

博士学位論文審査要旨

2021年1月19日

論文題目： Transnational Takarazuka: Japanese Female Performers and America from the 1930s to the 1950s

(トランスナショナルに見る宝塚歌劇団の戦前・戦後の歴史：宝塚女性演者とアメリカ)

学位申請者： 入江 敏子

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主査： グローバル・スタディーズ研究科 教授 Gavin James Campbell

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要 旨：

This dissertation, submitted by Irie Toshiko, is a striking and original analysis of the Takarazuka theater's engagement with American audiences in the period spanning the decades of the 1930s through the 1950s. Through intense archival research, and a broad review of relevant secondary sources, Ms. Irie has greatly expanded our understanding not only of Takarazuka, but has also opened up new ways of thinking about women's cross-border experiences in the first half of the twentieth century. Especially by focusing on the motivations of the Takarazuka cast, rather than on those of male executives, she demonstrates the resources Japanese women used to think across borders of various kinds.

Chapter one explores the first tour Takarazuka took to the United States, in 1939. It places the tour within two contexts: Japan's broader attempts to use cultural diplomacy to soften its image in the United States, and the larger encounter Americans had with Japanese women through various world's expositions. Keeping this in mind, the chapter demonstrates that the Takarazuka cast was more than just what Japanese government officers and American audiences made of them. The Takarazuka cast also saw in their American tour an opportunity to play with the boundaries of femininity and national identity. By presenting themselves to an entirely new audience, and looking for ways to build bridges with other performers in America, they challenged themselves to think of their identity in ways beyond national borders.

Chapter two examines how Takarazuka navigated the Occupation period. In particular it looks at the restoration of Takarazuka to the stage, following its ban during the war years, and the reactions to these performances among a wide range of different Americans in the Occupation forces. Ms. Irie deftly shows how the Takarazuka cast again expanded ideas and images of Japanese womanhood among its American fans, and made a place for women on a modern stage. At the same time, she demonstrates how the performers used the possibilities for change opened up by the Occupation to contest the narrow confines of acceptable femininity. That is, Takarazuka performers understood their role as offering alternative visions for postwar Japanese womanhood.

Chapter three delves into a fascinating period of Takarazuka transnational history when the Japanese American community in Hawaii – and especially the organizers of the annual Cherry Blossom Festival – brought the Takarazuka to Hawaii for several consecutive years. Japanese Americans hoped the festival would, as Ms. Irie demonstrates, rehabilitate the “American-ness” of Japanese Americans in Hawaii, while also laying claim to a Japanese identity divorced from imperialism and war. In this, the Takarazuka represented an idealized and feminized “Japan” that could serve as a counterweight to wartime images. But, as she does in every chapter, Ms. Irie goes beyond what observers thought about Takarazuka, to examine how the female performers understood their own selves. She demonstrates the ways they used this Hawaii experience to explore new femininities, some of them grounded in Japanese longing for a South Seas empire, and some in the sense of personal liberation Hawaii had long represented in Japan. All told, the Hawaii tours raised possibilities for sometimes defying and sometimes strategically adopting prevalent ideas about Japanese womanhood. As a result, the chapter shows how, again, Takarazuka women used their transnational experiences to explore what it meant to be Japanese and female.

The committee was uniformly impressed with the depth of the research and the project’s ambition. There were a few areas where Ms. Irie could have pushed the analysis further, especially around questions of gender. The placement of this study within the broader history of Japanese women and transnationalism, for instance, could be stronger. Moreover, given the analytical emphasis on border crossing, it would have strengthened the dissertation to have a more focused attention to the gender-bending activities that are in the very nature of Takarazuka performance.

Nevertheless, the committee unanimously concluded that this dissertation was a sophisticated and sustained analysis, and that it met every requirement for the conferral of the PhD degree. よって、本論文は、博士（アメリカ研究）（同志社大学）の学位を授与するにふさわしいものであると認められる。

総合試験結果の要旨

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要 旨:

The oral examination of Irie Toshiko's PhD dissertation was held via Zoom on December 15, 2020 from 9:00 to 10:30. For the first thirty minutes, Ms. Irie presented the overall results of her dissertation findings. In the remaining hour, she took questions from the committee, covering such topics as her argument, interpretation and evidence. She explained in great detail the choices she made about her research methodology and resources, and how she structured the dissertation. She answered a range of questions, and impressed the committee with expertise and scholarly maturity.

Prior to this examination, Ms. Irie has presented her findings in both international conferences and in several publications. The great majority of her work in these cases has been conducted in English. In addition, her dissertation was written in English and the entire exam was conducted in English, thereby demonstrating her striking capacity to connect her findings to a broader scholarly community. Her work in the dissertation, combined with her many scholarly presentations and publications have convinced the committee that her work more than sufficiently proves her academic abilities and her future promise. For this reason, the committee unanimously agreed that the results of both the dissertation and the exam merited the award of a PhD degree. よって、審査委員一同、総合試験の結果は合格であると認める。

博士学位論文要旨

論文題目：Transnational Takarazuka: Japanese Female Performers and America from the 1930s to the 1950s
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氏名：入江 敏子

要旨：

In 2016, an all-female Japanese theater called the Takarazuka Revue performed in New York City. American fans gathered in front of the theater after every performance, and took pictures with their favorite Takarazuka performers. Although the popularity of Takarazuka in Japan has been well known, few have examined its interactions with foreign countries. As early as 1938, however, Takarazuka had begun touring abroad and fascinating audiences outside Japan.

