Gender in Performance

THE PRESENTATION OF DIFFERENCE

IN THE PERFORMING

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The "Magic If": Conflicting Performances of Gender in the Takarazuka Revue of Japan

Spectators come to the theater to hear the subtext. They can read the text at home.
STANISLAVSKY[1]

❦ The all-female Takarazuka Revue was founded in 1913 in the hot springs resort of Takarazuka by Kobayashi Ichizô (1873–1957), the Hankyû railroad and department store tycoon. The Revue has maintained two huge theatres in Takarazuka and Tokyo since the 1930s, where productions are staged year-round, and it regularly schedules regional and international tours. These, along with frequent radio and television broadcasts, have made the Revue one of the most widely recognized and watched of the so-called "theatres for the masses" (*taishû engeki*) created in the early twentieth century.[2] Takarazuka productions range from Japanese historical dramas, such as the *Tale of Genji*, to Western musicals, such as *Madama Butterfly* and *Oklahoma*, although the latter far outnumber the former.[3]

The Revue's actors are called "Takarasiennes," after Parisiennes, in recognition of the early influence of the French revue. They include *otokoyaku*, the "male"-gender specialists, and *musumeyaku*, the "female"-gender specialists. Upon their successful application to the Takarazuka Music Academy, founded in 1919 as a part of the Revue complex, the student actors[4] are assigned (what I call) their "secondary" genders. Unlike "primary" gender, which is assigned at birth on the basis of an infant's genitalia,[5] secondary gender is based on both physical (but not genital) and sociopsychological criteria; namely, height, physique, facial shape, voice, personality, and to a certain extent, personal preference. Secondary gender attributes or markers are premised on contrastive gender stereotypes themselves; for example, men ideally should be taller than women, have a more rectangular face, a higher bridged nose, darker skin, straighter shoulders, narrower hips, and a lower voice than women, and should exude *kosei* (charisma), which is disparaged in women. The assignment of gender involves the selection and cosmetic exaggeration of purported physical dif-

ferences between females and males and reinforces socially prescribed and culturally inscribed behavioral differences between women and men. The apparent irony, of course, is that in the Takarazuka Revue, gender (and gendered) differences that are popularly perceived as residing "naturally" in female and male bodies are embodied by females alone.

In the pages that follow, I will explore some of the competing and conflicting ways in which gender is constructed and performed, or deployed, in the Takarazuka Revue. My exploration of gender constructs includes consideration of the effect of the Stanislavsky System of acting, employed by the Revue, on the representation and performance of "female" and "male" gender. Konstantin Stanislavsky (1863–1938) developed a system of training and rehearsal at the Moscow Art Theatre for actors that, generally speaking, bases a performance upon inner emotional experience rather than upon the transmission of technical expertise *per se*. Takarazuka directors, notably Kishida Tatsuya and Shirai Tetsuzô, probably learned firsthand of the Stanislavsky System during their travels throughout western Europe in the latter half of the 1920s. Their contemporary, the playwright Mori Iwao, toured the Soviet Union in 1926. By the mid-1930s, knowledge of the System was widespread in Japanese modern theatre circles and Stanislavskian principles were incorporated into treatises on acting and acting manuals.[6] Stanislavsky's writings (in Russian and English) were available in the Revue's own library where they could be perused and adapted by the directors and instructors. I am unable to determine, either through interviews or from historical texts, the actual extent to which Takarazuka Music Academy instructors in the 1920s and 1930s employed Stanislavskian principles in preparing their students for the revue stage. Since the postwar period, however, the System has been adapted for use in training Takarasiennes.

The tension animating gender discourse cannot be accounted for in terms of simple oppositions—an all-male management versus female actors, for example, in the case of the Takarazuka Revue. Directors and actors are only two of the many agents in this ongoing, tensely charged, and sexually divided discourse, which also includes (mostly female) fans and (mostly male) critics. My general emphasis here is on a dialogical process whereby these interlocutors engage—indeed coexist—on several overlapping levels or thresholds (textual, performative, allegorical, political) of significance. Moreover, as Stanislavsky recognized, it is important to see drama itself as dialogical, for it includes "inner dialogues": "The character's 'I' is also a 'you' with whom he [or she] is in dialogue."[7] What are the implications of a female actor in dialogue with her "male" character, or her "female" character for that matter?

One of the modes in which competing discourses on gender are mani-

fested is in the dissonance and disjunction between text and subtext.[8] It has been said of the Stanislavsky System that the priority given to training actors "led to the deconstruction of performance texts."[9] Restated in the context of the Takarazuka Revue, the emphasis on training actors in their secondary genders has, at the same time—prominently, at various historical junctures—undermined Kobayashi's patriarchal text and underscored a lesbian ("butch"–"femme") subtext. To elaborate on this observation, I must first situate the Takarazuka Revue in its sociohistorical and theatrical context.

Embodying and Choreographing Gender

The Takarazuka Revue was among the modern theatres that marked the return of females to a major public stage after being banned from public (Kabuki) performances in 1629 by the Confucian-oriented Tokugawa Shogunate.[10] At the time the Revue was founded, actresses (*joyû*) were still publicly denounced as "defiled women" who led profligate lives. For example, Mori Ritsuko (1890–1961), one of the best known Shinpa (New School) actresses, was erased from the graduation register of the girls' school she had attended when the administrators discovered she had pursued a career in the theatre.[11] Theatre critics proclaimed the newly coined term *joyû,* with its connotations of superiority and excellence (*yû*), preferable to the older term *onnayakusha,* with its historical connotations of itinerant actress associated with unlicensed prostitution.[12] As I will explain, Kobayashi used the word *yaku* in a different sense to underscore the duty-like role of the "male" and "female" gender specialists (*otokoyaku* and *musumeyaku*). It seems that Kobayashi founded the Takarazuka Music Academy not only to train students in the Western and Japanese theatrical arts but also to reassure parents that their daughters were under the constant supervision of academy officials whose responsibility it was to prevent the young women from falling into a decadent lifestyle.[13]

Kobayashi chose to name the "female"-gender specialist *musumeyaku* (daughter-role player) instead of *onnayaku* (woman-role player) in keeping with the dominant representation of femininity codified in the Meiji Civil Code, which was operative from 1898 to 1947.[14] Whereas *onnayaku,* like *joyû* (in the context of the modern theatre), alluded to a wayward woman, *musumeyaku* connoted filial piety, youthfulness, pedigree, virginity, and an unmarried status. These characteristics were precisely those Kobayashi sought in the Takarazuka actors as a whole and marked the makings of the "good wife, wise mother" extolled in the Civil Code. The *otokoyaku,* on the other hand, were to glorify masculinity and ultimately to enhance the "good wife, wise mother" gender role for women. Kobayashi theorized

that by studying males and performing as men, the *otokoyaku* would learn to understand and appreciate the masculine psyche. Consequently, when they eventually retired from the stage and married—which he urged them to do—they would be better able to perform as "good wives, wise mothers," knowing exactly what their husbands expected of them.[15]

