/Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 3rd printing, October 1975), 74.

(21) Yoshimura, "GI's and Racism," 74.

(22) Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases; Moon, Sex Among Allies;* Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown*.

(23) Yoshimura, "GI's and Racism," 74.

(24) For a similar analysis of how racialized sexuality fostered male bonding within the U.S. military, see Stur, *Beyond Combat*. Stur, *Beyond Combat*, 198-199.

(25) Yoshimura, "GI's and Racism," 76.

(26) Robert G. Lee, *Orientals: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1999); David Roediger, "Gook: The Short History of an Americanism," *Monthly Review* 43 (Mar. 1992): 50.

(27) Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise*.

(28) Yuh, *Beyond the Shadow of Camptown*.

(29) Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Global Families: A History of Asian International Adoption in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2014); Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 2003); Andrea Louie, *How Chinese Are You?: Adopted Chinese Youth and their Families Negotiate Identity and Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2015); Kimberly McKee, *Beyond Grateful: The Politics and Performance of Adoption* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming); Arissa H. Oh, *To Save the Children of Korea: The Cold War Origins of International Adoption* (Stanford.: Stanford University Press, 2015).

(30) Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, "Asian American Feminisms and Women of Color Feminisms: Liberalism, Radicalism, and Invisibility," in *Asian American Feminisms and Women of Color Politics*, eds. Lynn Fujiwara and Shireen Roshanravan (Seattle: University of Washington Press, forthcoming).

Transnational Representations of "The Rape of Nanking" in US Media and Film, 1938-1945

Karen J. Leong

【要旨】

1930年代末からアメリカでは、中国人への同情を集めるために親中派と中国国家組織が国家を超えて協力した。その結果、日本の中国侵略の象徴となる南京事件は「南京強姦（Rape of Nanking）」として報道され、そのイメージが拡散された。1941年に米国が抗日戦争に参戦すると、今度はアメリカ政府が、同様のイメージをハリウッド映画などで流布し、中国がアメリカの同盟国となるに値することを印象づけた。本論文は、当時、性的行為は映画の道徳・品位検閲制度によって話題とすることさえ禁止されていたにもかかわらず、南京「強姦」報道によって始まった中国人女性への「暴行」というスペクタクルが、どのように中国での被害また日本の国民性や帝国主義的野望を伝える主な手段となったのか、その過程をジェンダーの視点から検証する。

The late 1930s marked a critical juncture in Sino-American relations, indeed in United States relations with "Asia," that would subsequently shift the geopolitical and cultural coordinates by which each nation located itself. A transnational coalition of American China sympathizers and Chinese national interests sought to circulate images of the Rape of Nanking, an event emblematic of Japan's aggression in China, to develop American sympathies for Chinese during the late 1930s. Once the United States entered the war against Japan in 1941, the US government sought to promote China as a deserving US ally in part through Hollywood films. This article analyzes how the spectacle of violated Chinese female bodies that first circulated with media reports of the Rape of Nanking, became the primary vehicle

of communicating China's victimhood and Japan's national character and imperial ambitions was through the narrative of rape to American audiences, at times even exceeding US national codes of morality and decency in the media.(1)

The violence of the Sino-Japanese conflict, which began in 1931, included the systematic rape of Chinese women and the abuse of their children by Japanese soldiers. Although the severity of this violence has been debated internationally, particularly in the 1990s and since, this article focuses on the images of rape and brutality that emerged from the Japanese invasion of Nanking circulated and proliferated in the American consciousness.(2) Americans specifically associated these atrocities not only with war and violence, but with Japan and Japanese culture.(3) American supporters of China focused public attention on the rape of Chinese women and the loss of the innocence of Chinese children (not necessarily through rape but through the destruction and loss of parents and family) to incite a public reaction and pressure the United States to fully support China. In this same period the Chinese government, although initially reticent, increasingly participated in this attempt to raise American sympathy for China and anger against Japan. Thus, the rape of Chinese women was circulated on a mass scale beyond the conflict itself, and the image of rape and rapist took on further meanings. Just as rape became a metaphor for German aggression in World War I and was disseminated throughout the world as anti-German propaganda, the "Rape of Nanking" became a metaphor for China in international politics from 1938 and throughout the remainder of World War II.(4)

Women's roles within the ideology of national identity often reflect the importance of their reproductive roles within the national economy. In their reproductive roles, women are valuable assets to a nation's vitality, nourishing its health and maintaining its strength. While youth and masculinity represent the virility of a nation and its future, women provide an alternative yet equally necessary symbol of

maternalism and morality. The reproductive aspect of women as birthgivers and moral teachers, however, also make female populations targets for competing nationalist claims. In the midst of a war, individual acts of rape take on the political and symbolic dimensions of the identities of the communities in conflict. Often the metaphor obliterates the individual experiences of the women themselves, committing yet another act of violence in the telling and re-telling of rape.[5] This article discusses how transnational collaboration between Chinese state supporters and US Chinese sympathizers promoted the circulation of the Rape of Nanking as media spectacle in order to heighten American sympathies for China in the late 1930s. Descriptions of disturbing images necessarily are included in order to analyze how the re-telling of rape was employed metaphorically and graphically to sway American public opinion.

The first widely circulated reports of Japanese atrocities in China occurred in July 1938 when *Reader's Digest,* the most widely circulated periodical in the United States by the end of the 1930s, published two pages of photos depicting the devastation.[6] The pictures reportedly were so graphic in detail that "the United States government would not permit their showing in the regular movie houses, lest they stir up too violent agitation against Japan."[7] Many Americans initially assumed that these photographs must be propaganda, a reaction based on the American public's mistrust of the media and strong sense of isolationism in the late 1930s. Interestingly, this reaction inferred that the events captured in these pictures could not be true because they were so horrible. The editors, however, replied these pictures in fact were not manufactured propaganda. Corroborating evidence from persons who had been in Nanking proved that the events had actually occurred.[8]

Hearst Movietone may have been the most sensationalist of the newsreel companies that brought the drama of China directly to American movie audiences. The episode addressing the 1939 destruction of Shanghai features fast-paced narration with the first title exclaiming, "First Films of Shanghai Destruction!" The narrator exclaims, "These extraordinary films made by News of the Day cameramen under

fire are the first adequately to portray the great war tragedy in the Orient!" Even as the bombing of Shanghai is presented as "the greatest drama of the Sino-Japanese war," a curtain actually rises to reveal footage of Allied ships off Shanghai's shore. Surveying the massive technology of war, the narrator intones over the strains of thrilling music, "The drama has begun…Anti aircraft guns, plane bombs mingle in the course of death!" As the audience is informed that over three-hundred million dollars worth of property has been destroyed, they are also warned that "one of the world's greatest ports faces annihilation…and into this horror comes a climax…" The footage immediately cuts to scenes filmed only one minute after airplanes bombed the heart of Shanghai, including a nearby hotel building, killing three hundred people. Lest there by any doubt, the narrator intones, "You're looking at war in the raw."[9]

At this time, the United States still remained technically neutral in international politics.[10] Thus the narrator ostensibly takes a historical, almost didactic, tone. He explains that a woman and crying baby are "fleeing that same war terror that has ravaged their good earth for untold centuries. A picture of an ancient nation's agony." This image serves to underscore even more dramatically the impact of the famous picture of the isolated baby in the ruins of Shanghai—by implication, the baby's mother has fled, been dragged away, or killed. The horror of a mother leaving behind her child implies the savagery of the enemy (the Japanese) who would cause her to flee because of the horrible consequence of getting caught (rape and/or death), impervious to the humanity of the mother and baby.

Supporters of China included American missionaries who were evacuated from China in the wake of Japan's invasion, attempted to appeal to international justice and provoke reaction by showing that the Japanese invasion of Nanking was "an outrageous violation" of international humanitarian laws.[11] They actively circulated images of Japanese destruction, including images of Chinese bodies that had been executed, sexually violated, or tortured, and Chinese cities that had been

looted and destroyed, categorizing these actions collectively as "an outrageous violation." The rape of individual bodies symbolized the violation of national borders and the transgression of the more ambiguous borders of human decency. Women's bodies, portrayed synonymously with the national body, thus endured repeated violations in the attempt to claim territory, battles, national pride and even international justice.

Lydia Liu describes the function of the Chinese female body as a nationalist symbol for wartime China:

> A sign of symbolic exchange, the raped woman often serves as a powerful trope in anti-Japanese propaganda. Her victimization is used to represent, or more precisely, to eroticize China's own plight. In such a signifying practice, the female body is ultimately displaced by nationalism, whose discourse denies the specificity of female experience by giving larger symbolic meanings to the signifier of rape: namely, China itself is being violated by the Japanese rapist. Since the nation itself is at stake, the crime of rape does not acquire meaning until it is committed by foreign intruders.[12]

The incorporation of China as a rape victim to symbolize Japan's aggression towards the allies intersected with the already feminized image of Asia within the American imagination.

Images of female Chinese rape victims were employed by a transnational network of supporters of China and the Chinese government to increase support for China and resistance against Japan. According to Minoru Kitamura the China Information Committee was established in 1937 to circulate Chinese propaganda abroad.[13] Its English-language pamphlet titled "Pictorial Evidence of Japanese Atrocities," suggests how the agency wanted China to be perceived by English-speaking or reading audiences, and shows how photos were deployed to represent the Chinese and the Japanese.[14] As Harold Isaacs writes, "the China war [with Japan] was heavily splashed across the front pages of the American press day after day, and newsreel films, entering upon their heyday as an independent medium

of communication, made their vivid impact week after week on a movie-going public."[15] The first page provides the background of this "pictorial record" of an event that was eventually referred to as the "Rape of Nanking." The account explains that this "rare pictorial evidence depicting Japanese atrocities," taken by "a foreigner," had been smuggled out of China. Fifteen pictures are then displayed on the following pages. "For documentary purposes," the text notes, "the captions for these pictures are given in full detail. They were written by the foreign cameraman himself after hearing the [sic] tragic tales from the lips of the victims."[16] Several pictures are of women whose husbands were murdered, others are of Japanese soldiers posing beside beheaded Chinese men (some of these pictures must have been taken from the cameras of captured Japanese soldiers) with arrows drawn in by hand to point out where the heads have fallen. The central pages make clear the primary purpose of the book. Page nine's title proclaims, "What is Actually Happening in China." A soldier in Japanese uniform poses, smiling, with a sword upraised in both hands. A Chinese man looks down, his shirt pulled down beneath his shoulders. Several other Japanese soldiers standing by smile broadly at the camera. The caption reads, "A young Chinese civilian about to be executed, possibly because he refused to aid the Japanese to procure women."[17]

The booklet claims to educate Westerners about "what is actually happening." Hoping that the photographs will serve as evidence, the China Information Committee—the Chinese government's propaganda office that sought to inform western perceptions of China and Japan—attempts to rouse some reaction on the part of the western nations. Gendered images are central to this effort. The second caption asserts a causal relationship between the execution of the young man and the rape of Chinese women. The remaining pictures in the booklet, with over half accompanied by detailed captions, depict women who reportedly were raped. A fifteen-year old stands in front of a hospital. Her parents were killed, as were her brother's wife, who resisted being raped, and her brother. Her older sister also resisted and was killed. The girl fainted. She regained consciousness, and found her-

self in a barracks with prostitutes, who were being treated well, and "a number of respectable girls like herself…locked up like herself [sic], and had also had their clothes taken from them.… She was raped two or three times per day for a month and a half."[18] Similar captions accompanied pictures of a woman holding her baby and a young woman being treated for venereal disease. The pictures seem to suggest that death may have been preferable to being raped—which it was, according to Confucian ideology.[19] The soldiers paid no attention to age; the elderly as well as the young child were raped; prostitutes were treated with respect, and respectable women were treated as objects; the accounts of Japanese perversity and amorality do not abate.

The photographs are as brutal as the stories that accompany them. The detailed stories provide names, ages, and places of residence, personalizing these graphic stories of violence. At the same time, an element of exploitation persists. There is a need for evidence in order to verify the experiences, to provide witnesses of truth. But one also wonders if there was a further loss of dignity for these women in being displayed in order to raise the sympathy of foreigners for their nation's plight. One of the photographs is provided as "Unanswerable proof of Japanese Debauchery in China." Described as "the least decadent of many [photographs] that have been obtained from Japanese degenerates who were as careless of the reputation of their army as they were utterly devoid of the slightest moral sense," no mention is made of the Chinese woman in the picture. The focus of the caption is on the invading army, on Japan, on the rapist. The photograph that was obtained from the Japanese, however, focuses on the woman's body. The soldier is posing on his knees, holding down the pants of a Chinese woman who is forced to raise her blouse slightly. A black triangle has been drawn in over her pubic area. Together, the caption and photograph create layers of images: the woman is viewed by the Japanese soldier who focused the camera and took the picture; the perspective of the soldier is viewed by the person who put together the commentary and wrote the caption of what he saw from this perspective; the reader of the pamphlet is told

to focus on what is not visible (the photographer as revealed through the exposure of the woman's genital area)—and to imagine what arrogance and savagery would possess the photographer; the haunting image of the woman's body, however, remains fixed and disturbingly open to interpretation and consumption.

While the China Information Committee circulated images of Chinese women's bodies in order to illustrate Japan's character, it is not evident whether or not the women knew why they were being photographed, if they indeed were rape victims or just convenient "models," or if they knew that these pictures would be circulated throughout the world. It could be plausible that they knew and supported this effort to raise international awareness about the situation in China. For the most part unknown, their faces and names only became known through the appropriation of their bodies by organizations in support of their nation, by virtue of the fact that they were violated by the soldiers of hostile nations.

Beginning in 1942, commercial movie studios in Hollywood began producing and releasing war movies set in China. These filmic productions built upon the late 1930s transnational collaborations among US Chinese sympathizers including missionaries, politicians, and corporate interests and Chinese agencies that then transitioned into US government-supported commercial endeavors after the US entered the war. The Motion Pictures Bureau of the Office of War Information served as a liaison with Hollywood to encourage the production of films that supported and educated the public about the United States' role in the war. This included films that depicted similarities between China and United States, emphasizing the common humanity of the Chinese as well as United States' role as a "big brother" to China in democracy and modernization. The poverty of China and its lack of material, modern comforts set America apart from China, the experience of endurance reflected the robust national character (at different levels, one transcendent and one persevering) of both nations.

Hollywood thus reproduced for American audiences a nationalist discourse that

had also been produced within China for Chinese. The plot of some movies including *China Girl* (20th Century Fox, 1943), and *China* (Paramount, 1943), centered on the conversion of an apathetic American to a heroic American fighting for China's freedom. Others, like *Behind the Rising Sun* (RKO, 1943) or *Dragon Seed* (MGM, 1942) focused more on generational conflicts among the Japanese or Chinese characters, respectively. An examination of these movies, however, shows how the rape of a Chinese woman or women often effectively served as a unifying symbol of American values, Japanese brutality, and China's victimhood. In other words, the bodies of Chinese women took on transnational function of communicating across nation-state boundaries, even as these bodies were deployed by international collaboration.

According to the *Hollywood Reporter,* Paramount's *China* was particularly adept at manipulating the audiences' emotions. "The strength of [this] production is in persuasively arousing audience anger in exact proportion to the central characters' wrath."[20] Variety's reviewer was even more complementary, noting that the story of:

> a tortured, ravaged China attacked by murderous Japs, is well known to humanity; it need no longer be "sold." But it will be retold and retold. Contents of "China" the picture are presented as a typical instance of Jap atrocities perpetrated during their penetrations. And the narration can hardly be challenged, for tales of the type still are too fresh in the minds of a headline-reading, air-listening world.[21]

The movie succeeds because the brutal rape of a young Chinese woman and the murder of a child incite both the hero of the film as well as, reportedly, the audience, against the Japanese.

Rape is continually brought up in the dialogue of *China.* Early on in the movie, the characters allude to the Rape of Nanking, an allusion with which audiences are familiar. When a Chinese guerrilla asks an initially-apathetic American, David Jones, how he will deal with the Japanese if they catch up with the Chinese young

women whom he has reluctantly agreed to escort to the university at Chengtu, Jones cockily replies, "I'll think of something!" But the guerrilla, played by Philip Ahn retorts, "It's too bad for our women that you weren't at Nanking to think of something." The possessiveness of "our women," and the not so subtle indictment of American refusal to respond diplomatically to Japan's attacks on Nanking, acknowledge the masculinity and heroics of the Chinese men. However, this very emphasis alludes to male Chinese ineffectiveness at protecting their women and implies a necessary dependence on United States intervention and on the virility of American nationalism.

The interest in war movies was not shared equally across lines of gender. Leo Handel's study of Hollywood audiences notes that a much greater percentage of men viewed war movies than women. Women generally did not want to view images of bloodshed or violence.[22] Whether or not they wanted to view images of war, it would be very difficult for them to not be exposed to aspects of the war, including the war in Asia. While American women maintained some choice over which visual images they would see—for instance, whether or not to buy a ticket to see a war movie—the pervasion of certain images in a variety of cultural forms suggests that a certain amount of exposure was inevitable. The film *Ravaged Earth,* for example, was advertised as a war movie that displayed the shocking events of Japan's invasion of China. Given Handel's audience research, this movie probably appealed to men more than women. Although women may not have wanted to see such a film, they had opportunities to view it. *Ravaged Earth* was shown to war industry workers in a variety of factories throughout the United States to increase morale, and at churches to raise support for Chinese charities. If they themselves did not see it, they could hear or read about it through their husbands or their friends who had seen it. Eleanor Roosevelt mentioned the film in her nationally syndicated "My Day" column, explaining that she and her daughter saw the picture together in San Diego. "They are certainly appalling pictures. If we need any awakening," she added, "this film should certainly open our eyes."[23]

Pearl Buck's novels after 1938, including *Dragon Seed,* also prominently featured the war. MGM subsequently produced a movie version of this novel starring Katherine Hepburn. Buck employed the metaphor of rape throughout her novel, which was released in January 1942.[24] Buck explained this herself in "The Story of Dragon Seed," a booklet published for distribution at the movie's premiere and fundraiser for The East West Association. Buck recalled her reaction the events of the Japanese attack on Nanking.