This project is one of the first attempts to explore the transnational history of Takarazuka by following the complex processes by which Americans and Japanese used Takarazuka to explore the contours of Japanese identity and femininity in the period from the late 1930s to the 1950s. Although Takarazuka toured in many countries during this period, I particularly focus on its frequent interactions with the US, because Takarazuka had a number of contact points with the US throughout the period. Especially, through this dissertation, I will focus on the voices of Takarazuka females whose historical voices have rarely been featured in previous research. By paying attention to these female performers, this dissertation explains the transnational flows and interactions of Takarazuka female performers with Americans. By using transnationalism as a main analytical theme, this dissertation illustrates how Takarazuka performers were active agents in control of adjusting their image as Japanese women regarding hegemonic structures underlying the expectations of both Japanese and Americans surrounding these female performers. Furthermore, I argue that these females used the opportunities for performance on a transnational stage to recreate their own identities, especially through the difficulties of negotiating boundaries during a time when the role of Japanese women was continuously transforming. By dividing this dissertation into three chapters, I follow Takarazuka females' transnational movements in mainland America, Japan and Hawaii, and their encounters with America and Americans from 1939 to 1957.

In chapter 1, "The American Tour in 1939," I feature the tour of Takarazuka's very first American tour and their participation in the World Expos held in San Francisco and New York. In 1939, the Japanese Foreign Ministry sent Takarazuka females to two international Expos as cultural ambassadors, hoping they would help reduce political conflict between the two nations by showing how these female performers represented a "safe" and "civilized Japan." Through the Expos, American audiences had expected Takarazuka females to become icons of oriental Japanese females. Given the significance of representing Japanese women at the international Expos, I investigate how Takarazuka female performers adopted and shaped their own understandings of what it meant to be Japanese women in response to hegemonic structures underlying the expectation of both the Japanese government and the American audiences. Through their very first American tour, they stayed in America and interacted with Americans and performed their repertoire in front of Americans for the first time, despite escalating war tensions between Japan and US. These experiences and communications with Americans allowed these female performers to develop transnational and cosmopolitan identities that could likewise serve the imperial and nationalistic interests of Japan.

In chapter 2, "Takarazuka under Occupation," I feature the Occupation era history of Takarazuka

performers in Japan. While Takarazuka had been supervised and controlled by male American forces, GHQ took an interest in using Takarazuka as part of its efforts to build a New Japan and promote the status of Japanese women. At the same time, GHQ gave various freedoms to Takarazuka performers, such as returning to performing male-roles and Euro-American inspired repertoires, which the Japanese government had banned during the war. Not only male GIs, but female Americans watching Takarazuka became Takarazuka fans, and admired the performers who signaled broader possibilities and opportunities for gender identity than what many American women found at home. Takarazuka's Japanese male executives also supported Takarazuka females to return to their prewar repertoire. Yet, despite the expectations of various people around Takarazuka, female performers themselves actively used their position as performers to take on a wider range of femininities. They were never passive observers, and they worked hard to perform their original repertoire in which male roles and female roles performed characters inspired by Euro-American history and stage. By introducing various voices of these female performers, this chapter examines a multilayered analysis of Japanese female experience during the Occupation era.

In chapter 3, "The Hawaiian Tour in the 1950s," I focus on Takarazuka's postwar Hawaiian tour in the 1950s. For Japanese people, including for the *Takarasienne*, postwar Hawaii was a very unique place that possessed multiple images as nostalgic, paradise and progressive America. Therefore, the *Takarasienne* regarded Hawaii as a special place to explore new identities as Japanese women living in the postwar era. People surrounding the *Takarasienne*, such as Japanese Americans who invited Takarazuka to Hawaii, and Takarazuka male executives who managed the performances, supported the performers because of their own aims and expectations. For example, the Japanese American community in Hawaii aimed to use *Takarasienne* as new icons of Japan by showing the wider range of femininities. On the other hand, Japanese male executives working in the Takarazuka company aimed to increase Takarazuka's worldwide fame. While each group tried to control the image of female performers for their own purposes, the *Takarasienne* actively participated in their own self-representation to people both at home and abroad. Simultaneously, considering their ability to travel to Hawaii, I illustrate what a Hawaiian tour meant to these female performers within the historical and political background of the postwar Pacific.

By following the transnational circulation of these female performers, this dissertation explains that these females took full advantage of the opportunity to experience and encounter America and Americans as a way for themselves to explore their own identities. Through their interactions with America, they reshaped and redefined their own identities as Japanese women living from the interwar to the postwar periods. By following Japanese women across borders, this dissertation aims to widen the historiography of Japanese women by adding a new perspective of transnational mobility.