Kobayashi's patriarchal agenda for the Revue was extended by the Stanislavsky System, which is premised on the principle that the

> quality of an actor's performance depends not only upon the creation of the inner life of a role but also upon the physical embodiment of it. . . . An actor must . . . answer the question, "What would I do *if* I were in . . . [X's] position?" This "magic *if,*" . . . transforms the character's aim into the actor's.[16]

The "magic if" techniques for the inner construction of male-authored characters led the Takarazuka actors to reproduce the dominant gender ideology and attendant hierarchical gender typologies codified in the Civil Code. The femininity performed by the *musumeyaku* served as a foil for highlighting, by contrast, the masculinity of the *otokoyaku.* Despite a history of protest from Takarasiennes and their fans, the (male) directors continue to use *musumeyaku* to define the contours of the "male"-gender specialist. That an all-female cast should enact a system of male superiority and female subordination illustrates how differential definitions of both "female" and "male" gender are projected onto female bodies and internalized by females, while male bodies in effect remain neutral.[17] Significantly, with the exception of patriotic youths in wartime productions, the Revue has never staged a play featuring contemporary Japanese characters. Plays with Japanese characters are limited to stories set in the Heian through Edo periods, roughly the ninth through midnineteenth centuries. Plays set in the twentieth century present non-Japanese "male" and "female" characters exclusively. Consequently, the repertoire of an *otokoyaku* does not include contemporary Japanese men, although the Takarasienne learns about masculinity by watching, among others, Japanese males. Not only are male bodies unavailable for gender experiments but contemporary Japanese "male" gender appears to be off limits to representation by Takarazuka *otokoyaku.* Moreover, in this connection, the "good husband, wise father" was never invented as a trope for social order, nor was social disorder ever linked to a "man problem."

Kobayashi conceived of the Takarazuka *otokoyaku* or "male"-role player as the complement of the Kabuki *onnagata* or "female"-role player (literally, "female" model); however, whereas *onnagata* were exemplary models (*kata*) of "female" (*onna*) gender for females offstage to approximate, the *otokoyaku* were regarded as performing a duty not for males but for females on- and offstage to internalize. The gender(ed) difference be-

tween the Kabuki and Takarazuka performers is also evident in the discourse of the body.

In Kabuki, the theory linking the body and (secondary) gender of the "female"-gender specialist was formulated by *onnagata* Yoshizawa Ayame in the early Edo period (1603–1868). It is a twist on the Buddhist concept of *henshin,* or bodily transformation or metamorphosis. *Hen* is the term for change, in both a transitive and intransitive sense. *Shin* (also pronounced *mi*) is the term for body in the most comprehensive sense; that is, a physical, mental, social, historical, and spiritual entity.[18] The term *henshin* originally referred to the process whereby deities assumed a human form the better to promulgate Buddhist teachings among the masses of sentient beings.

The process of *henshin* is also central to the Kabuki theatre, and refers specifically to the process by which an *onnagata* becomes Woman, as opposed to impersonates a given female/woman. Ayame's theory resembles the Buddhist concept of *henshin* with the exception that gender (and not sex) is involved in an *onnagata*'s transformation from a man into Woman. He did not perceive of the *onnagata* as "a male acting in a role in which he becomes a woman," but rather as "a male who is a woman acting a role."[19] In other words, the transformation is not part of the role but precedes the particular role. *Henshin,* as defined by Ayame, appears to be quite close to Stanislavsky's notion of "emotional memory," whereby an actor, through what might be called "active empathy," makes the transformation from a witness who shares feelings to the principal who actually feels them.[20] An *onnagata,* however, does not put himself in the place of another person (that is, a female) but rather becomes Woman; his past emotions may be deployed as creative material, but the *onnagata* is obliged to refrain from both studying real females and from getting close to them emotionally lest sympathy for them be transformed into feelings of his own.[21] One Japanese theatre critic has even declared that Kabuki and the Stanislavsky System are "diametrically opposed to each other": Unlike the System, "Kabuki is not motivated by the what-how-why questions" that accompany an empathic sensibility.[22]

Ayame insisted that an *onnagata* embody femininity in his daily life.[23] Simply impersonating a given female/woman was neither adequate nor appropriate. To clinch his point, Ayame insisted that the construction of Woman could not be left up to the idiosyncratic notions of a particular actor. Instead, he introduced ideal-type categories of Woman, each with predetermined characteristics. The role of a "chaste woman" (*teijo*), for example, was to be based on *Onnadaigaku* (*Greater Learning for Females*), a primer written in the early eighteenth century by a Confucian scholar.[24] Given the Kabuki theatre's ambivalent reception by the Tokugawa Shogunate and the low, outsider status of actors during the Edo period, the construction and performance of femininity on the basis of a leading samurai-class (male) intellectual's influential treatise on "female" gender likely added a modicum of legitimacy to the urban theatre.[25]

Henshin is not a process either (officially) prescribed or recommended for Takarazuka *otokoyaku.* Kobayashi, the Revue's founder, was no Ayame, and was keen on limiting an *otokoyaku*'s appropriation of masculinity to the Takarazuka stage. A masculine female outside the context of the Revue was censured by him, as well as by early twentieth-century sexologists, as abnormal and perverted.[26] Kobayashi proclaimed that "the [Takarazuka] *otokoyaku* is not male but is more suave, more affectionate, more courageous, more charming, more handsome, and more fascinating than a real male."[27] But, although her body was appropriated as the main vehicle for the representation of masculinity, an *otokoyaku* was not to become unequivocally Man, much less a model for males offstage to emulate. Whereas the *kata* in *onnagata* means model or archetype, the *yaku* in *otokoyaku* connotes serviceability and dutifulness. Revue directors have thus referred to the actor's achievement of "male" gender not in terms of transformation or metamorphosis (*henshin*) but in terms of "putting something on the body" (*mi ni tsukeru*), in this case, markers of masculinity. As they see it, a Takarasienne who plays a man is but performing a duty.

A major part of the training of the academy students and Revue actors includes learning a repertoire of gestures, movements, intonations, speech patterns, and the like, through which they extend their bodily defined secondary genders. An *otokoyaku,* for example, must stride forthrightly across the stage, her arms held stiffly away from her body and her fingers curled around her thumbs. A *musumeyaku,* on the other hand, pivots her forearms from the elbows, which are kept pinned against her side, constraining her freedom of movement and consequently making her appear more "feminine."[28] In keeping with the patriarchal values informing the Takarazuka Revue, and similar to the Kabuki *onnagata,* the *musumeyaku* have represented and performed the male-identified fictional Woman with little if any connection to the historical experiences and feelings of actual females. The *otokoyaku,* however, have been actively encouraged to study the behavior and actions of real males offstage, as well as those of theatre and film characters, to idealize men on stage more effectively, be they samurai or cowboys.