> …upon Nanking, the capital of New China…the enemy fell with furious violence. The bewilderment of the people, who could not comprehend this ferocity, was overwhelming. They were a reasonable people and this cruelty was so inhumanly unreasonable. Why kill thousands of innocent people? Why burn them alive? Why shoot down unknown men by the hundreds in a few minutes? Why rape even little girls and old women? Nothing like this had ever been done before, nor even been heard of before.[25]

Buck related how she was then inundated with facts both written and visual. "The facts took on meaning in the lives of the people. Photographs showed me faces and bodies."[26] Buck's novel drew upon the visual representation and personalization of the devastation of war, devastation that was then reproduced and reenacted for American movie-going audiences. The film depicts the family of Chinese patriarch Ling Tan during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937. The main story focuses on the relationship between progressive and "modern" Jade, played by Katherine Hepburn, and Ling Tan's second son, who holds traditional expectations about women's behavior. Their marriage played out against the invasion of Japanese troops and the Chinese resistance. The movie romance between a liberated woman and her husband during wartime was "balanced" with the repeated occurrence of rape.

In the first continuity developed by C. Gardner Sullivan for MGM, the scenes of the Japanese invasion featured refugees from the city warning the villagers, "Hide your women, young and old, for these men are beasts!"[27] Ling hurries home, locks the women inside and orders his youngest son Wu to stay at home. As the soldiers

descend, cries for mercy are heard throughout the village. When the third son confronts the Japanese soldiers who are looking for women, the soldiers rape him instead. When Ling and the oldest son come to help, it is too late. "They find the youngest son hunched up in the courtyard. Boyhood has gone from his heart forever. He insists he must leave for the hills at once.… There is nothing they can say to comfort him."[28] In a montage of violence, a 14-year-old daughter and her mother are surrounded by leering soldiers, one of whom rips off the girl's jacket. A husband is bayoneted as he attempts to protect his wife. A baby in a crib is set afire by another leering soldier who is adjusting his clothing. Two girls lie dead, their clothes in tatters. While the baby's crib goes up in flames, "above the hiss and crackle of the fire rises a never-ending paean of agony—the screaming of women—the piteous sobbing voices of women and children—the screaming of women—the screaming of women—the screaming of women."[29]

While elderly women are portrayed consistently as innocent victims, both *China* and the initial screen treatment of *Dragon Seed* imply moral judgement in their portrayal of the rapes of young Chinese women. *China* features a scene at a farm that contrasts New China in the guise of young female students, with an older Chinese mother as she bathes an orphan baby. The girls chorus, "People must be educated.… There must be a New China!" In response, the mother frowns, "Don't your books teach you to respect their elders?" But the girl with glasses scolds back, "It is old people like you who hold China back a thousand years." When the girls travel to the university at Chengtu, one of the girls, Yan Ling, decides to walk home and leave the protection of the Americans because she wants to remain with her parents. The girl with the glasses gets her two cents in, "You, me, all of us—we've sworn to dedicate our lives to the new China!" But Yan Ling shrugs and departs to help on the farm, where she subsequently is raped. Similarly in *Dragon Seed,* Jade's sister-in-law Orchid is presented as the antithesis of Jade. Although the first treatment, which was closer to the book, drew parallels between Orchid's desire to experience the excitement of the city and her being raped, the final ver-

sion of the script has her martyred in her attempt to draw the soldiers away from a group of young children.

Another proposed scene for *Dragon Seed* that takes place at a mission was reworked to emphasize a group of Chinese prostitutes' sacrifice for the "virtuous" Chinese women: the white woman missionary strikes a bargain with the Japanese soldiers. They will not invade the mission if some women will go out to them. The camera's gaze focuses on the other women's as well as the audience's gaze when the missionary asks for women who might "save the good women." All the women turn toward the group of prostitutes, who wearily stand and exit the mission.[30] The ambiguous message implies that while rape is evidence of violence and barbarity, some women "deserve" to be raped more than others.

The suggestion of rape is thus laden with conflicting messages. In the case of China, the young woman who turns back literally and figuratively on the "New China," walking away from the university toward the farm, becomes the sole victim and example of what can happen if one does not keep moving forward. If one were to equate the body of Chinese women to the national body of China, the message is equally ambiguous. Did China contribute to Japan's invasion by its slowness to modernize and its subsequent threat to Japan by being passive to Western expansion, as the Japanese military claimed?

The prostitutes' volunteering their own bodies under coercion to the Japanese soldiers is meant to be tragically heroic; but it also suggests that the decision to sacrifice the prostitutes is the only rational choice of the ad hoc community of women within the mission. At the very least, the courtesan scene implies that by sacrificing themselves to satisfy what is portrayed as the nearly insatiable lust of the Japanese soldiers, the "fallen women" are able to regain their lost virtue. The ways in which these "fallen women" are depicted as being redeemed through martyrdom to Japanese soldiers adds another dimension to the relationship between women and national identity. Having used their body dishonorably for material gain or subsistence, they can regain personal honor by preserving the honor of the

mothers and virgins, and thus preserving their nation's honor. As Cynthia Enloe has demonstrated, nationalism's division of labor not only falls along gender lines, but also along lines of morality and class within gender categories.[31]

The contrasting portrayals of Chinese courtesans—either willingly spending time with the Japanese troops as in the pamphlet issued by the Chinese Information Service or volunteering to go with the soldiers to protect the others in "Dragon Seed"—also evokes earlier American stereotypes of Chinese women in general. Chinese prostitutes in the United States were prominent symbols of Chinese decay and immorality employed in the campaign to exclude Chinese immigrants from entering the United States in the 1870s and 80s. Chinese women relied on the morality of white middle-class men and women to rescue them from the degradation of their own culture.[32] During World War II, Chinese prostitutes reflected the amorality of Japanese, not Chinese, men. But they still relied on white civilization for deliverance.

Ironically, the prevailing image of China's victimhood—the rape and murder of women characters that signified a larger event, the Japanese invasion of China—violated the codes of decency that Hollywood had enacted under pressure of the Catholic League of Decency in 1934. Rape, or the suggestion of rape, was not allowed on screen, even if the footage was not fictional. The portrayal of Chinese women in war movies challenged the Code, revealing much about perceptions of race, sexuality, and rape in the United States.

The negotiations that took place between the Production Code Authority and film studios over the depictions of wartime China illuminate ongoing tensions between the desire for realistic, vicarious experience, concerns over morality and reform, and the United States government's attempts to unite an American public during the war. The Production Code, enacted in 1934 by the film industry in response to boycotts and threatened government intervention, at first may appear to directly contradict the "cult of documentary." But the existence of the Code does

not negate the focus on "reality." Even with the Code, films like *The Good Earth* or *Grapes of Wrath,* were successful. Rather, the Code represented the tension between the desire for "real" experience and the growing desire of certain vocal and powerful groups to control how that "reality" was depicted. Realistic novels were "altered to make them more in tune with the conservative, moral, political, and economic value system that dominated the movie censorship code."[33] The motion picture studios thus relied on innuendo to suggest exactly what was going on.[34]

The combined violence and sexualization of rape made it impossible to frankly discuss or portray the crime. Joseph I. Breen of the MPAA wrote to Luigi Luraschi of Paramount's Censorship Department, detailing his main objections to an early version of the *China* script:

> Specifically, the major points are the…unacceptable illicit sex affair, and the scene of the rape, as now written…. With regard to the rape scene we stated that we could not approve, under the Code, any actual scenes of rape, even though presumably happening off stage. We could, however, approve a scene in which it was indicated that the girl had been raped by the Japanese.[35]

China producers and scriptwriters agreed with the Production Code Board representative, in a conference over the "white" version of the film's script, that "there [would] be no disarrangement of the clothes either of the Japanese soldier of the Chinese girl that would specifically indicate rape."[36] Luraschi wrote Breen to notify him of the improvements they had made in the final cut of the film, including dubbing in slapping sounds over the rape scene, "to indicate that the girl in the inner room is being manhandled by one of the soldiers so that no other inference can be read into what might be taking place between the time the first two Japanese soldiers leave the room and are followed by a third."[37] The distinction between manhandling and rape must have been very subtle, indeed.

However, ensuring that the audience would not miss any of the suggestions in the film, the idea of rape in several of the advertisements prepared for *China* took on a pornographic tone. The marketing of the movie *China* exaggerated the image

of rape. In Paramount's pressbook for studios showing the film, there are a variety of lobby displays available. One of the more sedate posters shows a grim Loretta Young in a trenchcoat, "Loretta YOUNG… lovely American battling AN INFERNO OF JAP RAPACITY!" Another has bare-torsoed Alan Ladd with a machine gun, "ALAN LADD AND TWENTY GIRLS…TRAPPED BY THE RAPACIOUS JAPS!" A smaller inset shows Ladd breaking into a room where Japanese soldiers hover over a woman's body. "TOO LATE…to save her from the Japs…but in time to avenge her!" Yet another advertisement features a large background of Ladd blasting his way into the room with Young right behind. "THE JAPS HAD NO MERCY FOR HER…AND ALAN LADD HAD NO MERCY FOR THEM!" The Japanese soldier is reeling back, having been shot by Ladd, his body twisted away from the reclined body of the woman in a tight dress, her body splayed onto the letters that spell CHINA. The same display features another title, "She'd Be Better Off Dead! Says Alan Ladd…." This particular ad was run in True Story magazine, June 1943. The pressbook noted that the magazine had a readership of 3,736,800 readers; most of these readers presumably read the magazine because authentic, and often lurid, experiences appealed to them. "Use this display to get across shock angle of Japs' rapacity!" the pressbook declares repeatedly.[38] Presumably, the MPAA had no problems with the advertisements.[39]

MGM faced similar obstacles with *Dragon Seed*. When the studio submitted preliminary copies of its *Dragon Seed* script to the MPAA Production Code Board, the Board quickly responded with suggested changes. "In rewriting the script," Breen wrote to L. B. Mayer, "we suggest dropping any number of these scenes in which the Japanese soldiers are shown demanding women. This idea should be gotten over without being so bluntly expressed, and so repeatedly." Regarding the suggested rape of an elderly woman, Breen cautioned that when she screams, "it must be definitely established that she is being brutalized, so as to remove any possible suggestion that her screams are due to her being raped. This latter inference would be unacceptable."[40]

National codes of morality thus suppressed the reality of rape in order to maintain a sense of decency for American audiences, yet allowed intimations of manhandling and brutality. The Chinese government did not protest these representations of rape. Nor did the United States Office of War Information, which encouraged depictions of what the Bureau of Motion Pictures itself termed a vicious, evil and manipulative enemy. But the Production Code Board, which established a system of moral values for the movie industry, remained concerned that portrayals of certain crimes, particularly those ostensibly having to do with sex, might make those crimes seem attractive.[41] Under "Section II. SEX" of "'Particular Applications' of the Code", Point Three discusses "Seduction or rape": "These should never be more than suggested, and then only when essential for the plot. They must never be shown by explicit method." While detailed depictions were, acts of murder and cruelty were acceptable; rape was not. Sex perversion, miscegenation, and actual childbirth also were forbidden.[42]

In practical terms, Breen decided that rape could be suggested only as a past event. Again regarding a rape scene in *Dragon Seed,* he wrote, "it will be unacceptable to lay any scene that suggests that actual rape is taking place, even though it is supposed to be out of scene. The furthest we can go, under the Code, is to suggest that rape has taken place, but not that it is actually occurring." This rendered three scenes unacceptable, and required caution in the portrayal of Orchid's body post-rape to "avoid any offensive suggestion of rape."[43] The August and September revisions of the script also contained this warning.

The Board apparently persuaded the studio. By the time MGM finalized the script, the film's star Katherine Hepburn, reported to a Chinese acquaintance that the studio "cut out the raping part." The rape montage and mission scenes were deleted and only a suggestion of Orchid's rape—her being chased by a crowd of Japanese soldiers—remained.[44] When Breen finally issued Code Certificate number 10,000 for *Dragon Seed,* he added a qualification: "P. S. This certificate is issued with the understanding that you have cut down the off-scene screams of the two

Chinese women, as reported in Mr. Block's letter of July 1, 1944."[45] Most Americans by 1941, however, already had been exposed to several references, exaggerated or not, to the Rape of Nanking. The knowledge and imagination of audiences could more than fill in the visual omissions of these films.

The solution that the MPAA came up with regarding rape remained problematic. By placing rape on the same "only shown when essential" category as adultery, illicit sex, and scenes of passion—all of which might be considered consensual but immoral—rape theoretically became less of a crime of violence and more ambiguously a sexual act that was characterized by passion, violence and/or power. The Code, by reflecting societal views of rape as shameful and dishonorable, ended up enforcing this idea by ensuring the absence of rape from the screen. In the motion pictures, then, women could not be shown resisting, nor could they be heard screaming for too long, because this would suggest a rape is taking place.

The Hollywood film industry's inability to film in China during the war required the recruitment of Chinese Americans and other ethnic communities from the Los Angeles region to portray both Japanese males and Chinese females. The Chinese American community in the 1940s was still predominately first and second generation due to the late development of families as a result of immigration restrictions, and many of the first generation still maintained transnational relations with family in China. In addition and many community members actively contributed to raising millions of dollars for China during the War of Resistance with Japan.[46] Edwin Louie's "Story of the Patriotic South" suggested that "Chinese American patriotism" in Los Angeles included expressions of hatred for the Japanese, and lauded "the new wave of employment opportunities" for Chinese film players.[47]

The recruitment of Chinese Americans from the "Chinese colonies"—to which they were relegated by much of the press and public—into the film industry, was as much about war production as their recruitment into the war factories. Both industries provided economic benefits which had been withheld from their community out of institutionalized racism. Chinese Americans were cast as featured ac-

tors and extras for Hollywood's the creation of the Japan-China-United States conflict, produced with "mainstream America" in mind. Chinese American males as well as females gained access to public visibility and higher wages by acting in Hollywood films. The *Chinese Press* pronounced a "heyday down in Hollywood for Chinese film players" in 1942. The projected simultaneous filming of *Dragon Seed, Across the Pacific* (Warner Bros.), *China Skies* (RKO), and *Keys of the Kingdom* (20th Century Fox), promised a demand for Chinese American actors and extras.[48] Five months later, *Chinese Press* columnist H. K. Wong reported that "[t]he flames of war have lighted a new era of prosperity for the Chinese in Southern California." After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, "more than 50 films which are themed to the war in the Pacific or have scenes on the China front have been or are being produced." Enumerating the many war films set in China slated for production, Wong noted the shortage of Chinese actors and studios' subsequent employment of "Koreans, Filipinos, and Mexicans for mass scenes."[49] These portrayals of Japanese aggressors and Chinese resistors could be another form of transnational resistance on the part of Asian immigrant communities to Japanese imperialism during World War II.

Susan Jeffords suggests that representations of war often served to "reinforce the interests of masculinity and patriarchy."[50] Women's bodies serve as a means of communication between men, particularly during the spectacle of war. War then, constitutes a performance of "collective masculinity."[51] In US representations of China during the war, however, a significant lack of collective masculinity existed between China and the United States. If anything, portrayals of bodies of Chinese women and Japanese rapists drew American and Japanese soldiers together in portrayals of masculinity. The American spectator—no matter which gender—would more likely identify with the American soldier. Transplanted to a distant and violent country, the American soldier served as the vehicle within the film that transported filmgoers to China.

Chinese officials and supporters complained about this lack of common masculinity, presuming that it reflected on China's national stature. Although they desired that Japanese atrocities be explicitly detailed for Americans, they demanded that the heroic efforts of the Chinese armies also be portrayed. "While the more gruesome war pictures should be handled with judgment, we believe that pictures should reveal unmistakably the utterly ruthless and brutal conduct of the war by Japan's military machine, and the extent of suffering, recuperation, and determination shown by the Chinese under conditions of unbelievable difficulty and strain."[52] More important than portraying the Japanese troops' brutality, however, were portrayals of "[t]he current, ingenuity, resourcefulness, and determination of individual Chinese soldiers, officers, and civilians…"[53] The Chinese nationalist government revealed the importance it placed on popular conceptions of its government and nation, as well as the perceived power to persuade inherent in mass produced and circulated images. Simply portraying the Japanese army's ravages on the Chinese people, without depicting the resistance on behalf of the Chinese army and other institutions of state, was the equivalent of emasculation, a double feminization.

The need for rescue and defense reminded American audiences of China's need for American aid; it also reminded Americans of the continued necessity for the exertion of American manhood not just within the borders of the United States, but throughout the world. The helpless women in war movies located in China, then, were Chinese women who could not rely on Chinese men for the protection of their virtue or civilization. Both American men and women could come across as capable and independent, within their own gendered spheres of expertise. Reviewer Howard Barnes explicitly linked China's war with Japan to American ideologies in his discussion of *Dragon Seed*. He described the particular depiction of the Sino-Japanese war as a text, and even noted the significance of the actors' nationalities and accents. "[I]t holds out a splendid over-all document of the things free men are fighting for these terrible days. As a matter of fact, the varied American accents

in the production gradually assume telling proportions as the inevitable skein of action unreels."[54]

Although democracy, in the form of United States and the American hero, represented the goal to which China and Chinese people aspired within the movies themselves, one underlying subtext was that democracy and its power were based on capitalism. The portrayal of Chinese resistance included the peasants' heroic attempts to transport heavy machinery. Hence, the Chinese were fighting for survival in numerous ways, including the attempt to industrialize and enter the global free market. Economic relations of power are reflected in the competent use of modern technology. Conversely, China was valued not simply as a democratic ally, but as an economic opportunity. China's multitude, as portrayed in these American-made films, were eager to learn from their American friends.

Transnational productions and representations of Japan and China as rapist and rape victim, respectively, thus offers insight on the complex construction of American nationalism in relation to the transnational attempts to construct a worthy China. The effectiveness of employing the rhetoric of rape in relation to China relied on the ability of Americans to project their own racialized conceptions of rape crime onto the Japanese. In what Susan Jeffords terms "the cultural narrative of rape in war," death is preferable to rape and any rapist deserves to die. The rapist of this narrative overwhelmingly is portrayed as non-white and uncivilized, suggesting that one's race and culture is as much a crime worthy of death as is rape.[55] Paramount's *China* is but one example of this. Only after arriving at the farm and comprehending that Japanese soldiers have killed the mother and baby, and have raped Yan Ling, does the American hero choose to involve himself. He slays the Japanese soldiers—who have exited the room with their hands in the air—with his machine gun.

Compounding the racialized and sexualized depiction of the Japanese soldier as rapist, American press reports and Hollywood filmmakers emphasized the feminin-

ity of China as a victim of rape in depictions of the Rape of Nanking. The rape of Chinese women emphasized the vulnerability of women and the sensitivity and strength of men, affirming America's structures of gender relations. It is also telling that the anti-Japanese propaganda focused solely on Japanese soldiers with little or no mention of Japanese. One did not "see" them in the war until the bombing of Japan by the United States, and even then they were obscured by the sensationalistic accounts of atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers and the Japanese government.[50]

The timing of representations of the Rape of Nanking in American popular culture also was crucial. Motion pictures about China at war were part of the Office of War Information's attempt to educate the American public about "why we fight." Until 1941, most publicity about the Rape of Nanking emanated from missionaries and official Chinese agencies. After Pearl Harbor, however, the United States' interests and those of China allied themselves against Japan. This alliance did not mean that the two nations shared the same vision of how China should be portrayed.

China, like most foreign governments, sought some control over Hollywood's portrayal of their respective national communities. What each government chose to protest and not to protest reveals much about concepts of nation. Even though the Chinese government had earlier protested Hollywood depictions of Chinese women as loose and immoral, I have found no protests of the depictions of Chinese women as portrayed in the war footage or films. The fate of thousands of Chinese women, in contrast, seemed an easy way to characterize Japanese as the enemy and gain the sympathy of an American audience. The Chinese government's lack of protest over the images of Chinese women being raped, and its protest over the lack of images of heroic resistance on the part of Chinese men, illustrates that the Chinese government also viewed male roles as more indicative of the nation's strength and ability to fight.

However, contemporary Chinese narratives existed that did subvert China's na-

tionalist appropriation of the female body. Two such novels were written by female novelists Ding Ling and Xiao Hong. Lydia Liu's reassessment of Xiao Hong's *The Field of Life and Death* notes that the rape of a Chinese female character in that narrative is committed by a Chinese soldier, for instance.[57] These works, however, apparently did not meet the needs of either Chinese or United States nationalism. If, as Lydia Liu argues, Xiao Hong's refusal "to sublimate or displace the female body " reveals the patriarchy inherent in China's nationalism, a production of such a novel might likewise subvert the nationalist ideology of United States, revealing as trenchant a patriarchal system as that associated with China.

The women who were raped during Japan's invasion of China thus had their bodies appropriated in numerous ways. Their bodies were tortured and abused by enemy soldiers as a form of nationalistic conquest. Their scarred bodies were then displayed as "evidence" of Japanese atrocities by their own government, and those who sympathized with their country. These images were consumed by many Americans, confirming in their minds the inhumane image of the Japanese. Thus, even though Japanese aggression united the governments of the United States and China, various transnational collaborations produced and circulated gendered representations of Japan's violence before 1941 and throughout the war.

Notes

(1) As feminist cultural studies scholar Susan Jeffords has illustrated through her studies of representations of the Vietnam War in United States popular culture, rape itself is a powerful term in American consciousness that is founded on ideas of morality, sexuality, and race. Jenny Sharpe also provides a sophisticated analysis of rape within the context of British imperialism in India. See Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989) and Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of the Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

(2) The Rape of Nanking and Japanese atrocities during World War II, in general, received renewed attention with the publication of Iris Chang's book, *Rape of Nanking.* Arguing that the event has been obscured in the United States and Japanese histories of the war,

Chang explained that she wanted Japan to accept responsibility for the incident, claiming "the rape of Nanking surpasses much of the worst barbarism of the ages." Yuki Tanaka's book, published a year earlier, discusses the atrocities committed by the Japanese armies during World War II in a more nuanced and analytical way. Using Japanese sources, Tanaka discusses the extent to which soldiers, officials, and citizens participated in denying war crimes committed by the Japanese Imperial Army during World War II. Tanaka also focuses on the mass rapes which occurred, particularly at Nanking. See Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); Yuki Tanaka, *Hidden Horrors: Japanese War Crimes in World War II* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996); Chang and Tanaka's publications, as well as demands by Chinese as well as some Japanese and others globally for an apology from the Japanese government, inspired additional Japanese and Chinese research publications about the events in Nanking. For example, see Minoru Kitamura, *The Politics of Nanjing: An Impartial Investigation,* trans. Hal Gold (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2006); Jeff Kingston, "Nanjing's Massacre Memorial: Renovating War Memory in Nanjing and Tokyo," *Asia-Pacific Journal* 6, no. 8 (1 Aug 2008): 1-23; and Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the "Rape of Nanking": History and Memory in Japan, China, and the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

(3) Moeller writes that Japanese atrocities were depicted more graphically than those of any other army. Susan Moeller, *Shooting War* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1989), 231-232.

(4) Nicoletta F. Gullace, for example, has shown how British "atrocity narratives" of the German "rape" of Belgium during the First World War mobilized British sentiment against Germany and in support enforcing international law. Although World War II did not officially begin for the United States until December, 1941, the war for China began at least in 1937. Gullace, "Sexual Violence and Family Honor: British Propaganda and International Law during the First World War," *American Historical Review* 102 (June 1997): 714-747.

(5) As Susan Jeffords has observed of the Persian Gulf War, the success of "the rape scenario as a cultural narrative" had "little if anything to do with the rapes of actual women." Susan Jeffords, "Culture and National Identity," *Diplomatic History,* "Culture, Gender, and Foreign Policy: A Symposium," 18: 1 (Winter 1994): 91-96 , especially 95.

(6) Gary Dean Best, *The Nickel and Dime Decade* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993), 50; Moeller, *Shooting War,* 15, 135. Moeller writes that photoessays were popularized during WWII and after, primarily because of new printing technology that allowed

better definition. This process was first used by Henry Luce in publishing *Life.* The photographs themselves became the substance, as opposed to supplementing the text.

(7) Charles R. Shepherd, *Chung Mei Chronicle.* Reprinted in the *Chinese Digest,* Nov 1938, 5-6.

(8) Numerous missionaries present in Nanking or Shanghai wrote to their mission boards about what had happened. An example of this is the two letters from M. Searle Bates at the University of Nanking, 24 Dec 1937, and George Fitch with the YMCA in Nanking, written in December 1937. These give details of mass looting, rape and murder by the Japanese soldiers and officers and the helplessness of Americans to do anything about it. The copies of these letters are marked "NOT FOR PUBLICATION", and clearly were circulated among mission boards and government officials. Box 1327: Folder "900.02 YMCA," RG 200, Records of the American Red Cross, National Archives, Washington D.C.

(9) "First Film of Shanghai Destruction!" *News of the Day,* # VA11216, Hearst Movietone Newsreels, Film and Television Media Center, University of California, Los Angeles.

(10) China received limited "commodity credits" to purchase supplies in the United States beginning in 1938 and lasting until early 1941, when FDR created the Lend-Lease program. See Michael Schaller, *The U.S. Crusade in China, 1938-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), especially Chapters 3 and 4.

(11) Dramatic images of destruction and devastation in China also held potential rewards for publicists who sought to capitalize on human shock and sympathy to increase American donations to China relief organizations. United China Relief, the umbrella fundraising organization of seven individual China charities, received at least one such proposal. John L. Underhill, of the publicity firm Taylor-Underhill, Inc. argued that China relief would most effectively be presented in terms of Americans' self interest in supporting China as a wartime ally. He suggested literature that focused on Chinese fighting, and especially suffering, on behalf of American interests. Underneath the proposed caption, "They Have Suffered in Our Behalf," he wanted "pictures of rapine, poverty and devastation due to Jap[anese] invasion." Pictures, he specified, "should be as gruesome as possible."

The horror of war was still a crucial aspect of the fundraising campaign. Instead of outright gruesomeness, however, the ads personalized the devastation. For example, China supporters were asked to solicit donations form friends and acquaintances in the form of postcards featuring a famous photo of a baby at Nanking—the photograph of a "Chinese child, injured, bleeding, bawling on its haunches in the midst of the smoking

destruction….” The photo, which initially ran in the October 4, 1937 issue of *Life* was seen by an “estimated…136,000,000 people all over the world.” It was selected as one of the “Ten Pictures of the Year” in 1937 and was recreated in the 1942 film *The Flying Tigers*. According to Robert Fyne, this movie was one of the “top ten propaganda films” of the war. The baby was provided with a name and a story to “make the enclosed postcards speak for themselves.” Harold Isaacs declared the baby, “One of the most successful ‘propaganda’ pieces of all time….” See Harold R. Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds. American Views of China and India* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1962), 168, fn 84. Also see Robert Fyne, *The Hollywood Propaganda of World War II* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1994), 38.

(12) Lydia Liu, “The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse: Xiao Hong’s Field of Life and Death Revisited,” in *Scattered Hegemonies,* eds. Caren Kaplan and Inderpal Grewal (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 44.

(13) Kitamura, 27.

(14) “Pictorial Evidence of Japanese Atrocities” (Hankow, China: The China Information Committee, n.d.), Collection No. 50, Collection of Alternative Underground Pamphlets, Department of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles. Although the pamphlet is not dated, the pictures are similar to those circulated in the first half of 1938, after the first Japanese invasions of Nanking. The text also refers to the December 1937 invasion of Nanking. The Chinese Government also had a news agency in the United States that was called The China News Agency, which was funded by the Nationalists. The China Information Service was set up in September 1938 by Frank Price and other American missionaries to publicize the Chinese cause. According to Paul Varg, the service was run out of Washington DC and criticized U.S. neutrality and continued shipments of oil and metal to Japan. See Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1958), 260.

(15) Harold R. Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds,* 167.

(16) “Pictorial Evidence of Japanese Atrocities,” 2.

(17) *Ibid.,* 8-9.

(18) *Ibid.,* 4.

(19) Vivien Ng, “Ideology and Sexuality, Rape Laws in Qing China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46 (Feb 1987): 57-70. Ng suggests that the 1646 Qing code, which required women to prove they had struggled against a rape, served the sociopolitical needs of the Qing/Manchu government. For women to gain honor they had to die during the attack to prove their “chaste virtue.” Although chastity would be attacked during the New Cul-

tural Movement of the 1920s, these depictions suggest an ambivalence towards the rape victims, and may explain why many of the women described were very young or elderly.

⑳ Review of *China, Hollywood Reporter,* 23 Mar 1943, Production Files: *China,* Paramount 1943, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences [hereafter cited as MHL, AMPAS].

㉑ Review of *China, Variety,* 22 Mar 1943, *China.* Paramount 1942, MPAA Production Code Administration Files, Special Collections [hereafter cited as MPAA Production Code Files], MHL, AMPAS. The word "Jap" is in the quote and I hence include it as an indicator of contemporary hostility toward the Japanese.

㉒ Leo Handel, *Hollywood Looks at its Audience: A Report of Film Audience Research* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1950).

㉓ Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day," Summer 1942. ER Papers, FDR Library, Hyde Park, NY.

㉔ Conn attributes this focus on rape to Buck's knowledge of events in China and, interestingly, to her gender. Yet, as I have attempted to show in this chapter, men were as active in discussing and disseminating the rape and violence of the Japanese invasion of Nanking as women. Buck's book was written after many reports of rape had circulated formally and informally among missionaries and government officials and in pamphlets and periodicals. Perhaps because of her gender, Buck emphasized the rape of all segments of society, of men and women, in China. Her authorial decision, however, seems more to reflect the general depiction of the Japanese armies and their savagery than a specific discussion about rape. Peter Conn, *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

㉕ Pearl S. Buck, *The Story of Dragon Seed* (New York: John Day, Co., 1944), 10-11.

㉖ *Ibid.*

㉗ C. Gardner Sullivan, *Dragon Seed,* One line continuity, 18 Apr 1942, 10, *Dragon Seed,* Folder 1, MGM Collection, Film and Television Archive, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA [hereafter cited as USC Film/TV Archive].

㉘ *Ibid.,* 11.

㉙ C. Gardner Sullivan, *Dragon Seed* Treatment, 25 Apr 1942, 97-98, *Dragon Seed,* Folder 1, MGM Collection, USC Film/TV Archive.

㉚ Jane Murfin, *Dragon Seed* Dialogue/Continuity, 24 Mar 1943, run 2 Apr 1943 with revisions as of 21 May 1943, "Dragon Seed," Folder 2, MGM Collection, USC Film/TV Archive, 112-3.

㉛ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (Berkeley: University of California

Press, 1989).

(32) Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

(33) Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics, and the Movies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 6.

(34) For detailed examples of this process, see Leonard J. Leff and Jerold L. Simmons, *The Dame in the Kimono: Hollywood, Censorship and the Production Code from the 1920s to the 1960s* (New York: Grove Weidenfelt, 1980).

(35) Letter, Joseph I. Breen to Luigi Luraschi, 21 Aug 1942, 1, MPAA Production Code Files, *China,* Paramount 1942, MHL, AMPAS.

(36) Letter, Joseph I. Breen to Luraschi, 14 Oct 1942. MPAA Production Code Administration Files, *China,* Paramount 1942, MHL, AMPAS.

(37) Letter, Luigi Luraschi to Joseph I. Breen, 12 Feb 1943. MPAA Production Code Files, *China,* Paramount 1942, MHL, AMPAS.

(38) Pressbook, *China,* Paramount, 1943, 15, 18-19, LP 12082, Reel 426, Copyright Registration Files, Motion Pictures Division, LOC.

(39) Ruth A. Inglis, "Self-Regulation in Operation," in *The American Film Industry,* ed. Tino Balio (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 377-400, especially 387. Studios agreed to submit advertising copy to the MPAA for approval. Presumably, any difficulties would have been recorded in the MPAA Files.

(40) Letter, Joseph I. Breen to L. B. Mayer, 16 June 1943, MPAA Production Files, *Dragon Seed* MGM 1944, MHL, AMPAS.

(41) Ruth A. Inglis, "Self-Regulation in Operation," 379.

(42) *Ibid.,* 381.

(43) Letter, J. I. Breen to L.B. Mayer, Regarding 5/28/43 version of script, 13 Aug 1943, 3, MPAA Production Files, *Dragon Seed,* MGM 1944, MHL, AMPAS.

(44) Letter, Siang-Mei Rosalind Chang to H. H. Chang, 13 Sep 1943, 2 pp., 2, Box 2: "Correspondence with Siang-Mei Rosalind Chang, 1943," Chang Hsin Hai Collection, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

(45) Code Certificate, 10 July 1944, MPAA Production Files, *Dragon Seed,* MGM 1944, MHL, AMPAS.

(46) Him Mark Lai, "Role Played by Chinese in America during China's Resistance to Japanese Aggression and during World War II," in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives-The Journal of Chinese Historical Society of America.* San Francisco, CA: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1997, 75-128, especially 91-97.

(47) Edwin Louie, "Story of the Patriotic South," *Chinese Press,* 26 Mar 1943, 28. Louie also celebrated the fact that some Chinese Americans were able to take over the farms and produce markets that were evacuated when Japanese Americans were involuntarily located into prison camps—reflecting that nationalist sentiments divided some Asian immigrants against each other.

(48) "In Hollywood's Language, the Demand For Chinese Extras is 'Colossal,'" *Chinese Press,* 8 May 1942, 7.

(49) H. K. Wong, "H. K.'s column," *Chinese Press,* 9 Oct 1942, 6.

(50) Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), xi.

(51) *Ibid.*

(52) Letter, Harry B. Price to Earl Minderman, 3 Oct 1942, 2 pp., 2, Head Research Division, Bureau of Motion Pictures, OWI, Seeley Mudd, Princeton University Library.

(53) *Ibid.* The author of this memo, Harry Price, was careful to add that the views stated in the letter were those of himself, Mr. C. S. Liu and Mr. J. Z. Huang, noting that "[a]s suggested during our subsequent conversation, it may be better for the answer to be in the form of comments…rather than through an official statement from the China Embassy at this time," 1.

(54) Howard Barnes, "On The Screen," *New York Herald Tribune,* 21 or 27 Jul 1944, 12, Production Files: *Dragon Seed* MGM 1944, MHL, AMPAS.