Commercial reasons notwithstanding, Kobayashi conceived of the Takarazuka theatre as an appropriate site for the resocialization of ("bourgeois") girls and women whose unconventional aspirations had led them to the Revue stage. Once onstage, however, the System-trained Takarasienne was placed "within the range of systems that . . . oppressed her very representation on stage."[29]

Kobayashi, like Stanislavsky, perceived of the theatre as "a pulpit which

is the most powerful means of influence,"[30] and he maintained that the Takarazuka Revue served a didactic purpose. The female actors were trained to perform gender roles that would facilitate their postretirement reentry into a more conventional lifestyle. Significantly, Kobayashi referred to the actors as "students" (*seitô*), for he believed that a wedding ceremony marked the start of a woman's real career, whereupon she became a full-fledged actor—the conjugal household her stage and her husband and children her audience. Their stage duty as members of the Takarazuka Revue was deemed analogous to their eventual duty as "good wives, wise mothers" in a patriarchal household.[31] But, as I have hinted and will discuss in the next section, many Takarazuka actors used the Revue stage as a site for resisting and redressing conventional and oppressive gender roles.

Redressing Gender, Rehearsing New Gender Roles

The public vocation of the Takarasiennes reversed the usual association of females with the private domain. Kobayashi was keen on bringing the interpersonal sphere of women in the conjugal household into the light of public scrutiny and edification.[32] But despite his early efforts to represent the *otokoyaku* in particular as performing a patriotic, civil duty, the "male" role players eventually were singled out and denounced in the daily press as the "acme of offensiveness." In August 1939, the Osaka prefectural government banned *otokoyaku* from public performances in that prefecture, signaling the beginning of a generalized castigation of the Revue. All Takarasiennes were chastised in the mass media for their "abnormal and ostentatious" lifestyle, and government censors ordered the uniforms of academy students changed from the original *hakama*, or formal Japanese-style outfit, to the military-like uniform worn today. They were not permitted to answer fan mail, much less to socialize with their fans.[33] Kobayashi, who from July 1940 to April 1941 served (in the second Konoe cabinet) as minister of commerce and industry, colluded with government censors to produce patriotic musicals that exalted the image of the "good wife, wise mother," an image further reified at that time as *Nippon fujin*, or "Japanese Woman."[34] Typical of the musicals staged during the late 1930s and early 1940s, a period of militarization and state censorship, was *Illustrious Women of Japan* (*Nippon meifu den*, 1941), a nationalistic extravaganza dedicated to heroines, mothers of heroes, and "women of chastity."

What provoked these charges of an "abnormal lifestyle"? The belief that female actors performing men's roles were behaving in an "unnatural" and "perverse" manner grew out of the "psychiatric style of reasoning" imported from Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The theories of Sigmund Freud, Havelock Ellis, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and Otto Weininger[35]—the latter three in particular—were employed by Japanese sexologists and forensic medicine specialists to define "normal" and "natural" against "abnormal" and "unnatural" gender identity, sexuality, and sexual desire. Women such as the *moga*,[36] the Japanese "flapper," and the Takarasiennes, many of whom openly rejected the state-sanctioned "good wife, wise mother" model of "female" gender, were severely criticized in newspaper, journal, and magazine articles as "masculinized" (*danseika*) females who "had forgotten how to be feminine."[37]

"Same-sex love" (*dôseiai*) relationships, between females especially, attracted much popular and medical attention in the early twentieth century. Girls' schools, including the Takarazuka Music Academy, and their (unmarried) female instructors and students were singled out by (mostly male) sexologists and social critics as the sites and agents of homosexuality among females. By the same token, not a few claimed that the phenomenon of "masculinized" females could be attributed to the detrimental influence of the revue theatre and foreign films.[38]

In 1910, four years before the first performance of the Takarazuka Revue, one of the first articles on the subject of lesbianism was published in a leading women's newspaper, the *Fujo Shinbun*. Distinctions were drawn between two types of homosexual relationships between females: *dôseiai* (same-sex love) and *ome no kankei* ("male"-"female" relations).[39] It is clear from the article that what the editorial staff meant by "same *sex*" was actually "same *gender*," and that *ome* referred to a "butch-femme"-like couple (that is, same sex, different gender). A *dôseiai* relationship was characterized as a passionate but supposedly platonic friendship and was regarded as typical among girls and women from all walks of life, but especially among girls' school students and graduates, female educators, female civil servants, and thespians.[40] Such relationships were also referred to as "S" or "Class S" (*kurasu esu*)—the "S" refers to sister, *shôjo*, or sex, or all three combined. Class S continues to conjure up the image of two schoolgirls, often a junior-senior pair, with a crush on each other.

Ome relationships, on the other hand, were described as

> a strange phenomenon difficult to diagnose on the basis of modern psychology and physiology.[41] . . . One of the couple has male-like (*danseiteki*) characteristics and dominates the [female-like] other. . . . Unlike the [*dôseiai* couple], friends whose spiritual bond took a passionate turn, the latter have developed a strange, carnal relationship (*niku no sesshoku*) . . . stemming from their carnal depravity (*nikuteki daraku*). . . . The masculine female is technically proficient at manipulating women. . . . Doctors have yet to put their hoes to this uncultivated land (*mikaikonchi*).[42]

This article and others like it[43] make it clear that even an overheated *dôseiai* (i.e., homogender) relationship was not pathological in the way that

an *ome* (i.e., heterogender) relationship was, the latter being not only acknowledgedly sexual but also an heretical refraction of the heterosexual norm codified in the Meiji Civil Code. The most objective writers, not surprisingly, referred to an *ome* couple as *fufu* (husband and wife), a marital metaphor that safely contained (and conveniently camouflaged) the difference embodied by the two women and denied the alterity of females as subjects of their own desire.

The *Fujo Shinbun* article introduced recent "medical" findings in surmising that females were more prone than males to homosexuality. It was postulated that the "natural" passivity (*muteikôshugi*) of females made them susceptible to neurasthenia (*shinkeishitsu*), which, in turn, occasioned a pessimism expressed in the form of homosexuality.[44] *Ome* ("butch-femme") relationships, however, seemed to stymie the sexologists and worry the social critics of the day, since unmarried women in particular were stereotyped as blissfully unaware of sexual desire and females in general were certainly not supposed to play an active role in sexual relations of any kind. "Moral depravity" fostered by modernization (westernization) seemed to be the only viable explanation the "experts" could forward to rationalize *ome* relationships among urban women—at least until the appearance of Takarazuka *otokoyaku* prompted critics to come up with new ideas to account for the increasingly visible "masculinized" female. The author of a 1930 newspaper article on the Takarazuka Revue went so far as to assert that the emergence of *ome*-type relationships was the "direct result of females playing men's roles" and to suggest that the Revue was the medium through which Class S couples were transformed into *ome* ("butch-femme") couples, an evolutionary thesis absent from the *Fujo Shinbun* article published twenty years earlier.[45]

The erotic potential of the Takarazuka *otokoyaku* was recognized within a decade of the Revue's founding. In his 1921 book on the lifestyle of the Takarasiennes, Kawahara included a chapter on love letters from female fans, which he regarded as examples of "abnormal psychology" (*hentai seiri*).[46] Eight years later, in 1929, the mass media began to sensationalize the link between the Takarazuka Revue and lesbian practices. A leading daily newspaper ran a series on Takarazuka called "Abnormal Sensations" (*hentaiteki kankaku*). The (male) author was alarmed that the *otokoyaku* might begin to feel natural assuming "male" gender. Their private lives, he fretted, would soon "become an extension of the stage."[47]

His worst fears came true when, less than a year later, the leading dailies exposed the "same-sex love" affair between Nara Miyako, a leading *otokoyaku*, and Mizutani Yaeko, a leading woman of the Shinpa theatre. What this critic and others found most alarming was nothing short of a revolutionary change of context; namely, the transformation of the *otokoyaku* from the showcase of masculinity to the stereotype of the masculine female.

What had been presented and perceived as artifice onstage had revealed itself as daily practice offstage. Inasmuch as many Takarasiennes had applied to the academy because they were avid fans and wanted to be closer to their idols, or because they wanted to do "male" and in some cases "female" roles, the stage was an extension of their private lives, and not the reverse. For Takarasiennes and their fans, resistance to prescribed sex and gender roles was possible precisely through a change of context.[48]

The critics seemed particularly disturbed by the realization that the Takarazuka *otokoyaku*, like the "modern girl" (*moga*), could effectively undermine a gender role (the "good wife, wise mother") that was premised on the conflation of sex, gender, and sexuality and on women's dependence upon and subordination to men. Consequently, Nara, the man, was pushed into the limelight of damnation. For an anatomical female to assume "male" gender was for her to rise in the gender hierarchy, a subversive act from a patriarchal point of view. Therefore, Kobayashi, along with media critics, sought to limit the scope of the *otokoyaku*'s masculine behavior to the Takarazuka stage. Mizutani was treated more leniently for the likely reason that, as the woman, she did not appear different enough to be perceived as a heretic.[49]

Offstage, a masculine female is dangerous to the social order not because she may be homosexual but because, in appropriating "male" gender, she, like the *moga* who eschewed conventional femininity, embodies the rejection of wifehood and, most importantly, motherhood. Moreover, regarding onstage *otokoyaku*, female fans across age, class, and educational lines perceive not an ideal man but rather a female body performing in a capacity that the majority of women cannot.[50]

The brouhaha that erupted over the Nara-Mizutani affair was part of the larger sociocultural discourse on the problematic relationship between eros and modernism in the early twentieth century. The revue *Parisette*, staged in 1930, ushered in Takarazuka's overtly modern and erotic phase.[51] From this production onward, Takarasiennes ceased to apply the traditional stage makeup, *oshiroi* (whiteface). Modernism warranted a transition from denaturalized flesh to its naturalization. The Takarasienne's whiteface mask, as it turned out, had not so much hidden as revealed her "masculine" nature—her gender role and sexuality.

The appropriation of masculinity continued with *otokoyaku* Kadota Ashiko's sudden decision to cut off her hair in the spring of 1932. As reported in the press, Kadota was irked by the unnaturalness of having to stuff her regulation-long hair under every type of headgear except wigs, for the all-male management had deemed that wigs would give *otokoyaku* an overly natural appearance. Takarazuka fans and *moga*, on the other hand, had sported short hair at least a decade ahead of their idols.[52]

Hair has been a symbolic element throughout Japanese history. Prior to

the *moga*, short hair announced a woman's withdrawal from secular and sexual affairs. The "modern girl" turned hair symbolism on its head, and short hair became the hallmark of the extroverted, maverick, and in the eyes of critics, dangerous woman. *Otokoyaku* gave short hair yet another layer of symbolic meaning: "butch" sexuality. The Takarazuka management eventually sought to divest short hair of its radical symbolism by assuming authority over haircuts. At least since the postwar period and probably before, a student assigned the "male" gender is required to cut her hair short by the end of her first semester at the academy. Until ordered to do otherwise, all junior students are required to wear their hair in shoulder-length braids.

In the prewar period, *otokoyaku* sought to appropriate and naturalize masculinity and were, along with the Revue as a whole, castigated severely. One aspect of the postwar revival of Takarazuka has been the efforts of *musumeyaku* to make femininity more than just a foil for masculine privilege. Significantly, in a fan magazine (*Takarazuka Fuan*) published independently, and occasionally in those published by the Revue, Takarasiennes and their female fans refer to the actor not as *musumeyaku* (daughter-role player) but as *onnayaku* (woman-role player), thereby claiming a nomenclatorial parity with the *otokoyaku*. This act of re-naming is a reminder that the "sex-gender system . . . is both a sociocultural construct and a semiotic apparatus, a system of representation which assigns meaning (identity, value, prestige, . . . status in the social hierarchy, etc.) to individuals within the society."[53] The actors began to stress their female being over their status as daughters and, accordingly, to demand more definitive roles.

The all-male directorship responded to these demands by creating highly visible, dynamic, and often overtly sensuous woman characters, such as Scarlett O'Hara in *Gone With the Wind* and Jacqueline Carstone in *Me and My Girl*. However, in a move which undercut *musumeyaku* intentions, the directors assigned these new roles to *otokoyaku*. In this way, the construction and performance of femininity remained the privilege of both males and "male" gender specialists. *Musumeyaku*, on the contrary, almost never have been re-assigned to men's roles: The transposition of gender is not a reciprocal operation. As several *musumeyaku* have remarked, "Japanese society is a male's world, and Takarazuka is an *otokoyaku*'s world."[54]

It is also important to note that those plays whose charismatic women characters have been performed by *otokoyaku* are Euro-American plays. Earlier I noted how, in the early twentieth century, the Paris-inspired revue and Western films were deemed accountable for the "masculinization" of Japanese females. In this case, however, the directors felt that the requisite

innocence and naiveté of the *musumeyaku* would be irreparably compromised by roles that called for (hetero)sexually literate characters. Although all Takarasiennes by definition are unmarried and ostensibly (hetero)-sexually inexperienced, *otokoyaku*, by virtue of their "male" gender, were perceived as less likely to be corrupted by assuming the roles of charismatic women—an ironic twist on the rationale for the emergence of the Kabuki *onnagata* in the 1600s.