(55) This is also suggested in films produced prior to the war. Rape is consistently portrayed as a crime committed by those who are marginalized, and punishable by death (often at the hands of the victim, who is usually white, and either middle-class upwardly mobile). Gina Marchetti's *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1994) devotes an entire chapter, "Rape Fantasy," on the Oriental rapist. Her analysis suggests that the Oriental villain is sympathetically portrayed as desiring the white woman, but his very love for her requires leads necessarily to his death.

(56) Early in the war, many United States officials made a clear distinction between the right-wing military branch of Japan and the more liberal Japanese population. They asserted that the military branch had taken over the government and that the majority of Japanese did not know what was really happening in China or elsewhere.

(57) Lydia Liu, "The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse," 58.

Asian American Mata Hari: Gender, Race, and the OSS during World War II

Brian Masaru Hayashi

【要旨】

戦争は社会変化を促す一要因である。もし第一次世界大戦が婦人参政権のような近代的変化をもたらしたのであれば、第二次世界大戦は、ウィリアム・チェフの主張するように、アメリカ人女性たちに「革命的変化」をもたらしたのであろうか。本論文は、中央情報局（CIA）の前身である戦略諜報局（OSS）で働いた女性たちに注目する。まず、ジョアン・ボンデュラントによって計画された1945年に日系アメリカ人女性諜報員を日本本土へ送り込み日本兵の士気を損なおうとする「二世女性諜報員プロジェクト」に参加した二世女性、さらにはOSSの極東部門に勤務した二人の白人女性－元ハーバード大学の文化人類学者であったコーラ・デュボイスとジャーナリストのベティ・マクドナルド－の体験を分析する。第二次世界大戦は、それらアメリカ政府の情報部門で働く女性に、人種面で大きな変化をもたらしたが、ジェンダーの面では大きな変化をもたらさなかったことを検証する。

Pointing to the historically unprecedented rise in female employment during World War II, historian William Chafe declared, “No class of people experienced more changes as a consequence of the war than American women.” Chafe, however, qualifies his statement by pointing out that in the decade prior, federal and local government politicians, businessmen, and labor officials all urged women workers to return to the “home” to guarantee male employment and stability for the post-World War II family life. Were these changes more apparent than real, given the widely-practiced discrimination in wages and the lack of child care centers to support over the long-haul such changes in employment for women? And

to what extent did these patterns hold true when “race” and “ethnicity” are considered?[1]

This article seeks answers these questions through an examination of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean American women in World War II’s Office of Strategic Services (OSS), America’s first centralized intelligence agency and forerunner to the present-day Centralized Intelligence Agency (CIA). Based on English- and Japanese-language sources, it finds that these women, numbering almost three dozen, joined some four-thousand other college-educated women who comprised about a sixth of that government agency’s estimated total personnel of twenty-one thousand. Through an examination of these women, one can view the gender construction process of American women as affected by “race” and “ethnicity.” Despite the paucity of sources, their lives were shaped by this process and can be seen in such a hybrid federal government agency where both civilian and military dimensions determined the policies, assignments, and wages for both male and female employees. It finds “race” was less a factor than “gender” in terms of job placement within this spy organization, though for all Asian Americans a “glass ceiling” existed. Lacking the social, educational, and cultural connections, they were unable to, as had their Euro American counterparts, achieve upward mobility in the postwar period.[2]

Yet, for a rare Asian American woman, the OSS was a means for upward economic mobility during and after World War II. Although limited to secretarial type administrative work, these women were nevertheless able to use their position as a ladder by which to climb out of what they probably perceived as less desirable conditions. Mary Chan, for example, was a Chinese national hired by the OSS’ Secret Intelligence division office in Kunming in June 1944 at an annual salary of $1,800 before being promoted to Senior Clerk-Stenographer in June 1945, and earning a raise to $2,400, a salary that was higher than her building’s security guards she walked past each day. Mary was valued not only for her clerical skills but also for her language skills so that she was offered an unclassified Civil Service

position within the agency's Washington DC office where she moved to October 1945 before resigning to join her fiancé in Vancouver, Canada. For her, the OSS provided an important exit visa out of China.[3]

Anna Kim was more typical of Asian American females. She was recruited for her qualifications beyond clerical skills, having been recruited out of Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, along with four other Asian American women undergoing training as privates at the Third Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). She was brought into Secret Intelligence, China Theater in February 1945. "These enlisted women," her recruiter's boss stated, "are to be assigned to the China Theater of Operations to be used as headquarters personnel, interpreting and translating (Japanese & Chinese), and in editing and processing intelligence reports received from native agents." Anna was a particularly attractive candidate since she not only typed a speedy sixty words a minute, had shorthand and bookkeeping skills, but was experienced with darkroom procedures to develop photographs. Even though she was born and raised in Oahu, Hawai'i, and had never been abroad, she was fluent in reading, writing, and speaking the Korean language and was deemed "fair" in Japanese conversation. Her loyalty to the United States was strong and reliable since she volunteered to join the WAAC in November 1944, an act consistent with her background–her father worked for the United States Army's Schofield Barracks for twenty years and she had served as a junior hostess for the United Service Organization (USO) on Oahu. Most of all, her Army evaluations portrayed her as a positive addition to the OSS China Theater headquarters office–"eager to learn;" "decisive, keen, alert;" "poised, steady;" "very pleasant and courteous personality;" "seems capable [and] good organization possibilities." All of these qualities–her clerical/administrative skills, her tri-lingual linguistic capabilities, a talent for photography, and her proven loyalty that would safeguard Secret Intelligence reports, all indicated she would perform well in a project involving the insertion of agents in northeast Asia.[4]

"Eagle" was Kim's probable assignment for Secret Intelligence, China Theater.

The operation aimed at penetrating Japanese-occupied Korea from China to gather intelligence and target Imperial Japanese military installations and war industrial plants "in the event of an Allied landing on Korea." The plan called for concentrating on five areas–Suiho (Supong), Chinnanpo, Keijo (Seoul), Genzan, and Seishin–and assigned nine team members to each of these areas. Under the direction of Colonel Willis Bird of the OSS office in Xian, China, twenty-two American trainers–about half of them Korean American males–were assigned to Korean team members recruited from among Imperial Japanese Army deserters and immigrants in China. Once launched, Korean Americans like Captain Ryongi Hahm, former Harvard University lecturer, and others were to lead the "Eagle" agents into Korea to gather intelligence necessary to prepare for their second phase–sabotage. With her assignment in the China Theater, Anna Kim too was to be involved in the handling of intelligence reports. But "Eagle," scheduled to start on September 5, never got off the ground before Japan surrendered in August 1945, terminating Anna Kim's work before she even started. With "Eagle" finished, she successfully applied in late January 1946 for reassignment home to Hawai'i where she served out her WAAC term and faded into the background.(5)

Other Asian American women contributed substantially to OSS projects but could not capitalize on them during the postwar period. Some, like Tomoe Iwamatsu, were valued for their intellectual and artistic skills. She was one of only two Asian American females to carve out a large in the agency's Morale Operations. Her section was to undermine Japanese military and civilian morale while at the same time raise the morale of the Chinese. As Kay Halle, Chief of the Section's Reports Office put it: "OSS moral operations were undertaken with two primary objectives: to overcome Japanese unwillingness to surrender and to strengthen Chinese opposition to the invaders." Within Morale Operations-Far East, Tomoe was one of about seventy Asian Americans. Although nearly all were males, Tomoe played a major role producing radio broadcast programs beamed into Japan. She was part of the "Greens" team based in a building located at 32 Post Street, San

Francisco, California. There, with a dozen Japanese Americans and three Japanese Prisoners-of-War, she worked on 124 episodes of a radio program from April 23 to August 12, 1945. The program Tomoe and others designed communicated the message to the Japanese public that the Allies' aim was not complete conquest of the Japanese but a defeat of their military clique to end the war quickly. Moreover, her "Greens" group communicated hope to the Japanese public by emphasizing the Allied aim was not destruction but reconstruction of Japan into a democratic, peace-loving nation. While Joe Teiji Koide took the lead in creating and directing these propaganda radio broadcasts, Tomoe was deemed "an extremely capable writer and thinker" who help create and write the scripts. Tomoe also played the "matronly voice" of one of the program's characters. Purporting to be part of a group of Japanese nationals opposed to Japan's continued involvement in the war, Iwamatsu's role in the radio broadcast was to read "letters" ostensibly by soldiers at the front but in reality forged by "Greens" members, to convey a sense of defeatism whose only hope lay in surrender and working for a new Japan. Her production, along with the contents of the program in general would, inspired belief among her Euro American superiors that the program would devastate the Japanese public:

> How much greater would be the effect on the emotional Japanese, especially the women, at this present time of crisis, fear and anxiety, and acute privation and hardship, all of which, many times in the past, have been provocative of waves of mass hysteria in Japan, such as the peasant rebellions just before the Restoration in 1868 and the waves of disorder which accompanied the Rice Riots in 1918-1919?

Her team's broadcasts, re-routed through Saipan in the Marianas Islands, were jammed immediately by Imperial Japanese authorities before they could reach a wide audience.[6]

Tomoe Iwamatsu (nee Tomoe Sasako)'s path to OSS radio propaganda work, however, was not as smooth as Anna Kim's despite her greater skills set. She was a very talented artist but compromised her feminist ideals reluctantly, sketching in

"female" touches such as flowers to her husband Atsushi's picture books after his works started to sell well. She and Atsushi were uncompromising opponents of the Imperial Japanese government, having begun with the Proletarian Artists Movement from the late 1920s. But after watching government authorities crush the movement and imprison the couple even though Tomoe was three-months pregnant in the early 1930s, they decided resistance through an artists' movement was suicidal. Accused by other Japanese leftists of being ***tenkōsha*** or "turncoats," the Iwamatsu couple fled Japan to New York City around March 1939, leaving behind their son Mako (famous Asian American actor) in care of Tomoe's parents. Not trusted by other Japanese American leftists in the City, they befriended Joe Koide, himself a disillusioned former Communist Party member, who recruited the couple away from the Office of War Information into the OSS in November 1944. Tomoe once again compromised her principles by accepting an annual salary of $2,900–a hundred dollars less than her male peers and younger female colleague Dorothy Ogata. She also agreed to a restriction from entering the China Theater of Operations and its headquarters in Chungking (Chongqing) by an Army directive barring entry by other women to do propaganda work. Furthermore, she was unable to win the trust of the Euro American "Greens" staff even though she specifically volunteered to spy on other Japanese Americans to inform on "undesirable individuals." Her work was hampered by stringent security classifications that denied her access to needed documents available to her male counterparts. Her workplace's Security Officer Carl Bock revealed: "Subject would ordinarily be Security Disapproved, and the possible dangers attendant on her employment are fully known to this office as well as to the branch heads." And finally, Tomoe carried out her work in fear that Imperial Japanese authorities and even neighbors might extract vengeance upon their son Mako if their activities on behalf of the OSS were discovered. Their fears were partially realized when neighbors spoke of her husband Atsushi becoming a "red and even a spy." That rumor surfaced after a childhood friend joined the Imperial Japanese Army as a medical doctor and had to defend Atsushi's name from

accusation by others he was the American spy from Nehime village, Atsushi's hometown.[7]

Buttressed by the Iwamatsu couple's performance, some within the OSS pushed for greater roles for Asian American female agents. Joan Bondurant envisioned a role for Asian American women in intelligence operations. She believed Japanese American women could undermine the Japanese public's will to fight the American forces by initiating a whisper campaign inside the Japanese home islands which, unlike propaganda radio broadcasts, could not be jammed. While working for the San Francisco Research and Analysis (R&A) office, Bondurant called for inserting Japanese American women into Japan to pressure the Imperial Japanese government to end the war. She argued that Japanese women in general were excluded from the political decision-making processes of their country and thus formed "an untapped resource" for the OSS campaign to undermine the Japanese public's morale since they were never subjected to "rigorous propaganda training" and understood that the national polity oppressed them. Bondurant told her superiors:

> I believe that the Japanese women as a class, present just such a group which, if made the object of a specialized propaganda campaign would be highly useful in promoting a peace movement, providing a basis for certain post-war negotiations, and possibly even in speeding the final stages of the war with Japan.

Moreover, she asserted Japanese women's interest lay with peace, not war: "Her own lot being of the lowest order a victory can mean but little to the Japanese woman; a peace, everything." Bondurant further added that Japanese women understood, as had women elsewhere in the world, that "loyalty" to a fascist victory will not advance their feminist cause:

> Finally, in the argument of first-loyalties, it is well to recall the thinking patterns of women as a whole everywhere. First of all, women wish for a just and righteous world where their children may grow to be useful and healthy members of society. They are little swayed by the vicissitudes of political conniving, they are less moved by the roll of drums than are their men, they

> are slower to choose arbitrary sides, quicker to lean towards sensitive judgment of what seems to them, individually, to be right. The intelligent Japanese who understand something of fascism (as some of them do–even today) are certainly not enthusiastic about victory itself, for they must realize as did Baroness Ishimoto that Fascism with its strong militaristic flavor is no defender of feminism with its strong humanistic flavor.

Bondurant then proposed to initiate a whispering campaign to kick off the movement in a country tightly controlled by the police and where women were not enfranchised:

> The best method, as I see it, would be the planning of a movement to arise from the women of Japan themselves–a spontaneous thought-feeling, at first perhaps in the form of a whispering-campaign, spreading through women's circles. Starting from such women leaders as Miss Kawai and spreading through her friends, there should evolve some organization. Although it would doubtlessly be a passive organization, the movement might be expected to develop into a basic well-aligned set-up which eventually would dare to speak out.

To reach key Japanese female leaders like Michi Kawai, whose Bryn Mawr College degree and YWCA Japan branch founder made her potentially sympathetic to such a campaign, it required a singular individual with prewar social and educational connections to them and a similar concern for the plight of Japanese women. Such an agent, Bondurant surmised, could only come from the ranks of Japanese American women:

> There are in the United States certain Japanese-American women who are believed to be absolutely loyal to the United Nations. These women, above all others, must realize the sorry plight of their sisters in Japan. I know, personally, at least one young Japanese-American woman, educated partially in Japan, who thoroughly champions the rights of Japanese women and who is much distressed at the added burden they now are carrying. My suggested plan

would involve careful selection of one or several of these young and loyal Japanese-American women until one be found willing to cooperate in the plan. For successful infiltration of Japan, the designated agent was to move to the front-line areas of the Pacific on the pretext that she was serving as a translator for Imperial Japanese Prisoners-of-War. She would then feign loyalty to Japan to learn from the prisoners how to contact Imperial Japanese forces, then "desert" the American forces to return to her family and relatives in Japan. "She would arrive in Japan under proper circumstances with the alleged intention of getting to her relatives or of transmitting certain information to the Japanese government to which she allegedly is intensely loyal," Bondurant envisioned for her agent insertion plan.[8]

Although a viable plan, the OSS refused to send women into harm's way in East Asia, let alone directly into Japan. They banned female entry into the China Theater and sent only a handful of Euro American females like Joan Bondurant to field stations in the India-Burma Theater where they worked far from the battle lines. They kept Asian American females, too, without exception, out of all field stations unlike their male counterparts. Instead, they were assigned to "safe" stations inside the United States or, more commonly, to the Research and Analysis (R&A) division at the OSS headquarters in Washington DC. The OSS's R&A was responsible for researching and writing intelligence reports that emphasized not tactical information or material germane to combat operations, such as what the enemy is capable of fielding, but long-range intelligence known as strategic intelligence to uncover what the enemy intended to do. The OSS Director William Donovan in particular favored the overt collection of strategic intelligence more than the ferreting out of tactical intelligence through covert means: "A half hour spent with the brakeman of a freight train running into occupied France would produce more useful information than Mata Hari could learn overnight." Thus, the R&A had to produce careful analysis of a given enemy's (and allies') political, economic, social, and cultural trends. To accomplish this, their Division had to collect a wide variety

of publications in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean languages, some of them technical, and others simply newspapers, to achieve their aim. In addition, the R&A had to compile biographical files on various political, military, and cultural leaders of their targeted countries to have on hand once the American forces begin to occupy those countries. Exactly what portions of these intelligence reports Asian Americans females contributed is unknown since the R&A permitted its nine-hundred employees and an overseeing Board to amend, append, or delete portions of the reports, all of which appeared without indications of authorship.[9]

Limitations on our understanding aside, two Asian American females in the R&A are worth mentioning. Chiyeko Nakamura was a research analyst. Prior to entry into the OSS from September 1944, Nakamura's work experience had little to do with wartime intelligence work. She studied at the Fashion Academy in New York City for four years after leaving the War Relocation Authority camp at Gila River, Arizona. Prior to that, Nakamura had attended the Tokyo Dressmaking Women's Institute from 1933 to 1935, solidifying her dressmaking credentials. But finding business slack, she bounced around different dressmaking jobs while working part-time for Columbia University teaching the Japanese language from May to September 1944. Although born and raised in Los Angeles, California, she impressed Professor Ryūsaku Tsunoda of Columbia University with her strong Japanese language skills so that when she entered the Agency on September 11, 1944, she became a Biographical Analyst for the New York office at 610 Fifth Avenue researching personalities at annual salary of $2,000. She transferred to the OSS Headquarters in Washington DC and earned a pay of $2,430 a year. She was doing similar work as a clerk-translator, collecting her data at the Library of Congress where she spent most of her days until Nakamura decided to terminate her employment with the OSS on October 3, 1945. She performed very well while serving the OSS, earning top marks for accuracy in her research work, her reliability, and cooperation with others.[10]

Lois Woo-Ja Chung was the other Asian American research analyst for the R&A.