Many *otokoyaku*, along with disfranchised *musumeyaku*, protested the directors' gender-switching antics, and many *otokoyaku* claimed to have experienced, as a result of playing women's roles, a sense of conflict or resistance (*teikô*) and a loss of confidence. Gô Chigusa, an *otokoyaku* who retired in 1972, also remarked that on the rare occasion when she was assigned a woman's role, her fans complained bitterly of their resultant dis-ease (*kimochi warui*)—that eerie feeling when the familiar suddenly is defamiliarized.[55]

Some actors such as Minakaze Mai who had enrolled in the academy specifically to do "male" gender were assigned instead to do "female" gender. Minakaze was assigned to women's roles because of her short (160-cm) stature. To resolve the conflict between her offstage desires and her onstage role—or, in Stanislavskian terms, in order to dialogue with her character's "I"—she has "stopped wearing blue-jeans" and "always exerts [herself] to the fullest to be a *musumeyaku*, even in [her] private life."[56] Minakaze is not alone in originally believing that females encountered less resistance when performing women's roles. She now agrees with several of her colleagues that locating "the woman within the female poses a perplexing problem."[57] Similarly, after ten years of performing only men's roles, *otokoyaku* Matsu Akira, who retired in 1982, was unable to perform a woman's role: "Even though I am a female, the thing called woman just won't emerge at all."[58] Whether in terms of "resistance" or "emergence," the Takarasiennes have drawn attention to the incompatibility between their experiences as females and the dominant construction of "female" gender. In keeping with Schechner's earlier remarks on the Stanislavsky System, the actors' training in their secondary genders has led to the deconstruction of femininity, which, as a gender role, can be understood as a performative text.

Kobayashi's assertion that "Takarazuka involves studying the male" is only partially correct.[59] "Female" gender is also taught and studied; this, in fact, is the ultimate objective of the academy. Takarasiennes who are assigned a (secondary) gender contrary to their personal preference represent all Japanese females who are socialized into gender roles not of their own making. And like the *musumeyaku* in particular, girls and women are suspended between the depiction and definition of femininity and the

achievement or approximation of such—ironically, a limbo many young women have sought to avoid by enrolling in the academy.[60]

Nevertheless, the Revue offers Takarasiennes an alternative to, or at least a respite from, the gender role of "good wife, wise mother." One actor declared that for her, to become an *otokoyaku* was tantamount to "realizing her personal ideals."[61] Another enrolled in the Takarazuka Music Academy specifically because, "despite her female body, she could assume a masculine persona." She made a point of referring to herself as *boku*, a self-referent that signifies masculinity.[62] As *otokoyaku*, the actors have access to, and can provide fans with vicarious access to, a wide range of occupations limited to males, from general to matador to gangster. Many "male"-gender specialists have noted that, had they not joined Takarazuka, they would have pursued—as if employment opportunities were equal—careers such as import-export trader, airplane pilot, train engineer, and lumberyard manager, among others; occupations essentially limited to males.

Leading *otokoyaku* have been provided the opportunity to realize their forfeited careers in one fan magazine's "magic if" series titled, "What if you had not joined Takarazuka?" Asami Rei and Haruna Yuri, for example, would have been a train engineer and airplane pilot, respectively. For the series, the two *otokoyaku* dressed in the appropriate uniforms and assumed their foregone careers for a day. Haruna toured but did not pilot a jet, and Asami was given lessons and actually drove a Hankyû train.[63] Theoretically, they subverted the male-dominant occupational hierarchy, but in actuality, as well-known *otokoyaku*, their act was neither presented nor perceived as a redressing of conventional "female" gender roles.

In recent decades, Takarasiennes and their fans have often referred to the *otokoyaku* as females who have metamorphosed (*henshin shita*), indicating a recontextualization of this hitherto androcentric term to fit their stage experience.[64] Their use of the term outside the Buddhist and Kabuki (*onnagata*) contexts may have been prompted by the tremendous, continuing popularity of the "*henshin* dramas" (*dorama*) that were first aired in the late 1960s. These television dramas, some of them animated, feature mostly "ordinary" boys and young men who have the ability to change (*henshin*) suddenly into another, more powerful form. The brainy Pa-man, for example, in another incarnation is Mitsuo-*kun*, an average elementary school student. His inventors suggest that what audiences find intriguing is the possibility of "one person living in two worlds."[65]

To digress for a moment, the Takarazuka Revue was and is attractive to audiences for much the same reason. The Paris-flavored Revue in the 1920s and 1930s, for example, provided Japanese viewers with a glimpse of another (i.e., Western) world. And for female fans in particular, the tux-

edo-and-gown outfitted actors allowed for the vicarious experience of an alternative to the state-prescribed kimono, along with an alternative to the "good wife, wise mother" gender role. Of great significance in this connection, the public vocation of the Takarazuka actor reverses the conventional association of females with the private domain; consequently, distinctions between "private" ("women's work") and "public" ("men's work") are neither incumbent upon nor possible for Takarasiennes.[66]

> One result of this is that although [the actor] is aware of the dominant rules governing the society of which her small dramatic world is a part, her experience permits her to fuse the value-systems, and to bring the naturally secluded private interpersonal sphere of women in the home into the light of public scrutiny.[67]

It is in this light that the unabated postwar popularity of Takarazuka among girls and women is partly explained. Voting rights (1947) and nominal equal employment opportunity laws (1986) notwithstanding, sexist discrimination against girls and women—from the boys-first order of school roll calls to short-term "mommy track" jobs—is the prevailing state of affairs. "Women inside, men outside" remains the dominant gender ideology, reinforced by "public opinion" polls commissioned by the prime minster's office and others, despite the fact that over 60 percent of all adult females work for wages outside their homes, 80 percent of whom are married and mothers.[68] Since the postwar period, from roughly the 1950s onward, girls and women have constituted the overwhelming majority of the Takarazuka audience and fan population. Throughout the pre- and interwar years, about half of the audience was made up of boys and men, although the most zealous (and problematic) fans were female. The management, playwrights, and directors, however, continue to be exclusively male.

One of the reasons the newly revived musical *The Rose of Versailles*, first staged in the mid-1970s, has been such a colossal success among female fans of all ages is that it dwells on the adventures of Oscar, a female raised as a "male" in order to succeed her father in a patrilineage of generals.[69] The Oscar character represents the slippage between sex and gender and, significantly, has been acted by *otokoyaku* exclusively, whose own acting careers in the Revue have followed a similar trajectory. The subtextual meaning of this play about the French Revolution is that clothing as performance threatens to undercut the ideological fixity of gender differences.[70]

By the same token, *The Rose of Versailles* is also one of the Revue's most reflexive productions in that the relationship between Oscar and her/his father is analogous to that between the *otokoyaku* and the Revue's all-male administration. Note, when reading the following dialogue between Oscar and the General, that Kobayashi had insisted that Takarasiennes call him "Father."

OSCAR: Father, please answer me!
GENERAL: Oscar?!
O: If . . . if I had been raised as an ordinary female, would I have been forced to marry at age fifteen like my sisters? I could be playing the [clavichord], singing arias, dressing up every night in fine clothes and laughing away the time in high society. . . .
G: Oscar!!
O: Please answer me! I could be wearing velvet beauty marks and rose perfume; I would fill my arabesque compact with cosmetics; I could bear children—and raise them.
G: Oscar!!
O: Answer me, please!
G: [*Pensively.*] Yes, it's as you say—had you been raised as an ordinary female.
O: Father, thank you.
G: [*Is taken aback.*]
O: Thank you for giving me a chance to live the kind of life I have, in as broad a world as I have, even though I am a female. Even while struggling to deal with the stupidity of pathetic people. . . .
G: Oscar.
O: I am no longer remorseful. I . . . I'll live as the child of Mars, god of war. I'll devote this body of mine to the sword; I'll devote it to the cannon. My livelihood is the military and I'll serve as the child of Mars, god of war. . . .[71]

Oscar (and by the same token, the Takarazuka *otokoyaku*) is able to transcend the fixed, narrow life course of "ordinary females" because of Father's pragmatically patriarchal decision to name her "son." Recognizing that masculinity affords access to a wider world, Oscar is effusively grateful for the opportunity to be the household's *otokoyaku*. Oscar's military uniform not only accentuates the difference between "male" and "female" gender—the former identified with swords and cannons, the latter with flowers and children—but magnifies the tension between masculinity and the female body it camouflages. The overall effect exaggerates the slippage between sex and gender even as it cloaks it. Both the General and the audience know that Oscar, like the actor, is a "masculinized" female. The notion that gender is a property of attribution, instruction, and convention and not of anatomy is made doubly obvious by the synonymy between Oscar and the *otokoyaku* performing Oscar. At the same time, both demonstrate the sexist irony that access to a more supposedly "liberating" gender identity is granted only by privileged father figures.[72]

Concluding Concatenations

"Performance at its most general and most basic level is a carrying out, a putting into action or into shape." Takarazuka performances "carry out" at least several competing actions in several different forms, because a theatrical performance always exceeds the elements—such as the "master" text—from which it is composed and extends into many spheres of action.[73] More specifically, the meeting of performers, who include actors as well as directors, fans, critics, "I," and "you," may be a cooperative and/or contested interaction or dialogue.

The significance of Takarazuka Revue to the discourse on gender and sexuality was its impact on Japanese society at different historical junctures in several, often contradictory ways, as I have shown. For example, whereas Kobayashi argued that the *otokoyaku* participates not in the construction of alternative gender roles for females but in the glorification of masculinity, both government censors and female fans viewed the actor as doing just the opposite. The former interpreted the *otokoyaku* as "abnormal" and offensive enough to be banned from the stage in 1939. Female fans, on the other hand, continue to view the *otokoyaku* in a number of affirmative ways, including as a lesbian "role model" and as an exemplary female who can negotiate successfully both genders and their attendant roles and domains without (theoretically) being constrained by either. Watching the "male"-gender specialists on stage, (female) fans enjoy vicariously what they too might be able to do if—magically—they were, not male, but *otokoyaku*. Takarasiennes, and particularly the *otokoyaku*, like the character of Oscar, provoke the recognition of gender as, in part, a costume drama in which clothing—in addition to gesture and voice—undercuts the ideological fixity and essentialism of conventional femininity and masculinity.[74] The technologies of gender construction utilized in the Takarazuka Revue have both drawn from and informed—and redressed—a socio-historically situated discourse of gender and sexuality. Enactment, in short, entails interaction, and vice versa.

Notes

1. Konstantin Stanislavsky, in Sonia Moore, *The Stanislavski System* (New York: Penguin, 1988 [1960]), p. 28.
2. See Jennifer Robertson, "Gender-bending in Paradise: Doing 'Male' and 'Female' in Japan," *Genders* 5 (1989):50–59, for an exploration of the various interlocutors in the discourse of sex, gender, and sexuality on and off the Takarazuka stage.

Another all-female revue, the Shôchiku Revue, founded in Tokyo (Asakusa) in 1928 and formally disbanded in early 1990, quickly became Takarazuka's main

rival—or "other"—in every respect. Whereas Takarazuka productions were stereotyped as naive and romantic, the Shôchiku actors performed more allegedly mature and erotic revues. Fans partial to one or the other revue rarely attended performances staged by the rival troupe.

3. For pertinent research on the production of *Madama Butterfly* in Japan, including by the Takarazuka Revue, see Arthur Groos (Cornell University), "Return of the Native: Japan in *Madama Butterfly/Madama Butterfly* in Japan" (typescript).

4. From the beginning, the academy has solicited applications from females between fifteen and twenty-four years of age. Today, most of the applicants are nineteen years old and, as required, are either junior high or high school graduates. Academy officials continue to claim that the young women are from "good families," and although detailed information about their socioeconomic status is kept confidential, it is widely understood that those families are affluent. The Revue itself, however, attracts (mostly female) fans who represent a wide variety of age, educational, economic, and class groups.

5. I am not here unconsciously conflating genital sex with gender but rather taking note of the conventional practice in Japan. Regardless of their popular conflation, there is a major difference between "sex roles" and "gender roles." The former term refers to the various capabilities of female and male genitalia, such as menstruation, seminal ejaculation, and orgasm. Gender roles refer to sociocultural and historical conventions of deportment and costume attributed to females and males. "Sexuality" may overlap with sex and gender but remains a separate domain of desire and erotic pleasure. See Suzanne Kessler and Wendy McKenna, *Gender: An Ethnomethodological Approach* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985 [1978]), pp. 1–12; and Carol Vance, "Pleasure and Danger: Toward a Politics of Sexuality," in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality,* ed. Carol Vance (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), p. 9. Sex, gender, and sexuality may be related, but they are not the same thing. The degree of their relationship or the lack thereof is negotiable and negotiated constantly. Although the three may be popularly perceived as irreducibly joined, this condition remains situational and not permanently fixed.

6. Ôzasa Y., *Nihon gendai engekishi: Taishô, Shôwa shoki hen* (Tokyo: Shiromizusha, 1986), p. 264; for example, Hiroo M., "Gendai engekisaku haiyûron," *Chûô Kôron* 3 (1936):140–51; and Hachida M., *Enshutsuron* (Tokyo: Takada Shoin, 1940 [1937]).

7. Moore, *The Stanislavski System,* p. 71.

8. Pribram's explication of "text" offers a useful clarification of the term as I employ it here in the sense of dominant discourse or master narrative.

> The function of a text is to position the spectator to receive certain flavoured—and restricted—meaning which the text "manages" for the viewing subject in keeping with dominant ideology. In this model the spectator is not an active part of the production of textual meaning but the passive side of a unidirectional relationship in which the text disperses meanings while the spectator . . . receives them. The spectator can only interpret (be interpreted by) a text in terms preformulated by gender difference. There is no possibility of a mutually informing relationship between spectator and text, and therefore no accumulative building of textual meaning. . . . The intention of the text and the reception of textual meaning are defined as one and the same (E. Deidre Pribram, "Introduction," in *Female Spectators: Looking at Film and Television,* edited by E. Deidre Pribram [New York: Verso, 1988], p. 4).

A text then, as a technology of gender, is invested with "power to control the field of social meaning and thus produce, promote, and 'implant' representations of gender" (Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987], p. 18). But, as de Lauretis argues, "the terms of a different construction of gender also exist, in the margins of hegemonic discourses" and texts (ibid.). I use the term "subtext" in reference to marginalized, alternative discourses—which are marginalized and alternative only in relation to a dominant ideology and its attendent practices.