She was based in Washington DC at the R&A headquarters where the Interdepartmental Committee for the Acquisition of Foreign Publications (IDC) was housed. Born 1913 in Jinoo, Korea, Lois Chung immigrated as a student to the United States, probably in the 1930s but once the war broke out, she joined the Chicago branch of the Office of Censorship where she made $1,800 a year. But she terminated her employment in mid-August 1944 and a month later moved to Washington DC to work for the R&A at a considerably higher pay of $2,600 a year. Lois was one of perhaps a hundred employees working in the IDC headquarters directed by Fred Kilgour to process materials from around the world in about fifty different languages. Placed in Analysis & Abstract, Asiatic Section, she indexed, catalogued, and classified "difficult intelligence material" taken from Chinese- and Japanese-language publications. Lois was required to read, digest, and index these materials written in their original languages or in Romanized alphabet writing and had to process various subject matters found in the materials in accordance with directives and specific needs of various government agencies. She also created an index of these microfilmed documents and publications, and distributed a regular bulletin of indexed and classified subject matter for interested bureaus and agencies. For reasons unknown, she terminated her OSS employment in early April 1945.[11]

Chung and Nakamura's "safe" positions inside the Washington beltway stood in contrast to the few Euro American women sent out to field stations in East Asia. Like their Asian American counterparts, the Euro American women were also valued by the OSS for the linguistic skills, knowledge of the region, and social contacts. They too were not allowed to work at field stations inside China. Women were excluded from service in China at the expressed order of General Joseph Stilwell who erroneously believed the women required special housing and cosmetics. Their alleged need for such luxuries would create an additional and unacceptable burden on Air Transport Service who flew frequent unarmed and unescorted missions across the Himalayan Mountains (known as the "Hump") between China and India to deliver badly needed cargoes of gasoline, weapons, ammunition, and

other supplies for both American and Chinese forces struggling against the Imperial Japanese invaders. Only after Stilwell's successor General Albert Wedemeyer changed the policy to allow a small, select number in, all of them Euro American. Five women were sent to Chungking in late 1944, of which three of them were secretaries brought in for their clerical skills as Richard Heppner, head of Secret Intelligence in the China Theater, stated: "We can find very good use for girls now working in India. We are in dire need of secretaries …" Agnes Greene and Rosamond Frame, however, came in to read and analyze reports from agents scattered throughout China. The two women, while waiting for deployment inside China, spent time in New Delhi infiltrating various organizations to uncover the ones spying for the Chinese or Japanese. In their cases, they joined the OSS because of their "Old China Hands" connections. Greene and Frame both grew up in Shanghai where they became friends and when the latter's father joined the OSS R&A, Greene was pulled in based on that personal connection, an advantage that *none* of the Asian American females in the OSS enjoyed. Her field experiences were an important factor in her becoming a chief in the postwar intelligence agency.[12]

Other Euro American women were sent into the East Asian field also prospered. Although young, Betty MacDonald was an experienced journalist who joined the OSS in 1943 with her friend Jane Foster, apparently without any personal connections. Yet her skills as a journalist, combined with her experience working with Japanese Americans in Hawai'i and acquiring some Japanese language skills along the way also helped her gain an edge in her job interview. But MacDonald was also one of those "right types" that Margaret Griggs, appointed by OSS Director William Donovan sought to hire. With MacDonald's journalism degree from the University of Washington, she fit the recruiting bill, on the one hand, of those who came in with "high society" backgrounds with practical "civil servant" stenographer skills necessary to facilitate the paper flow of intelligence reports within the agency. Her work for the Morale Operations Division of the OSS earned her a rare

appointment to India, then Burma (Myanmar), and finally Kunming, China where throughout the war she was safe from the combat. When the fighting between the Chinese Nationalist and Chinese Communist forces after World War II broke out, however, she was in serious danger. Betty MacDonald believed at one point that southern China would become her final resting place, a legitimate fear that none of the OSS Asian American female employees experienced. Yet she survived the Chinese civil war and married the Secret Intelligence, China Theater director Richard Heppner, and went on to become an intelligence officer in CIA office in Tokyo during the Cold War. She retained her close connections with William Donovan and other friends high up within the CIA long after the war ended.[13]

Conclusions

Asian American female spies illustrate the possibilities and limitations of American construction of gender roles during World War II. Their experience suggests that "race" as a practice was in decline while "gender" as shaped by the ideology of paternalism was not. At one end where the skill requirements were the highest, Lois Chung and Chiyeko Nakamura's work for the R&A illustrates how much the OSS valued their "minds" or their knowledge of the East Asian languages, culture, and politics over that of their "bodies" or clerical/typing skills. Their annual salaries indicate they were roughly on par with males of similar skill sets and not discriminated against on the basis of their sex. Their active involvement in the propaganda radio broadcasts to Japan shows they were valued for the linguistic and cultural skills to appeal to the hearts and minds of the civilian populace of Imperial Japan.

One the other hand, however, the OSS Asian American female agents were handicapped by other liabilities. As a subtle form of discrimination, they lacked the social and educational connections many of the Euro American women had indirectly through their respective colleges association with prestigious "Ivy League" institutions like Harvard University where William Langer, director of R&A, was a

professor. They also were not part of the "Old China Hands" network that brought Agnes Greene and Rosamund Frame into the OSS fold.

Consequently, Asian American women were all too often overlooked. Lucy Jen Huang could have been a good R & A analyst as she was a promising Chinese American graduate student who became a professor after the war. Margaret M. Lam, and Rose Hum Lee, both received graduate education at the University of Chicago, with the latter earning her doctorate a mere two years after the war ended. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, a sociology doctoral student in New York City and Yukiko Kimura, a historian at the University of Hawai'i-Manoa in Honolulu were within a stone's throw of two R&A offices. University of California's cultural anthropology doctoral candidate Tamie Tsuchiyama was fluent in Japanese and easily could have been pulled out of WRA camp in Poston, Arizona. Beulah Ong Kwoh, a doctoral student in English literature also at the University of California (Berkeley) was overlooked by all of academia and today is remembered only for her role in Roman Polanski's movie *Chinatown* in which, as the maid who delivered the one-line in broken English to Jack Nicholson's query about the whereabouts of Faye Dunaway: "She no here." Having been skipped over, their postwar academic careers never received a boost similar to males like John King Fairbanks of Harvard University.[14]

Asian American females could have contributed significantly to other sections within the OSS in East Asia. Flora Belle Jan, Chinese American writer who impressed greatly University of Chicago sociologist Robert Park with her skills as a social observer and writer in his Survey of Race Relations during the 1920s was in residence in China during the war. Mary Oyama was an experienced counter-espionage agent who, as a journalist for the San Francisco *Shin Sekai Asahi* prior to the war fed intelligence to Ralph van Deman, the founder of the Army's Military Intelligence Division. Miya Sannomiya, journalist, for the *Nichibei Shimbun*, was personally connected to Prince Iesato Tokugawa from whom she gained many important social and political connections, not to mention insights, into the Imperial

Japanese government. During the war she taught the Japanese language at Columbia University in New York City for the United States Navy, not far from where the Secret Intelligence maintained one of its important field stations. Talented artists and writers like Mine Okubo, Loretta Chiye Mori, Chiura Obata, and Wakako Yamaguchi all could have serviced Morale Operations. Certainly Pearl Chen, the English-language aide to Mayling Soong or Madame Chiang kai-shek or Louise Yim, the Korean independence activist in New York City, could easily have contributed to the OSS in various capacities.[15]

Instead, the OSS' recruitment from the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps limited Asian American women's vertical integration. Taken from the WAAC's Third Training Center at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, Hung Ngow Choy, Hisako Hirakawa, Chito Isonaga, Anna Kim, and Fumiko Segawa were all ranked as privates with no command authority. Their status stands in contrast to Asian American males in the OSS, most of whom were commissioned or non-commissioned officers with the authority to issue orders their Euro American inferiors and even threaten court-martial for non-compliance. Fortunately for these Asian American females in the OSS, they never faced the brutal physical harassment other WAACs received at the hands of Euro Americans, as was the case inside the Army.[16]

Why the OSS limited Asian American females' status was not due to racial discrimination. Its director, William Donovan clearly opposed the mass removal and internment of Japanese Americans, expressed his dismay with the whole program, and had his associate write a speech for President Roosevelt to give over the radio in the early days of the war to assure Japanese Americans of the federal government's faith in them. Moreover, Donovan employed Chinese, Japanese, and Korean Americans–nearly four hundred of them or nearly two percent of the twenty-one thousand OSS employees, suggesting his employment offers were not tainted with racialist ideas. Indeed, the presence of Japanese American officers in the field who could order their Euro American underlings and the OSS application for commissioned officer status for some Korean Americans headed for the field

further points to the lack of racial discrimination, despite one instance of such a practice in the rear area.[17]

Instead, sexism appears to be a more compelling explanation for the "glass ceiling." Donovan hired women for top positions, which was consistent with his practice as an Assistant Attorney General in the Calvin Coolidge Administration in the mid-1920s. But he deferred to his War Department boss General George Marshall of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who limited women to clerical/administrative-level positions. Nor could he overrule the ban on women in the China Theater imposed by General Joseph Stilwell, a favorite of Marshall who kept OSS female analysts Cora DuBois, Joan Bondurant, Rosamond Frame, and Mary Hutchinson well to the rear in Sri Lanka at the Southeast Asia Theater Headquarters of Supreme Allied Commander Lord Louis Mountbatten. He could not stop the descendant of Queen Victoria from providing the women with "special housing" that Stilwell believed was required for all female agents on field assignments. Hence, Donovan's acquiescence to the "glass ceiling" of Stilwell and Marshall only perpetuated an "ideology of paternalism" that caused them to "protect" women from the uglier realities of war.[18]

The "ideology of paternalism" emerges as a plausible explanation when viewed comparatively. The OSS was not the only intelligence agency seeking to incorporate women into their ranks during World War II. Other intelligence organizations, notably Imperial Japan, the Soviet Union, and Britain, illuminate how the relative presence or absence of the ideology of paternalism influenced their operations. For Japan, the ideology was widespread, heightening the military's unwillingness to employ women in intelligence work. They did not bring in for training any females in the elite Nakano School where the Imperial Japanese Army trained their agents and none were recorded entering the Imperial Japanese Navy to receive training in spy craft, as the Navy centered its intelligence gathering in its naval attaches and radio transmission intercepts. The Foreign Ministry, the third arm of Japan's intelligence gathering, engaged in espionage, hiring many foreign agents, largely males,

showed no inclination to utilize Japanese women.[19]

Imperial Japanese authorities, however, were quick to utilize *foreign* women to gather intelligence. The Imperial Army regularly employed Chinese prostitutes to slip into the US Army Airfield at Kunming in southern China to gather intelligence about American flight activities and, in one instance in September 1944 at least, used them to distract the anti-aircraft battery personnel from presumably defending the base against an impending aerial attack. In Xian where the "Eagle" forces were in training and to be serviced administratively by Anna Kim, the Japanese Army covertly operated the Temple of Love located about a half block west of the Bell Tower which became a "security sieve" or an intelligence treasure trove depending upon which side you were on. There, Japanese intelligence took advantage of the American Military Police conducting the "most perfunctory" checks on American soldiers patronizing the place. The famous Japanese Mata Hari, Yoshiko Kawashima, staffed the Temple with her own Chinese female agents who, in turn, reported to the Imperial Japanese Army General Doihara. Allegedly a Chinese raised in Japan by Doihara, Kawashima was trusted to run her own spy network with Chinese (and some Japanese) dancers and prostitutes stationed in various key cities throughout China, targeting unsuspecting Allied soldiers and officers lured to locations like the Temple of Love.[20]

In contrast, the Soviet Union readily employed its own women in its intelligence operations. Their acceptance of women as equals, in part born of necessity but also a by-product of their revolutionary ideology, was evident in their intelligence gathering operations in Western Europe despite women not exceeding more than one percent of its combat forces. Of the 180 known field agents the Soviet Union employed, fifty-one were female. Moreover, they were not limited in their service, working in courier service, radio communications, and covert intelligence gathering equal to their male counterparts. This figure—close to one in three—is nearly double the OSS's one in six ratio. Of course, the Soviet Union also used prostitutes in its highly effective Swallows Program that garnered in important intelligence for

the Soviet Union.[21]

However, Britain was perhaps the most liberal in its employment of women in the world's second oldest profession. Here too, necessity played a large factor in pushing British intelligence agencies towards incorporating women. As most able-bodied males were sent off to combat and other "regular" military operations, women were available, less expensive and, if hired as an analyst, armed with important linguistic skills needed for code-breaking operations. At Bletchley Park women comprised a full two-thirds of all personnel. They contributed significantly to a number of important operations, including cracking the allegedly unbreakable German Enigma code and substantially altering the tide of war in favor of the Allies.[22]

Lacking perception of necessity, the OSS incorporation of females lagged behind other Allies. The Agency never used "honey traps" even though the Director saw the espionage business as devoid of morals: "There is neither room for gentility nor protocol in this work." His agents operating in East Asia regularly engaged in forgery, distributing opium, kidnapping of innocent civilians for interrogations, and even brutally executing neutral civilians, all of which constituted war crimes. Despite his superior General George Marshall enthusiastically expanding the participatory role of women World War II–a major breakthrough as many saw it–Donovan's own espionage unit employed female agents but placed them below the glass ceiling. There, women including Asian Americans remained until the "Old China Hands" generation passed away and the new security threats in the 1970s rendered obsolete such recruitment practices based on the "old boy network."[23]

Notes

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(1) William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America since World War II* (New York: Oxford University, 1991, 2nd ed.), 11, 12-15. Chafe's findings are echoed by Brenda Moore. See Brenda L. Moore, *Serving Our Country: Japanese American Women in the Military during World War II* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 164-65.

(2) Robin W. Winks, "Getting the Right Stuff: FDR, Donovan, and the Quest for Professional Intelligence," in George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 24, estimates 24,000 while the CIA found 21,000 employees in the OSS records. The total number of Asian American women used here came from the CIA's OSS Personnel registry compiled by Larry McDonald of the National Archives and Records Administration II, College Park, Maryland (hereafter cited as NARA II), dated December 23, 2010.

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(6) Kay Halle, Memorandum for the Joint U.S. Chiefs of Staff, April 23, 1945, Folder 5

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(7) Shō Usami, *Sayonara Nihon: Ehon Sakka, Yashima Tarō to Mitsuko no Bōmei* [Farewell, Japan: The Political Exile of Picture Book Artist Tarō and Mitsuko Yashima] (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Senta, 1994), Vol. 20, 453, 405-413, 429-31, 475, 438, 464; Frank Whittemore, Engagement Sheet, November 23, 1944, Folder Iwamatsu, Mrs. Tomoe; Kenneth Mann to Roger Simpson, November 13, 1944, Folder Iwamatsu, Atsushi Jun Pers-4, Box 365 OSSPF, E224; Document 24284: Eric Straight to Frederic Dolbeare, March 29, 1944, Folder 2, Box 22 OSS Classified Sources and Method File, Entry 211; Carl Bock to Personnel Officer, SSO (MO/FE), October 17, 1944, Folder Iwamatsu, T., Box 365 OSSPF, Entry 224, RG 226 OSS/NARA II.

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(13) Elizabeth P. MacDonald, *Undercover Girl* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947), 1-3, 21, 61, 68, 167, 271; Elizabeth P. MacIntosh, *Sisterhood of Spies: The Women of the OSS* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1998), x. For a more complete virsion of Betty MacDonald's role in the OSS, see Ann Todd, *OSS Operation Blackmail: One Woman's Covert War against the Imperial Japanese Army* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2017).

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(16) Moore, *Serving Our Country*, 132-33.

(17) Waller, *Wild Bill Donovan*, 79-80, 89.

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㉒ Michael Smith, *The Debs of Bletchley Park* (London: Aurum Press, 2015), 22, 288.

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The Divers Circumstances of Muslim Women in EU Member States

Yukio Konishi

【要旨】

EU では、ローマ条約締結当初から男女平等を経済共同に係る労働者の環境改善として取組み、加盟国間での差異を解消すべく西洋的理想のもとすすめてきた。また基軸となる EU 法の解釈の補完を欧州裁判所に求め、時には加盟国の国内法にも影響を与えて、域内の基準を定め、スタンダード化をすすめてきた。アムステルダム条約以降は法的な根拠も強化し、EU は政策面での強調や国内政策や法令に直接・間接的に示唆を与える枠組みも備え、男女の平等を促進してきた。また、積極的な移民政策を展開し、加盟国への国内移民政策へも大きな影響を与えてきた。加盟国の拡大していく中で欧州全域において EU の取組である「人の自由移動」では、難民受入れも伴い各国の文化や社会構造が徐々に文化面でも多様性を増した。そうした中で、1970年台半ば以降、女性の労働力の活用を経済発展の重要な要因として積極的にすすめ、男女間の性差別の撤廃を促進してきたが、西洋文化とは異なる宗教観や文化をもつイスラム教徒（ムスリム）の女性の権利に関しても、各国のキリスト教的・西洋的文化をベースとした解釈のもとですすめられた。そこでは異文化を消化できずにおこった矛盾や課題が浮き彫りになり、西洋的な男女平等では解決できない問題が課題となっている。本稿は、EUのすすめてきた法政策の限界を考察するものである。

In the middle of the 1970s, the EU（European Union）has recognized that female workers are an important factor in the economic development of many areas in society. Therefore, EU regulations and European Court cases made numerous new structures to meet the new conditions in society. At the beginning these idealistic concepts and the outcomes of new legal input were not easily accepted or adopted within the individual member states of the EU. Some of the judgments in court

cases following on to directives from Bruxelles challenged the existing national law in member states, and even challenged aspects of their social structure, some involving human rights. However, after several decades, the EU exerted substantial implemental pressure upon individual countries in Europe. Abolition of racial discrimination and the elimination of sexual inequality have made much progress. Many new regulations were introduced in the member states and fundamental human rights were constitutionalized. Women's rights in Europe in general have made very substantial progress and equality has largely been achieved throughout the Union. In this essay, how far this equality of rights can be assured in the daily lives of women from Muslim countries in terms of the religious, traditional and cultural requirements of their communities will be discussed.