9. Richard Schechner, *Performance Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 210.

10. Although a female—the legendary dancer Okuni from Izumo—is credited with having initiated Kabuki at the start of the seventeenth century, females have been banned from that stage since 1629. Apparently, the newly installed Shogunate was disturbed by the general disorder, including unlicensed prostitution, following the performances, when patrons quarreled with each other for access to their favorite dancers. Replacing the females with boys did not solve the problem, for the male patrons were equally attracted to their own sex. Eventually, the prohibition of females, and later boys, prompted the emergence of the *onnagata,* adult males who specialize in "female" gender. See Donald Shively, "*Bakufu* versus *Kabuki,*" in *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan,* ed. John Hall and Marius Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970 [1955]), pp. 231–61.

11. The Shinpa theatre movement arose around the 1890s in Ôsaka through the efforts of amateurs who, with a smattering of knowledge of the Euro-American theatre world, staged "Western" dramas in colloquial Japanese. The word *shinpa* continues to be used to describe plays with a contemporary setting. On Mori, see Ozaki H., "*San-nin no joyû o chûshin ni,*" in *Meiji no joyûten,* ed. Hakubutsukan, Meiji-mura (Nagoya: Nagoya-tetsudô, 1986), pp. 14–15.

12. Asagawa Y., "*Joyû to onnayakusha,*" *Josei Nihonjin* 4 (1921):112.

13. Much like Stanislavsky System-based acting schools and theatres in the United States, such as the American Laboratory Theatre and the Goodman School, the Takarazuka Music Academy provides a two-year curriculum designed to teach the students ensemble playing and to equip them with the skills necessary to play a variety of roles. Presently, forty hours a week during the first year are devoted to lessons in voice (ten hours), musical instruments (two), music history (one), Japanese dance (seven), Western dance (seven), modern dance (six), acting and theatre theory (three), and cultural history, performing arts theory, and etiquette (three). The second-year curriculum is essentially the same. Like pupils at the Goodman School, the first-year students are responsible for doing the "dirty work": washing the floors and windows, cleaning the toilets, dusting the furniture, and so on. In the 1960s, the Goodman School posted a 50 percent attrition rate; although students do drop out of the spartan Takarazuka Music Academy, the actual rate of attrition is not made publicly available. See Richard Schechner, "Stanislavski at School," *Tulane Drama Review* 9, no. 2 (1964):203; Ueda Y., *Takarazuka ongaku gakkô* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Raifu, 1986), p. 48; and Ronald Willis, "The American Lab Theatre," *Tulane Drama Review* 9, no. 1 (1964):113.

14. The Meiji period (1868–1912) was marked by both the restoration of the emperor to a ruling position and the promulgation of a European-informed constitution and attendant government offices. Strict distinctions between female and male divisions of labor and deportment were codified in the Civil Code. Generally speaking, the industrialization, militarization, and imperialism of the Meiji period

escalated during the succeeding Taishô (1912–1926) and Shôwa (1926–1989) periods, particularly during the 1930s and 1940s.

15. Kobayashi I., *Takarazuka manpitsu* (Tokyo: Jitsugyô no Nihonsha, 1960), pp. 38, 91.

16. Moore, *The Stanislavski System*, pp. 52, 25.

17. See Rosalind Coward, *Female Desires: How They Are Sought, Bought, and Packaged* (New York: Grove Press, 1985), p. 229.

18. Gunji M., "*Kabuki to nô no henshin, henge,*" *Shizen to Bunka* 19 (1988):4–9; Hattori Y., *Hengeron: Kabuki no seishinshi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975), pp. 31–35; Ichikawa H., *"Mi" no kôzô: Shintairon o koete* (Tokyo: Aonisha, 1985), pp. 38–47; Imao T., *Henshin to shisô* (Tokyo: Hôsei Daigaku, 1982), p. 29.

19. *Otoko ga onna ni nari yaku o enjiru. Onna de aru otoko ga yaku o enjiru.*

20. [Konstantin] Stanislavsky, *An Actor Prepares*, trans. Elizabeth Hapgood (New York: Theatre Arts, Inc., 1936), p. 178.

21. Ibid., p. 179.

22. Tobe K., "*Sutanisurafusukii shisutemu to kabuki no engi,*" *Makuai* 5 (1954):47.

23. *Onnagata wa nichijoteki ni onna de aru koto.* Such an *onnagata* is more specifically referred to as *ma no onnagata*, or "true" onnagata, in contradistinction to some present-day Kabuki actors who perform as *onnagata* in addition to a plethora of men's roles.

24. Imao, *Henshin to shisô*, pp. 147–153.

25. Political leadership during the Edo period was monopolized by the Tokugawa clan under the leadership of the shogun, who ruled from the capital city of Edo. The Confucian orientation of the shogunate is reflected in the four-part social status hierarchy, according to which samurai occupied the top rank, followed by farmers, artisans, and merchants. Actors, along with outcastes and criminals, were lumped into a fifth "non-people" category below the merchants. Although individuals of higher status could fall into the lowest category, the inverse was not possible. Kabuki was among the literary, fine, and performing arts whose development accompanied the consolidation of a mercantilistic urban culture during this period.

26. See Jennifer Robertson, "The Politics of Androgyny in Japan: Sexuality and Subversion in the Theatre and Beyond," *American Ethnologist* 19, no. 3 (August 1992):1–24.

27. Kobayashi, *Takarazuka manpitsu*, p. 38.

28. See also Ueda Y., *Takarazuka sutâ: sono engi to bigaku* (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 1974), pp. 99–100.

29. Sue-Ellen Case, *Feminism and Theatre* (New York: Methuen, 1988), p. 122.

30. Moore, *The Stanislavski System*, p. 3.

31. Kobayashi's interest in girl's and women's education followed the precedent set by Mori Arinori (1847–1889), the leading architect of modern education, who, speaking for the Meiji state, proclaimed that "the foundations of national prosperity rest upon education; the foundations of education upon women's education"; and that the household was the "ultimate school" (Sharon Nolte, "Women, the State, and Repression in Imperial Japan," Women in International Development Working Paper, no. 33. [Lansing: Michigan State University, 1983], p. 5).

32. See Juliet Blair, "Private Parts in Public Places: The Case of Actresses," in *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*, ed. Shirley Ardener (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), p. 205.

33. *Osaka Asahi* (15 May 1939); *Osaka Nichinichi* (20 August 1939); *Kokumin* (6 September 1940); *Osaka Asahi* (20 August 1939); *Osaka Nichinichi* (19 August 1940).

34. *Osaka Chôhô* (7 September 1940); Kamura K., *Itoshi no Takarazuka e* (Kobe: Kobe Shinbun Shuppan Sentâ, 1984), pp. 96–98.