EU Promotion of Equal Rights

When the EEC (European Economic Community) was established by the Treaty of Rome in 1957, Article 119 under social provisions of the Social Policy was the only article which specifically dealt with the issue of equal rights for men and women. The ground was prepared in earlier article. For example, Article 117 states that:

> Member states agree upon the need to promote improved working conditions and an improved standard of living for workers, so as to make possible their harmonization while the improvement is being maintained. They believe that such a development will ensure not only from the functioning of the common market, which will favour the harmonization of social systems, but also from the procedures provided for in this Treaty and from the approximation of provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action.

This simply offered guidance with regard to the general objectives for harmonizing the working conditions among member states. Although at this point, the EEC was focused on promoting economic growth, consensus was reached by member

states on a number of issues in due course. Article 118 prepared the way for this, stating that;

> the Commission shall have the task of promoting close co-operation between Member States in the social field, particular in matters relating to: employment; labour law and working conditions; basic and advanced vocational training; social security; .... To this end, the commission shall act in close contact with Member states by making studies, delivering the opinions and arranging consultations both on problems arising at the national level and on those of concern to international organisations. Before delivering the opinions provided for in this Article, the commission shall consult the Economic and Social Committee.

Article 119 asserts that *'Each Member State shall during the first stage ensure and subsequently maintain the application of the principle that men and women should receive equal pay for equal work. For the purpose of this Article, 'pay' means the ordinary basic it minimum wage or salary and any other consideration, whether in cash or in kind, which the worker receives, directly or indirectly, in respect of his employment from his employer.'* The Article defines equal pay without discrimination based on sex quite carefully. The framework provided by these articles was gradually implemented and it was a good start to the process of improving women's rights in the context of the working conditions generated by the EEC. The implementation of 'equal pay for equal work' under this provision took quite a number of years to achieve in each member state since the social conception of the role of men and women was different in each country, as were women's own traditional expectations within their own societies. In 1975, one regulation on equal pay[(1)] and also in the following year, another regulation on equal treatment of men and women were enacted.[(2)] Subsequently, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) applied these regulations and challenged member states in several cases with regard to the equality between men and women, and duly delivered their judgments.

European Court of Justice shape Equal Rights

The Defrenne II case[3] established the power of the ECJ over member states against national tradition or established social conceptions of member states. After this case, European citizens can challenge member states including their own on issues of equal rights under the EU's human rights legislation. And the judgments of the ECJ could influence member states' national laws. The Worringham case[4] provided the definition of the work should not be subject to discrimination even when there were differences in the role of the sexes in certain types of employment. The Macarthy case[5] and the Royal Copenhagen case[6] both took into consideration perceptions of difference between the roles of men and women. Childbearing was identified and interpreted at the ECJ and standards were established as to how it should be dealt with in the workplace in the Dekker case[7], the Webb case[8] and the Thibault case.[9] Although equality wasn't achieved without difficulty, and involved a continuous process of refinement and definition over the past half century, the increasing number of judgments by the ECJ clarifying the interpretation of the provisions of the Treaty has had a major influence upon individual member states. We can therefore say that EU law has gradually contributed to an improvement in women's right in many ways.

The Treaty of Amsterdam[10] in 1997 changed and extended the approach of the EU towards discrimination between men and women. Before this amendment, it might be said that the approach of the EU to the issue of women's rights was rather passive because of the complex nature of the issues and questions as to the extent to which the decisions of the ECJ and extent to which EU law took precedence over national law. However, the Treaty of Amsterdam enabled the EU to take a more positive approach on sexual discrimination. It promoted economic and social progress for people living in the member states, taking into account the principle of sustainable development and other important objectives.

Article 2 of the treaty clearly establishes its objectives, and refers to *"equality between, men and women"*. Article 3-2 states: *"In all the activities referred to in this Article, the Community shall aim to eliminate inequalities, and to promote equality between men and women"*.

When considering the question of discrimination between the sexes, the guidance of EU legislation and ECJ rulings have had a major impact on member states and their legislatures in defining whether a particular law or custom violates the EU's sexual equality code or not.

However, the situation is very different when it comes to the cultural and religious issues affecting the recent influx of people from the Middle East and North Africa. The EU is a diverse organization with a large bureaucracy and complex legal procedures, and it is not good at reacting quickly to new problems. The moral, legal and social issues that have arisen following the influx of economic migrants and refugees have to be addressed by new EU legislation, and tried and tested in the ECJ. The Court can only work with one case at a time, and it may take years to establish the principles for dealing fairly with refugees and immigrants from outside the EU. Intervention in individual cases by the ECJ may result in misunderstanding and resentment and increase misunderstanding between the parties. It is, in any case, very difficult to deliver an opinion upon–or even discuss–discrimination based on cultural and religious issues.

The EU has been working to achieve equality between men and women. However, because the EU historically has its origins in Western Europe, the ideas on the kind of equality it seeks also have their origin in the Western European Christian democracies. The principles involved were largely designed for West European culture. It took a while to reach agreement even upon the standards which have been established within Europe. The EU and Member States functioned as policy makers, and the ECJ served as an interpretation system. Since there are legal and political differences among the current member states, it has been a quite a challenging task for some counties to implement EU standards

within their own countries. Changes in a national government may result in a reluctance to implement EU directives accepted by a previous administration.

Since the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty, and the issuing of Directive 2004/113 EC, the EU is empowered to intervene in, or put pressure upon, the governments of member states. Their interventions now have a legal foundation. The advantage of this is that it has speeded up the process improving the status of women and guaranteeing their rights. However, the EU is still expanding. And in the last few years, the member states of the EU have been facing an influx of economic migrants and refugees from outside the EU. Hundreds of thousands have arrived across the Mediterranean Sea–reaching well-over one million by the end of 2015[11]–and they have very different cultural backgrounds. It is difficult enough for people in many societies to deal with social habits of those who have even a slightly different approach towards daily life and relationships (as can be seen, for example, in the history of Catholic and Protestant conflict in Northern Ireland). But when the immigrants belong to totally distinct religious traditions with strong social and cultural values, such as Islam, they expect to live their lives following quite different codes of behaviour. The values are important to them and defining their identity may be offensive to citizens of the host nation.

Developing Equal Rights in Member States of the EU

Of course, free movement of people within the labour market between member states is a fundamental principle of the EU. That said, there have been tensions between Western Europeans and the influx of poorer migrants from the new member states in Eastern Europe. In addition, there are big differences between states when it comes to their ability to accept 'outsiders'. Some member states have a long tradition of integrating people from outside Europe－the French and the British have allowed immigration from their former Empires, and Germany solved its labour shortages during its period of economic growth by accepting the so-called Gastarbeiter (guest workers)[12], mainly from Turkey. These countries have a long

experience of dealing with problems of integration and citizenship. Other member states are less-experienced, and are feeling their way through the challenging new problems they face. The huge influx of refugees and economic migrants from outside the EU includes a high percentage of Muslim people. Many enter as genuine refugees seeking political asylum, facing death or incarceration if they are sent back. But their expectations in relation to the lifestyle and the status of their wives, sisters and daughters within their communities are very different from the EU directives on women's rights.

Policy makers are faced with new and intractable problems. Governments may accept the humanitarian needs of the refugees who flee war and conflict. But they are faced with enormous challenges when it comes to integrating the refugees and migrants into their new countries. Many refugees are genuinely keen to adjust to the culture of the country where they now live. Some countries are developing programmes for teaching refugees and migrants the language of their adopted country. There are ambitious programmes for introduce the new citizens to the values of the society they have joined.

Attempting to extend a Western European concept of human rights, in particular, women's rights, uniformly throughout the Union may not be the best solution. Within the EU the migrant policy promotes and encourages free movement of people within the European labour market. Eastern Europeans find work in the richer countries of Western Europe, such as seasonal agricultural labour, jobs in service industries or care of the elderly, and semi-skilled jobs in industry. Other programmes, such as the Erasmus Mundus Programme for students from outside Europe encourages immigration into Europe. As stated earlier, many countries in Western Europe have accepted immigrants from outside Europe who answered their economic needs. Such immigrants typically come from a culturally or religiously distinct background.

In the face of the flood of refugees and economic migrants, some countries in the EU have taken a pro-active approach to integrating the immigrants. There are two

interesting examples of countries setting up educational programmes to promote the integration of their new residents and to teach them the obligations and benefits of citizenship, which I would like to introduce here.

The Islamic Headscarf (the hijab) Controversy in France? ('l'affaire du voileislamique'):

Starting in 1989, it was decided that wearing an Islamic headscarf in school was contrary to the secular principles (laïcité) on the French education system. In the years that followed, some girls were suspended or expelled from school for wearing the hijab in school. At first schools and teachers united in support of the ban, though it was challenged in court by some parents. Muslims felt that the law, which allowed 'discreet religious symbols', such as small Christian crosses on a necklace, but banned the hijab. Between 1994 and 2003, about 100 female students were suspended or expelled from middle and high schools for wearing the scarf in class. But almost half the expulsions were later annulled by the courts.

This was a complex problem. The school system believed that the secular principle was an important tradition with the French system of equality and democracy. For Muslims, the headscarf was a symbol of equally important values. It is an outward symbol of faith, but more than it has complex and deep significance as a symbol of moral values and modesty. In Muslim societies, it would be assumed that girls without hijabs were likely to be regarded as, at worst, immoral. To many Europeans the hijab symbolizes woman's submission to men. In the context of the EU's policy of equality between the sexes, the hijab seems to challenge the rights and freedoms of women. But many Islamic women deny this, and say they choose to wear the hijab.

The French state believed that in forcing the girls to follow a Western European life style, they were guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of Muslim women. For their part, Muslims argued that the French state was not recognizing their right to religious freedom, and regarded as the policy as discriminatory, pointing out that

Christian girls were able to wear necklaces including a cross.

But the conflict was as much cultural as religious. Both sides took up strong intellectual positions (secularity versus religious freedom) but both sides were really showing a strong cultural intolerance. Those who supported the hijab ban saw it as a symbol of the Muslim community's refusal to integrate in French society. The Muslim community for their part thought their fundamental religious and social values were being challenged.

The recent influx of men from a Muslim background offers a complementary view to the case of the hijab in France. Right-wing groups in Europe have promoted the view that Muslim men are dangerous. They highlight incidents (not all of which are supported by objective evidence) that suggest that Muslim men do not understand Western values. The level of education and local traditions depending on which part of the Muslim world they come from results in some groups behaving in ways that are unacceptable in the West. Right-wing propaganda is full of accounts of groups of Muslim men being a danger to western women with stories of rape and harassment. President Trump recently retweeted videos from a right-wing source in the UK which purported to show Muslim men ill-treating local people—videos which were condemned by the British Prime Minister. Most of the accounts of violence are anecdotal, and not supported by objective evidence. But it is clear that once young Muslim men start living in an other country where the majority is not practicing Muslim culture and religion, and when young women dress attractively and have freedom to live and work in society, they need to have proper education for citizenship. Some countries have done good work in this area.

Citizenship Education Programme in Norway[13].

In Norway, for example, an interesting programme is offered to Muslim men to help them understand Western women and the very different social values they have in the West from those existing in the countries they come from. Following a number of rape cases in 2009, Norway designed courses to coach men in Euro-

pean sexual and social habits, explaining that in Norway, smiling and flirting are considered normal, and do not indicate that the girl is 'available'. Girls who drink alcohol may be considered to be immoral and legitimate targets for sexual advances The courses make it clear that just because a girl has been drinking, it doesn't mean she is sexually available.

It should be noted that the courses are controversial. Some claim that they institutionalize the cultural and racial prejudices of the host country. They may offend well-educated and sophisticated immigrants by implying that men in Muslim society do not know how to treat women. Some Muslim men may believe that women in their home countries are safer and treated with greater respect than European women are.

Nevertheless, many other countries are now considering employing this kind of programme to teach Western norms about women as a part of citizenship programmes. This could be helpful especially for young Muslim men from poorer backgrounds who are adjusting to life in Western circumstances. In Norway's case, this is seen as a necessary measure to prevent criminal acts resulting from a misunderstanding of cultural differences or from misreading the behaviour and intentions of Norwegian citizens. We must hope that the programe will have a good impact upon nurturing acceptable attitudes and educating immigrants and refugees in the duties as citizens, ultimately assuring the safety and rights of women in general. However, whether this approach is ultimately successful, or will prove to be misguided and itself lacking in cultural sensitivity remains to be seen. The French headscarf case suggests that Western standards, if given an inflexible one-directional approach, might prove insensitive to the legitimate feelings of the Muslim minority by refusing to acknowledge that cultural differences have any validity. It is interesting that in the United Kingdom, which has been trying to nurture a multi-cultural society with varying degrees of success, there is greater tolerance to variations in dress. Sikhs, for example, are allowed to wear their turbans in place of a safety helmet on building sites. Europeans might learn about

tolerance from a country like Malaysia, where high school girls are given a choice of uniforms. Christian and Chinese Malay girls dress in a similar fashion to British high school students, whereas Muslim girls wear the 'baja kurong' with long skirt and headscarf. The UK is trying to take a middle way. Advice from the government to schools recently Schools should 'act reasonably in accommodating religious requirements'. But, it went on: 'Freedom to manifest a religion or belief does not mean that an individual has the right to manifest their religion or belief at any time, in any place, or in any particular manner. We are clear that the needs of safety, security and effective teaching and learning must always be paramount - and these may supersede individual requests under the terms of the Human Rights Act.' This statement well illustrates the problems faced by countries in attempting to implemen EU directives. It specifically says that needs of 'safety, security and effective teaching' may 'supercede' the provisions of the human Rights Act[14].

Conclusion

Although after Amsterdam Treaty, EU can suggest and put pressure on member states and cooperate policy makers, it is a task of local or national governments of member states. Each country has different conditions and may believe it requires a different approach. Some of the countries such as UK have, as I have said, a good long experience and practice for accommodating immigrants from foreign cultures. However, solutions appropriate to the UK may not be the answer for every country. The UK has had its fair share of problems. The generation gap and high levels of unemployment about young people whose families had an immigrant background caused chaos in the 90s when disturbing riots occurred. Discriminatory policing has also been a major issue, with some regional forces, such as the Metropolitan Police in London being accused of unfair policing in black communities. Norway has chosen an interesting and very different approach, but the population is tiny compared with Britain, France and Germany, and the number of migrants from different cultural background is proportionally much smaller. And, of course,

Norway is not a member of the EU. Therefore, for the improving the rights of Muslim women, a variety of complementary approaches must be tried.

As the member states struggle with all these problems, one would ideally like to see the EU and the ECJ offering clear guidance on the principles of relationships between the communities. However, even though after the Amsterdam Treaty, the EU can put pressure upon member states and can cooperate with policy makers, it is the duty of the individual member states to deal with the problem on the ground. Often it is the responsibility of local governments to work at community level on problems of integration. Each country has differing approaches and distinct conditions. Some of the countries, such as the UK, has long experience of integrating foreign cultures and have their own ways of working towards a multi-cultural society. But the British experience is not the answer for every country. In the UK, there have been setbacks as well as successes. Norway, as we have seen, has instituted an interesting system, but the number of migrants from different cultural backgrounds there is relatively small. There is no simple answer to the problem of advancing the rights of Muslim women in the European democracies, and each country will find it a challenging social problem for years to come.

Notes

(1) Council Directive 75/117/EEC.
(2) Council Directive 76/206/EEC.
(3) Case 43/75, Defrenne II [1976] ECR 455.
(4) Case 69/80, Worringham [1981] ECR 797.
(5) Case129/79, Macarthy [1980] ECR 1275.
(6) Case C-400/93, Royal Copenhagen [1995] ECR I-1275.
(7) Case C-177/88, Dekker [1990] ECR I-3941.
(8) Case C-32/93, Webb [1994] ECR I-3567.
(9) Case C-136/95, Thibault [1998] ECR I-2011.
(10) Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties establishing the European Communities ad certain related acts. This treaty amended the Treaty of Rome and the Treaty of Maastricht.

(11) Recent statics is provided in "Mixed migration-challenges and options for the ongoing project of German and European asylum and migration policy" by Bertelsmann Stifung (http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/Migration_fair_gestalten/IB_Study_MixedMigration2017_ENG.pdf).

(12) *Gastarbeiter* is German for "guest worker" (literal translation). It refers to foreign or migrant workers, particularly those who had moved to West Germany mainly in the 1950s, 60s and early 70s, seeking work as part of a formal guest worker program (*Gastarbeiterprogramm*). Other countries had similar programs: in the Netherlands and Belgium it was called the *gastarbeider* program; in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland it was called *arbetskraftsinvandring* (workforce-immigration); and in East Germany such workers were called "Vertragsarbeiter". In UK, 1990s this kind of policy was accepted as a part of theoretical approach in order to receive immigrants under Blair Labour Party in accordance with EU migration policy.