35. Briefly, the works of these sexologists marked the emergence of a "new metaphoric system . . . in which physical disease . . . bespoke social disorder" (Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1985], p. 272). Females were negatively defined in contrast to males as diseased "others" and dismissed as creatures of passion and emotion, immature, small-minded, and prone to sexual deviance. Similar descriptions of females are found in the Confucian literature of the Edo period (1603–1868). For more information on the application of Freud, Ellis, Krafft-Ebing, and Weininger in a strikingly similar context, see Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*; and her "Discourses of Sexuality and Subjectivity: The New Woman, 1870–1926," in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr. (New York: New American Library, 1989); and George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

36. *Moga* is an abbreviation of *modan gâru*, or "modern girl."

37. For example, *Osaka Mainichi* (10 February 1932, and 31 January 1935); Sugita M., "*Seihonnô ni hisomu sangyakusei,*" *Kaizô* 4 (1929):70–80, and "*Shôjo kageki netsu no shinden,*" *Fujin Kôron* 4 (1935):274–78; Ushijima Y., *Joshi no shinri* (Tokyo: Ganshodo, 1943); and Yasuda T., "*Dôseiai no rekishikan,*" *Chûô Kôron* 3 (1935):146–52.

38. Sugita, "*Seihonnô ni hisomu sangyakusei*" and "*Shôjo kageki netsu no shinden*"; Tamura T., "*Dôsei no koi,*" *Chûô Kôron* 1 (1913):165–68; Ushijima, *Joshi no shinri*; and *Osaka Mainichi* (31 January 1935).

39. Although *dôseiai* is a generic term for "same-sex love" or homosexual relationships, it is defined more specifically in the *Fujo Shinbun* article as an essentially platonic if passionate relationship.

40. In Fukushima S., *Fujinkai sanjûgonen* (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppansha, 1984 [1935]), p. 561. See also Tamura, "*Dôsei no koi*"; and Yasuda T., "*Dôseiai no rekishikan.*"

41. This is in reference to the fact that the masculinized female was not intersexed but had a "normal" female body.

42. Fukushima, *Fujinkai sanjûgonen*, p. 562.

43. For example, Tamura, "*Dôsei no koi*"; and Yasuda T., "*Dôseiai no rekishikan.*"

44. *Shinkeishitsu* originated around the turn of the century as a category of socio-sexual dis-ease, with special relevance to urban middle-class women (who represented about 30 percent of the female population).

45. *Osaka Nichinichi* (21 July 1930). See also Yoshiwara R., "*Gekkyû shôchôki ni aru musume o motsu okasama e,*" *Fujin Kôron* 3 (1935):187, for essentially the same argument.

46. Kawahara Y., *Takarazuka kageki shôjo no seikatsu* (Osaka: Ikubunkan, 1921), p. 113.

47. *Shin Nippô* (16 March 1929).
48. Kawahara, *Takarazuka kageki shôjo no seikatsu*, p. 16; Nestle, "The Fem Question," in Vance, *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, p. 236.
49. Nestle, "The Fem Question," p. 234.
50. See Maruo C., *Takarazuka sutâ monogatari* (Tokyo: Jitsugyô no Nihonsha, 1950), pp. 252–78; *Osaka Jiji* (12 December 1934); "*Shôjokageki o kataru—musume to haha no kai*," *Fujin Kôron* 4 (1935):288–97; Tanabe S. and Sasaki K., *Yume no kashi o tabete: waga itoshi no Takarazuka* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), pp. 135–36.
51. *Kyoto* (20 November 1930).
52. *Osaka Asahi* (17 July 1923).
53. De Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender*, p. 5.
54. Kamura, *Itoshi no Takarazuka e*, p. 185; *Takarazuka Gurafu* 1 (1967):54.
55. *Takarazuka Gurafu* 1 (1967):71; 5 (1968):70–71; 4 (1971):49; 7 (1974):68; 7 (1977):38.
56. *Watakushi seikatsu de mo musumeyaku ni narikirô to kyôryoku shite iru. Nihonkai* (18 April 1987).
57. *Onna no naka no onna'tte muzukashii no yo. Hankyû* 6 (1987).
58. *Onna de arinagara, zenzen onna to iu mon ga denai. Takarazuka Gurafu* 7 (1974):68.
59. *Takarazuka ga dansei no kyôiku shite-iru.* Kobayashi I., "*Omoitsuki*," *Kageki* 271 (1948):29.
60. The number of applicants in the postwar period ranges from 579 (57 admitted) in 1946 to 734 (42 admitted) in 1985, with a low of 175 (70 admitted) in 1959 to a high of 1,052 (49 admitted) in 1978 (Ueda, *Takarazuka ongaku gakkô*, p. 25). The 1978 peak reflects the tremendous popularity of the musical, *The Rose of Versailles* (1974–1976), attended by more than 1.4 million persons (Hashimoto M., *Takarazuka kageki no 70 nen* [Takarazuka: Takarazuka Kagekidan, 1984], p. 89).
61. *Jibun no risô o takuseru mono desu. Takarazuka Gurafu* 7 (1986):45.
62. *Takarazuka de wa onna no hito demo otoko no kakkô ga dekiru to iu no de haitta. Takarazuka Gurafu* 12 (1969):39; and 6 (1966):42.
63. *Takarazuka Gurafu* 11 (1976):50–51; and 7 (1977):57–58.
64. For example, *Takarazuka Gurafu* 7 (1986):48–49.
65. *Asahi Shinbun*, Osaka ed. (13 January 1968).
66. Paraphrase of Blair, "Private Parts in Public Places," p. 205.
67. Ibid. I appreciate Blair's perceptive analysis of the social ramifications of "the actress" but am puzzled by her use of "natural" to describe what she otherwise seems to acknowledge is an ideological construction, namely the "private interpersonal sphere of women."
68. See *Asahi Shinbun*, Osaka ed. (29 March 1990); Reiko Atsumi, "Dilemmas and Accommodations of Married Japanese Women in White-Collar Employment," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 20, no. 3 (1988):54–62; and *Japan Times* (10 April 1990).
69. In 1989, the play was revived, ostensibly to satisfy nostalgic "old fans" and attract new fans.
70. Annette Kuhn, *The Power of the Image: Essays on Representation and Sexuality* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), p. 53. See also Komashaku K., *Onna o yosou* (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1989); and Tsuji M., *Niji no fuantajia* (Tokyo: Shinromansha, 1976), pp. 107–30.

71. In Tsuji, *Niji no fuantajia*, pp. 165–66.
72. Kuhn observes that if "clothing can be costume, capable of being modified at the wearer's will, it follows that the gender identity conventionally signified by dress may be just as easily changeable" (*The Power of the Image*, p. 53). What is most problematic with this theoretical statement with respect to the Takarazuka *otokoyaku* is the matter of the "wearer's will." "Will" neither figures in one's initial gender assignment (based on genitalia), nor is a Takarasienne's secondary gender assignment necessarily confluent in every respect with her will.
73. Marie Maclean, *Narrative as Performance: The Baudelairean Experiment* (New York: Routledge, 1988), pp. xi, xii.
74. Kuhn, *The Power of the Image*, p. 53.

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