(13) News coverage are reported the impact of this citizenship education programme implemented in Norway with a general agreement. Many of major broadcasting services introduced this. (https://www.reuters.com/video/2016/01/21/migrants-taught-about-western-sexual-nor?videoId=367125426)

(14) (https://www.theguardian.com/education/2007/oct/09/schools.uk4)

Nationality, Citizenship, and Post-Suffrage Movements in the Atlantic and the Pacific

Rumi Yasutake

【要旨】

1922年、これまで他国同様に夫の国籍を妻の国籍としてきた米国の国籍法が改正され、白人女性市民には夫とは独立した国籍を認める新たな国籍法（ケーブル法）が制定された。本論文は、このケーブル法成立に対する３つのグループ－環太西洋女性ネットワークの白人女性運動家を主なメンバーとする全米婦人有権者同盟、環太平女性ネットワークの白人女性運動家を主なメンバーとするハワイ婦人有権者同盟、そしてアメリカ太平洋岸とハワイの日系人組織およびアジア系アメリカ人－の対応の違いに注目する。国籍および市民権は、ジェンダーや人種また居住地とどのような関係にあったのか、トランスナショナルな視点で分析する。

In December 1922, the League of Women Voters of the Territory of Hawaii (Hawai'i LWV) sent a resolution to Baron Yasushi Togo, a member of the House of Peers of the Japanese Imperial Diet, requesting that the status of dual-citizenship children born-in-Hawai'i of Japanese ancestry be brought to the attention of the appropriate authorities and be given thoughtful consideration.[1] The Hawai'i LWV, a "white" women's organization based in Honolulu, Hawai'i, was acting in support of Japanese immigrant elites who were petitioning the Japanese government to revise its nationality law to allow *Nisei* (the second generation of Japanese American) children of a Japanese father, who automatically became Japanese nationals regardless of birthplace, to renounce their Japanese citizenship. The Hawai'i LWV and Japanese elite initiatives aimed at safeguarding the U.S. citizenship of *Nisei*

children against U. S. Asian-exclusionists who were challenging Asian dual-nationals' right to U. S. citizenship.

While the Hawai'i LWV focused on bolstering birthright U. S. citizenship of *Nisei* children, on the other side of the country, on Capitol Hill, the National League of Women Voters (National LWV) worked to preserve the U.S. nationality of a different group of U. S. citizens, white native-born women who married foreign nationals. The National LWV had campaigned for the passage of the Cable Act to establish a white "women's independent nationality right." What caused the discrepancy in whose citizenship each of these "sister" organizations sought to protect? Why and how did Hawaii's white women leaders ally with Japanese immigrant elites in securing the nationality of *Nisei* children? Comparing the attitudes of trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific women's networks over the issue of "nationality" and citizenship, this paper looks for an answer in the gendered and racialized nature of the trans-Pacific world and the different workings of white racism in Hawai'i and U. S. mainland at the turn of the twentieth-century.[(2)]

Trans-Atlantic Alliance of White Feminists

The campaign for the Cable Act to establish a "women's independent nationality right" developed in the trans-Atlantic women's network cultivated by middle-and-upper class white suffragists. In seeking international collaboration for the women's cause, white woman suffragists in the United States, Canada, and Europe established the International Women's Council (ICW) at the second international women's conference convened by the National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1888. When the ICW started working for multiple white women's causes, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (the IWSA) branched out of it in 1904 to focus its efforts on woman suffrage. With the eruption of World War I, however, some of IWSA activists who were married to foreign-born white men found themselves labeled as enemy nationals in their lands of birth, as many countries had the principle that a married woman take her husband's nationality.

Hence, they also took up the cause of women's nationality.[3]

Carrie Chapman Catt was serving as the IWSA's president at the time, and thus, women's nationality independent of men's also became a cause in the United States, especially after ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. In the trans-Atlantic network of white women suffragists, U.S. nationality and citizenship were primarily gender issues, although sometimes the degree of acculturation also became an issue. In the United States, the nationality of a white woman had been a mere reflection of her white spouse's status since 1907, when the United States, following the lead of other nations, adopted the principle of single nationality. The Expatriation Act of 1907 forced any white woman with American citizenship who married a non-citizen man to take her husband's foreign nationality. Despite the Nineteenth Amendment, some native-born white woman suffragists, who continued to reside in the United States after their marriage to white non-citizen men, were denied the right to vote because of their derivative foreign nationality. Accordingly, the debate over married white women's naturalization and expatriation began in Congress, and former white suffragists campaigned for a white "women's independent nationality right."[4]

The National LWV was the direct offspring of the National American Women's Suffrage Association (the NAWSA), the most conspicuous women's organization that led to ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, granting suffrage to women citizens in all states, in 1920. The National LWV originated as NAWSA's auxiliary in 1917, to take up new work in enfranchised states. When the NAWSA decided to dissolve as it completed its mission in 1920, the National LWV developed into an independent body and succeeded to the NAWSA's spirit and resources. Its founder Carrie Chapman Catt, assumed the National LWV's honorary presidency, and Maud Wood Park, agreed to serve as its first president. The National LWV had dual goals, "to develop the woman citizen into an intelligent and self-directing voter and to turn her vote toward constructive social ends."[5] It joined other reform-minded women's groups to use the new women's rights for various women's causes and

formed an umbrella organization, the Women's Joint Congressional Committee (WJCC).[6] Under Park's leadership, the National LWV and the WJCC's independent-citizenship subcommittee campaigned for "women's independent nationality right."[7]

Historian Candice Lewis A. Bredbenner argued that many white women activists of the time were "more self-consciously American and believed passionately that the status of American citizen presumed membership in, and thus public obligations to, a unique national community."[8] Leading the post-suffrage white women's movement, the "society-centered" National LWV members envisioned "disinterest rather than self-interest [that] ideally defined the model citizen activism." Their women's movement was "not only the expansion of her individual rights but the enhancement of her civic contributions."[9]

In the United States, it was a period when public nativism was rising in the face of expanding communities of "new immigrants" and the degree of acculturation, especially whether an individual embraced republican virtues and was capable of independent thinking or not, became an issue for the naturalization of white immigrants. After the winning of woman suffrage, the derivative citizenship of foreign-born and foreign-speaking white immigrant wives of American citizen men came under public scrutiny. In the course of establishing the Cable Act, the possibility of citizen women's "dual citizenship" and immigrant wives' "statelessness" became an issue on Capitol Hill, because women would continuously be required to take the nationality of their husbands' in many other nations.[10] Arguably, some society-centered feminists who worked closely with immigrant women must have been concerned about the possible statelessness of these immigrant wives whose home countries kept wive's nationality derivative from their husbands'. Nonetheless, they challenged the gendered assumption of patriotism and citizenship in which a citizen man's marriage to a non-citizen white woman was praised as patriotic but a citizen woman's marriage with a non-citizen man was considered as an act of anti-Americanism.[11] They envisioned that establishing women's individual nationality

would be American women's contribution to facilitating worldwide legal reforms, which ultimately would solve the problem of a married women's "statelessness" as well as "dual citizenship."

The passage of the Cable Act of 1922 ended the derivative citizenship of a married white woman by which a wife's nationality was defined by her husband's. Now, nationality became a white woman's right and responsibility that was independent of her husband's. Under the Cable Act, a white citizen resident woman was able to keep her U. S. nationality regardless of her husbands' nationality, while a white foreign-born immigrant wife had to establish her U. S. nationality through her own efforts and initiative. Nonetheless, these changes were only applicable to white women.[12] Developed in the trans-Atlantic women's network, American white feminists' campaign for the 1922 Cable Act had their cohort white women from the trans-Atlantic world in its scope, but not non-white women from the trans-Pacific world.

Trans-Pacific Women's Network Cultivated by White Women Missionaries

Before and after the Cable Act, the ineligibility of married immigrant Asian women for naturalization remained intact. Post-Civil War revisions to the U. S. naturalization law only referred to the naturalization rights of "free white persons" and "aliens of African nativity or descent." Hence first-generation Asian immigrants, who were foreign-born and neither white nor black, were put in the racialized category of "aliens ineligible to citizenship." In fact, between 1907 and 1922, U. S. law granted a male citizen with the privilege of automatically naturalizing his wife, but this only applied if he married a foreign woman who herself was eligible to citizenship. Therefore, although there were a few Japanese and Korean picture brides who married a scarce number of American-born Asian American citizen men, they remained aliens ineligible for citizenship and naturalization. Even after the Cable Act instituted white women citizens' independent nationality rights,

American citizen women of Asian ancestry, who married Asian immigrant men who were ineligible to citizenship, lost their American nationality and citizenship.[13]

White women leaders in Hawai'i who had just established the Hawai'i LWV did not have any objection to excluding Asian immigrant women, whose population outnumbered their own, from gaining American nationality and citizenship, but were nevertheless willing to collaborate with *Issei* (the first generation Japanese immigrants) men in securing the nationality and citizenship of *Nisei* children. This collaborative effort between Hawai'i LWV's white women leaders and *Issei* men emerged in the gendered and racialized terrain of the trans-Pacific world. There, the trans-Pacific women's network emerged under the initiative of white middle-class Protestant American churchwomen who pursued their civilizing mission. Their civilizing endeavors went hand in hand with the globalizing European-origin modern capitalist system from the U. S. Atlantic Coast through the continent toward the Pacific, integrating peoples in the U. S. West and the Pacific. In this process, white settler missionary women assumed the role of uplifting and "civilizing" non-white natives and immigrants along the way. Working under the male-dominant structure of American missionary enterprise, they sought women clients, crossing the boundaries of class, race, and country. Convinced of the advanced status of their own values and systems, monotheistic American missionary women propagated their own gender system as a hallmark of civilization.

In 1820 when the first group of American missionaries arrived in the Hawaiian Kingdom, Hawai'i was a rank-based rather than gender-based society and high-ranking Native Hawaiian women were granted with political and economic power to rule as a chief or a queen. As such, elite Native Hawaiian women essentially had suffrage. Coming from the gender-based New England community in the early-nineteenth century, American missionary women promoted their "cult of true womanhood" and "women's separate sphere" ideology. As the gender ideology of the white middle-class Protestant church community prevailed in the Pacific, the political and economic power of Native Hawaiian women was curtailed and the Ha-

waiian monarchy was "democratized," and suffrage in the Hawaiian Islands became essentially a white-male privilege. Accordingly, American women missionaries' women conscious social activism assisted their men in stripping away the traditional rights enjoyed by high-ranking Native Hawaiian women under the Hawaiian monarchy.[14]

Concurrently, Hawai'i was integrated into the globalizing capitalist system and the self-supporting society of Hawaiians ruled by Hawaiian chiefs and chiefesses was transformed into a sugar-plantation society by importing large numbers of Asian immigrant laborers. Propelled by their evangelism, Hawaii's white settler women extended their civilizing endeavors to these immigrant women and children. Constituting a part of the extensive trans-Pacific American Protestant missionary networks, they were able to bring culturally-hybrid Asian women, who were protégés of their fellow missionary women working in immigrants' homelands, to assist them in their civilizing endeavors.

Such developments contributed to paving the way for white setters of American extraction to take over the sovereignty from Native Hawaiian monarchs. They forcefully deposed Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, formed a republic in 1894, and had it annexed by the United States by the Congressional joint resolution in 1898. Lili'uokalani and her faithful subjects, who were inculcated with American political ideals, appealed to the U. S. government and the public for Hawaiian sovereignty through massive petitioning campaigns and demonstrative actions. Among those who took leadership roles in this resistance were culturally and/or racially hybrid Native Hawaiian women, who emerged in the trans-racial and trans-national exchanges between natives and settlers. In fact, under pressure from modernization and Westernization, marrying daughters with American or European explorers and businessmen became the means for landed Native Hawaiian chiefs to maintain their high social status, as argued by historian Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor.[15] These hybrid Native Hawaiian women were well versed in both Native Hawaiian and white settler cultures and systems. Thus, they served as mediators and leaders in

resisting the efforts by white settler men of American extraction to take over Native Hawaiian sovereignty and transfer it to the United States, but to no avail.[16]

Once their efforts ended in vain and the new U.S. political system granted only white and Native Hawaiian men full citizenship, these culturally and racially hybrid women turned their efforts to recover their political and economic rights lost under the U.S. rule. In 1912 when Carrie Chapman Catt visited the islands, they took up her cause, and organized the Woman's Equal Suffrage Association of Hawaii (WESAH). Wilhelmine K. W. Dowsett, who was born to a German planter father and Native Hawaiian mother of the chiefess rank, assumed its presidency.[17] By establishing an affiliation with the NAWSA, hybrid Native Hawaiian leaders of the WESAH endeavored to regain their political rights.[18]

In contrast, white settler women of missionary heritage were not enthusiastic about the woman suffrage cause. They composed the racial minority in Hawai'i where Native Hawaiians constituted the majority of the electorate in the post-annexation era between 1900 and 1922. Accordingly, as argued by Patricia Grimshaw, white women suffered from "settler anxiety" toward the more numerous and more politically-experienced Native Hawaiian women gaining the right to vote.[19] Furthermore, they were reluctant to break the "cult of womanhood" which served as a hallmark of their "civilized" status vis-à-vis that of Native Hawaiian women who assumed leadership in "the male sphere" of political and economic activities.[20] In fact, the women's separate sphere had been the strategy for white settler women to seek out client women for their civilizing mission and to expand their trans-racial and trans-national Western-superior unequal sisterhood in Hawai'i and the Pacific.

Instead of the woman suffrage cause, white settler women of missionary heritage directed their energy in carrying out territorial mother work in post-annexation Hawai'i. Native Hawaiian men and women of mature age were still bitter about the illegal and exceptional means used in the course of U.S. annexation of the islands. Without any desire nor means to rectify the situation, white settler women leaders

turned towards the islands' children, especially those of fellow settler Asians who had outnumbered Native Hawaiians to become the largest ethnic group in Hawai'i. Ever since the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, these women had engaged in the free kindergarten movement and endeavored to make English-language kindergarten education a public responsibility. By tapping into the trans-Pacific women's network pioneered by their ancestor missionary women, they successfully recruited bilingual and bicultural Native Hawaiian as well as Asian women helpers to assist in their endeavors.

Interestingly, white settler women leaders sought cooperation with mainland feminists, but only after they realized the power of women's votes in territorial politics. Women citizens of Hawai'i were granted voting rights, when the federal suffrage amendment was applied to the territories in August 1920. Hybrid Native Hawaiian women who had led Hawaii's woman suffrage movement were eager to exercise their new rights to the fullest extent, and women's votes became a decisive factor in island politics by March 1922, when a special election was held in the territory to decide who would fill the term of Hawaii's delegate to the U.S. Congress, caused by the unexpected death of incumbent Native Hawaiian Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaole.[21]

It was in this historical context that Hawaii's white women of missionary heritage took the initiative to organize the Hawai'i LWV. While large numbers of Asian immigrant women, who were "aliens ineligible to citizenship" did not pose a threat to white citizen women in Hawaii's newly opening political arena, white settler women lagged behind Native Hawaiian women in voter registration and seeking public office. Arguably, they organized the Hawai'i LWV to persuade churchwomen of their own sort to take up the new women's "responsibility" and to take over political leadership from Native Hawaiian women who led WESAH's suffrage movement. At the Hawai'i LWV's organization meeting in March 1922, National LWV's Kathleen Dickenson gave a talk titled "Responsibility of Citizenship." Also present at the meeting were two local Congregationalist ministers who also gave speeches.

Namely, they were Native Hawaiian Rev. Akaiko Akana who spoke on "Cooperation and Unity," and Rev. A. W. Palmer who talked about the "Importance of Voting." At the organization meeting, WESAH members who were present were requested to remain after the meeting so that the advisability of disbanding the WESAH and merging into the Hawai'i LWV could be discussed.[22]

Accordingly, the Hawai'i LWV started as a transracial organization of white settler and Native Hawaiian elite women, but its leadership fell in the hands of white settler women with missionary connections. In December 1922, the newly established Hawai'i LWV decided to become the Hawai'i affiliate of the National LWV.[23] It set as its goals "to foster education in citizenship and to support improved legislation," and followed the National LWV to take up the nonpartisan principle.[24] As Hawai'i LWV's white women leaders were committed to turning their born-in-Hawai'i children into bona fide citizens fit for American democracy, they were eager to borrow mainland women's social reform methods and expertise. The Hawai'i LWV established a legislative committee to expand and reform Hawai'i's education system. Under the policy of LWV's nonpartisanship, the Hawai'i LWV legislative committee called on the League's members to vote for candidates who pledged support for the causes of women and children, including the bill that would make kindergarten a part of the public school system.[25] Furthermore, the Hawai'i LWV endeavored to expand school buildings, promote health education, and offer "the widest opportunities for education" for the rapidly increasing body of children of school age. In an attempt of preventing juvenile delinquency, Hawai'i LWV leaders also desired to extend the age for compulsory education from fifteen to seventeen.[26]

White Racism and Asian Immigrant Communities on the U. S. Pacific Coast and Hawai'i

The collaborative relationship between Hawaii's white settler women of missionary heritage and male leaders of Japanese immigrant community developed from

the different workings of white racism on the U. S. Pacific Coast and in Hawai'i. On the Pacific Coast, Asian immigrants were welcomed in the mid-nineteenth century as they provided scarce labor, which contributed to the U. S. capitalist system taking hold in the region. Nonetheless, they soon became unwelcomed competitors of increasing numbers of white workers and farmers settling down in the region in the late nineteenth century. As these white settlers were eligible to citizenship and suffrage, their exclusionist movement successfully excluded Asian labor by the federal Chinese Exclusion Law as early as 1888.

In Hawai'i, however, Asian labor was not a threat to minority white workers for whom the sugar business had reserved its managerial positions. In fact, Hawaii's white settler oligarchs were deeply concerned about the recurring tides of anti-Asian and anti-Japanese sentiments on the mainland Pacific Coast and their exclusionist campaigns, as the islands' sugar business heavily relied on cheap Asian immigrant labor; especially Japanese workers who constituted 73.5% of the total sugar plantation employees of the islands as of 1902.[27] When the abolition of Hawaii's quasi-slavery contract labor system in 1900 triggered the emigration of freed Asian workers to the mainland Pacific Coast and incited mainland Asian-exclusionists, Hawaii's white oligarchs endeavored to prevent additional federal laws, which had already barred Chinese laborers, from further abating "cheap labor" offered by their Asian immigrant workers. Later, when the so-called "gentlemen's agreements" of 1907–8 were reached between the U. S. and Japanese governments under pressure from California exclusionists, the Japanese government accordingly stopped issuing passports to working-class Japanese subjects destined for the United States. Hawaii's white oligarchs, with intense lobbying, then managed to halt the emigration of Japanese laborers who were already in Hawai'i to the mainland by obtaining President Theodore Roosevelt's 1908 executive order.[28] They were also able to prevent exclusionists from restricting the entry of US-colonized Filipinos, who already were U. S. "nationals" and were neither aliens or citizens with voting rights.[29]

Contrary to mainland exclusionists' expectations, however, the gentlemen's agreements were not at all effective in quenching Japanese immigrant communities on the U. S. Pacific Coast but rather triggered Japanese immigrant efforts to transform their communities composed mostly of bachelor sojourners to include wholesome families through the importation of picture brides. Under the agreements, the Japanese government was able to continue issuing passports to Japanese "picture brides"—women in Japan who married Japanese immigrant men already residing in the United States after an exchange of pictures but having never once met one another. Japanese picture brides crossed the Pacific to the mainland United States until 1920 when their government was pressured to discontinue the practice, and to Hawai'i until 1924 when a discriminatory U. S. immigration law was put into effect.[30]

Alarmed by the growing Japanese immigrant community caused by the introduction of picture brides and the birth of their *Nisei* children, the exclusionist forces in California successfully fanned anti-Asian sentiment of the public to establish the Alien Land Law in 1913, which prohibited non-citizen Asians, who were categolized as "aliens ineligible to citizenship," from purchasing agricultural land and restricted the leasing of such land to three years.[31] Under this circumstance, birthright citizenship of Asian immigrant children became the crucial means for Asian immigrant communities to advance their interests. The 1898 Supreme Court case of *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* made it clear that American-born Asians could not be stripped of their birthright citizenship.[32] Nonetheless, in the Japanese immigrant community, *Nisei* children who were mostly U. S. born with Japanese fathers, were granted not only American citizenship by the U. S principle of *jus soli* (right of soil), which determined a child's nationality by their place of birth, but also Japanese nationality by Japan's principle of *jus sanguinis* (right of blood), which determined a child's nationality by the nationality of his or her father. Japan was in line with policies of the United States and most European countries, but *Issei* leaders in California, along with Japanese consuls on the U. S. Pacific Coast, became con-

cerned about their children's dual citizenship becoming another pretext for exclusionists' anti-Japanese agitation. Accordingly, they petitioned the Japanese imperial government and successfully revised its nationality law to allow the expatriation of out-of-country children of Japanese fathers. By the revised Japanese Nationality Law of 1916, Japanese children born outside of Japan were allowed to renounce their Japanese nationality by the will of their guardians until the age of fifteen and by themselves thereafter, with the exception of male subjects between the ages of seventeen and thirty-seven to prevent them from dodging the Japanese draft.[33]

Nonetheless, in early 1920, California exclusionists agitated for anti-Japanese sentiment of the public in the lingering war-time 100% Americanism, and demanded a new federal immigration law to prohibit all Japanese immigration and a Constitutional Amendment to bar children of aliens ineligible for naturalization from holding citizenship.[34] Starting in California, the alien land law was revised through referendum in November 1920, prohibiting Asian immigrants even from leasing and sharecropping as well as from making any transactions using the names of their under-age American-citizen children.[35] Furthermore, although multiple lawsuits were filed by *Issei* leaders in order to obtain citizenship for sufficiently Americanized Japanese immigrants and to nullify the alien land laws, their attempts ended in failure, one after another. In November 1922, the Supreme Court decision, *Ozawa v. U. S.* sealed their fate, marking an end to *Issei's* quest for American citizenship.[36] Such developments prompted *Issei* leaders, along with *Nisei* youth and Japanese councils, on the U. S. Pacific Coast to initiate another effort to petition the Japanese government to further revise the 1916 Japanese Nationality Law.

In fact, heightened U. S. patriotism and nativism by WWI had turned suspicious eyes onto the loyalty of *Nisei* children with dual citizenship. In 1920, U. S. Ambassador to Japan, Roland S. Morris stated that the dual citizenship of *Nisei* children was an important diplomatic issue.[37] In Hawai'i, the population of Japanese immigrant community was also surging by the arrival Japanese "picture brides" and the birth of their children. The Japanese council Yada in Honolulu recognized that the

fundamental issue behind the problem was American suspicion over the Japanese imperial government that might claim the born-in-Hawai'i Japanese children with dual nationality to be its subjects.[38] Accordingly, Hawaii's *Issei* and *Nisei* leaders joined their counterparts on the U.S. Pacific Coast in the effort to further revise Japan's nationality law allowing its male subjects overseas between the ages of seventeen and thirty-seven to renounce their Japanese citizenship.[39]

Although there was no trace of the Hawai'i LWV problematizing the unfair treatment of Asian citizen women married with alien Asian men nor trying to extend the newly-gained woman suffrage to Asian immigrant women, they were nonetheless committed to turning born-in-Hawai'i children into bona fide citizens of the U.S. territory of Hawai'i. Arguably, Japanese immigrant wives, along with their husbands, were willing to cooperate with them. Had they remained in Japan, male subjects would still be struggling to achieve male universal suffrage. And in 1922, Japanese women through their women's right movement barely won women's right to attend and participate in political gatherings but were still legally prohibited from joining political parties, organizing political groups, or voting.[40] In any case, for *Issei* who toiled long hours in Hawaii's sugar cane fields under the hot sun, gaining woman's vote was not a priority. For them, the education of their *Nisei* children was a more immediate concern. In 1920, children of Japanese ancestry accounted for 40.6% of the total school population, and their number was expected to increase even more in the following decades.[41] Accordingly, the white women leaders of the Hawai'i LWV came to assist Vaughan MacCaughey, superintendent of the territorial Department of Public Instruction (DPI) in expanding and standardizing public education in English to reach every child in the islands.

MacCaughey drew the attention of the white women leaders of the Hawai'i LWV on the subject of dual citizenship of *Nisei* children. On September 22, 1922, he appeared at the Hawai'i LWV's first board meeting to discuss the possibility for *Nisei* children, who held dual nationality, to be "legally claimed" as subjects of the emperor of Japan. He insisted that solving the dual citizenship problem of *Nisei* chil-

dren was the most urgent territorial as well as international issue.[42] The Hawai'i LWV white women board members then interviewed both white and Japanese experts on the matter,[43] and learned about the ongoing transnational efforts by the Japanese immigrant leaders and councils and *Nisei* youth, in petitioning the Japanese government to further revise the Japanese Nationality Law of 1916.[44] They also met with Baron Yasushi Togo, a member of the House of Peers of the Japanese Imperial Diet when he attended a conference in Honolulu, and were informed that a resolution from the Hawai'i LWV would help draw the necessary attention of the Diet to this issue. After consulting with the territorial governor and local businessmen, many of whom were male family members of its leaders, the Hawai'i LWV sent Baron Togo its resolution of support, as discussed at the beginning of this article.[45] In the gendered and racialized trans-Pacific world, Japanese male leaders appeared to have open ears to the resolution of Hawai'i LWV's white women board members, who, in their view, represented a more advanced and civilized nation than their own. In 1924, the Japan's Nationality Law was further revised. Now *Nisei* children of any age were allowed to renounce their Japanese nationality. As the majority of *Issei* parents were reluctant to take official procedures of renouncing the Japanese nationality of their American citizen children, the revised law also required *Issei* parents to register their children as Japanese nationals within fourteen days of their birth if they desired to retain their children's Japanese nationality.[46]

Epilogue

The rising tide of women's internationalism during the interwar years brought Trans-Atlantic and Trans-Pacific women's networks to intersect. The Pan-Pacific Women's Conferences (PPWC) initiated by Hawai'i's white settler women of missionary heritage afforded such a space. In fact, the PPWCs provided an opportunity for Asian American daughters, who had emulated American democratic values, to have their voices heard nationally and internationally. It also served as a venue for white women active in the trans-Atlantic world to learn about non-white women of

the Pacific. At the third PPWC held at Honolulu in the summer of 1931, for example, born-in-Hawai'i Chinese-American Ruth L. T. Yap, an assistant professor of mathematics at the University of Hawai'i, collaborated with Dr. T. Chen, a visiting professor from Tsing-Hua University in Peking, China, to present a paper providing a brief historical overview of Chinese women's experiences and to discuss the legal status of alien and American-citizen Chinese women in Hawai'i. In her paper, Yap insisted on the injustice of a born-in-America Chinese-American woman losing her American nationality and citizenship by marrying an alien Chinese man ineligible to U. S. citizenship. She also reported about the unfair exclusion, caused by the 1924 Immigration Act, of these Chinese-American women who had lost their American citizenship by such a marriage, while an alien Chinese of the merchant class was allowed to bring his wife and minor children to the United States for residence, by a treaty provision.[47]

Yap's plea to amend the Cable Act of 1922 ultimately bore fruit. Under the original Cable Act, a white resident citizen woman who married a white alien man retained her U. S. citizenship as long as she lived in the United States, but lost her nationality if she lived abroad with her foreign husband, as her absence was considered anti-American. When the discriminative national quota, which worked against not only New Immigrants but also women, was introduced by the Immigration Law of 1917 and 1924, there were increasing cases, in which expatriate native-born white and non-white women who lost their U. S. nationality by marriage were denied re-entry into the United States.[48] Maternalist, progressive, professional, Christian, and egalitarian women's organizations－including the National LWV, the YWCA, the National WTUL, the WCTU, the AAUW, as well as the NWP－all worked together to amend the 1922 Cable Act. The Japanese Association－a male-led *Issei* economic and political organization－as well as the Japanese American Citizen League－a male-led *Nisei* civil rights organization－also joined the campaign.[49] By the end of 1931, the amendment to the Cable Act ended the loss of citizenship by absence and the ineligible-spouse disqualification for nationality.

Accordingly, a woman of Asian ancestory who was born a citizen of the United States would no longer lose her citizenship by marrying a man ineligible to citizenship.[50] Although the 1931 Amendment did not affect the first-generation Asian immigrant women, it applied to U. S. born woman citizens of Asian ancestry, to whom Hawaii's elite women endeavored to extend their territorial mother work.[51]

Notes

(1) Harriet C. Andrew to Baron Togo, 22 December 1922, *League of Women Voters of the Territory of Hawaii Papers* (hereafter *Hawaii LWV Papers*), Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

(2) As for Trans-Pacific frameworks, see Catherine Ceniza Choy and Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, "Gendering the Trans-Pacific World," in Catherine Ceniza Choy and Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, eds. *Gendering the Trans-Pacific World* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 3-9.

(3) Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 15-26, 146-150, 219.

(4) *Ibid.,* 146-150; Candice Lewis Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 80-112.

(5) Louise M. Young, *In the Public Interest: The League of Women Voters,* 1920-1970 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 49.

(6) Its original ten charter member organizations were the League of Women Voters, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Consumers' Leagues, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Women's Trade Union League, National Council of Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Association of Collegiate Alumnae, American Home Economics Association, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Association. See Jan Doolittle Wilson, *The Women's Joint Congressional Committee and the Politics of Maternalism, 1920-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 175.

(7) Young, *In the Public Interest,* 1-62.

(8) Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own,* 11. Also see, J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 67-68.

(9) Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own,* 11.

(10) *Ibid.,* 80-112; Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston:

Twayne Publishers, 1991), 106.

(11) Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own,* 105.

(12) *Ibid.,* 98.

(13) Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 25-26; "Women at Fault Mayor's Opinion," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* 3 September 1920.

(14) Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989); Judith Gething, "Christianity and Coverture, Impact on the legal status of women in Hawaii, 1820-1920," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 11 (1977): 188-220.

(15) Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor, "Constructed Images of Native Hawaiian Women," in Shirley Hune and Gail M. Nomura, eds. *Asian/Pacific Islander American Women: A Historical Anthology* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 32.

(16) Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

(17) "Hawaiians Mourn," *The Independent* (Honolulu, HI), 7 February 1899.

(18) Ida Husted Harper, ed., *The History of Woman Suffrage vol. 6* (National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 715-7719; Rumi Yasutake, "Re-Franchising Women of Hawai'i, 1912-1920: The Politics of Gender, Sovereignty, Race, and Rank at the Crossroads of the Pacific, in Choy and Wu, eds. *Gendering the Trans-Pacific World,* 114-139.

(19) Patricia Grimshaw, "Settler Anxieties, Indigenous Peoples, and Women's Suffrage in the Colonies of Australia, New Zealand and Hawai'i, 1888 to 1902," *Pacific Historical Review* 69, 4 (November 2000): 568.

(20) *Idem.,* "New England Missionary Wives, Hawaiian Women, and 'The Cult of True Womanhood,'" *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 19 (1985): 71-100.

(21) Yasutake, "Re-Franchising Women of Hawai'i."

(22) Minutes of Organization Meeting of the Hawaii LWV, 20 March 1922, *Hawaii LWV Papers.*

(23) Minutes of A Special Meeting of the Board of Administrative Control of the Hawaii LWV, 27 December 1922," *Hawaii LWV Papers*

(24) "Amended Constitution of the Hawaii LWV," in Minutes of A Special Meeting of the Board of Administrative Control of the Hawaii LWV, 27 December 1922," *Hawaii LWV Papers.*

(25) "Women Given Pledges of Aid by Candidates" in Minutes of a Special Meeting of the

Hawaii LWV, 25 September 1922, *Hawaii LWV Papers.*

(26) Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Hawaii LWV, 28 February 1923, *Hawaii LWV Papers.*

(27) Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), 72.

(28) Due to the Gentlemen's Agreements, while the Japanese government stopped issuing passports to Japanese of working class destined for the United States, the U.S. government barred further Japanese migration to the U.S. mainland from Hawai'i, Mexico, and Canada. Toshihiro Minohara, *Kariforuniashu no hainichi undo to nichibei kankei: Iminmondai o meguru nichibei kankei, 1906-1921* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 2006), 28-34; Brian Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2001), 172-173.

(29) Filipinos later replaced Japanese as the largest ethnic group of Hawaii's plantation workers in the 1930s. Chan, *Asian Americans,* 55-56.

(30) Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History,* 334-336; Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 142-144.

(31) Yuji Ichioka, *Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 153-175; Niiya ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History,* 111-112.

(32) Chan, *Asian Americans,* 92.

(33) Dr. Harada, "Dual Citizenship," Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Hawaii LWV, 18 November 1922, *Hawaii LWV Papers*; Ichioka, *Issei,* 196-210; Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi, "Nijyukokusekimondai to hawai no nikkei amerikajin," *Atarashii rekishigaku no tameni,* no. 207 (1992): 13-25; *Idem.,* "Zaibeinihonjin no 'nijyu kokuseki mondai' kaiketsu undo: Taiheiyo engan nihonjinkai kyogikai no torikumi o chushin ni," *Hisutoria,* no. 145 (1993): 82-102.

(34) Sandra Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding: Sidney Gulick and the Search for Peace with Japan* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985), 130.

(35) Similar laws were also established in Washington and Texas.

(36) Ichioka, *Issei,* 153-175, 210-243; Niiya ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History,* 111-112.

(37) Minohara, *Kariforuniashu no hainichi undo to nichibei kankei,* 149.

(38) Noriko Asato, *Teaching Mikadoism: The Attack on Japanese Language Schoools in Hawa'i, Califorania, and Washington,* 1919-1927 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 17.

(39) Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi, *Nihonjin Amerika iminshi* (Tokyo: Fuji shuppan, 2001), 280-

300; *Idem.,* "Nijyukokusekimondai to Hawai no nikkei amerikajin."

(40) Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginning of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), 190.

(41) Department of Interior Bureau of Education, *A Survey of Education in Hawaii Made under the Direction of the Commissioner of Education* (Washington: GPO, 1920), 13.

(42) Minutes of the First Meeting of the Board of Administrative Control of the Hawaii LWV, 12 September 1922, *Hawaii LWV Papers.* Also see Sakaguchi, "Nijyukokusekimondai to Hawai no nikkei amerikajin."

(43) Among those invited were S. C. Huber, former U. S. District Attorney; Frank F. Bunker of the Pan-Pacific Union; and Dr. Tasuku Harada who was ordained by an ABCFM missionary in Japan, had received theological education in the United States, and was then teaching Japanese literature and history at the University of Hawai'i. As for Tasuku Harada, see Masao Ohta, "Harada Tasuku to Hawai daigaku." *Kirisutokyo shakai mondai kenkyu*, no. 46 (1998): 179-229.

(44) Dr. Harada, "Dual Citizenship."

(45) Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Board of Administrative Control of the Hawai'i LWV, 27 December 1922; Hawai'i LWV president Harriet C. Andrews to Baron Togo, 27 December 1922.

(46) Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting the Hawai'i LWV, October 9, 1924, *Hawai'i LWV Papers*; Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History, 154.*

(47) Ruth L. T. Yap, "The Legal Status of Chinese Women in China and Hawaii," *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 40, no. 2 (August 1930): 121-125.

(48) Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own,* 113-171.

(49) Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 50; Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History,* 133.

(50) Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own,* 169.

(51) Martha Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration, and Citizenship, 1870-1965* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2009), 142-154.

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