Kietlinski, Robin. "Notes." *Japanese Women and Sport: Beyond Baseball and Sumo*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011. 147–174. Globalizing Sport Studies. *Bloomsbury Collections*. Web. 26 Apr. 2023. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781849666701.0010>>.

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Notes

Chapter 1 Introduction: Why women's sport? Why Japan?

- 1 Image can be seen on the Japan Post website (Japanese only): http://www.post.japanpost.jp/kitte_hagaki/stamp/design_stamp/2000/image/20c_des_5l.jpg [accessed 4 August 2011].
- 2 See French (2003).
- 3 Another telling figure is that in 2004 there were ten per cent more female than male delegates representing Japan at the Summer Olympics in Athens. Japan was one of the very few nations at these Olympics with more female than male athletes.
- 4 Fujita 1968: 93.
- 5 Cha 2009: 25.
- 6 For example, Korean athletes in occupied Korea in the 1920s formed athletic clubs that were strongly associated with independence movements, as sport was one of the few ways that Koreans were permitted by the Japanese to congregate in groups. Sporting bouts between occupied Koreans and their Japanese colonizers came to be seen as symbolic fights for Korea's independence from Japan (Cha 2009: 25).
- 7 *The New York Times*, 3 August 1928.
- 8 Books written in English on gender in Japan prior to 1984 include Gail Bernstein's *Haruko's World: A Japanese Farm Woman and Her Community* (1983), Samuel Coleman's *Family Planning in Japanese Society: Traditional Birth Control in Modern Urban Culture* (1983), Alice Cook and Hiroko Hayashi's *Working Women in Japan: Discrimination, Resistance, and Reform* (1980), Tadashi Fukutake's *The Japanese Family* (1981), Joy Hendry's *Marriage in Changing Japan: Community and Society* (1981), Takie Lebra's *Japanese Women: Constraint and Fulfillment* (1984), Susan Pharr's *Political Women in Japan: The Search for a Place in Political Life* (1981), Dorothy Robins-Mowry's *The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan* (1983) and Sharon Sievers' *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (1983).
- 9 One such feminist scholar, Marilyn Boxer (1982: 663–70), explains that she and others of the time were inspired by the civil rights movement in the United States, through which programmes and courses on black studies emerged.
- 10 This report was based on the proceedings of a 1984 gathering of scholars of Japan to discuss the direction of gender studies in the Japanese context.
- 11 See, for example, Liddle and Nakajima's *Rising Suns, Rising Daughters: Gender, Class, and Power in Japan* (2000), Glenda Roberts' *Staying on the Line: Blue Collar Women in Contemporary Japan* (1994) and Patricia Tsurumi's *Factory Girls: Women in the Tread Mills of Meiji Japan* (1990).
- 12 See, for example, W. Donald Smith's chapter in Uno and Molony, 'Sorting Coal and Pickling Cabbage: Korean Women in the Japanese Mining Industry' (2005) (race, class and gender), Frank Upham's 'Unplaced Persons and Movements for Place', in *Postwar Japan as History* (1993) (race, gender and disability) and Gregory Pflugfelder's *Cartographies of Desire: Male–Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse* (1999) (sexuality and gender).

- 13 See Mary Brinton's *Women and the Economic Miracle* (1993), Janet Hunter's *Women and the Labour Market in Japan's Industrialising Economy* (2003) and Robin LeBlanc's *Bicycle Citizens: The Political World of the Japanese Housewife* (1999) for some examples of work looking at gender in Japan's political economy.
- 14 Bestor 1985: 286.
- 15 See Sandra Buckley's 'Altered States: The Body Politics of "Being-Women"' in *Postwar Japan as History* (1993) and Joyce Gelb's *Gender Policies in Japan and the United States: Comparing Women's Movements, Rights, and Politics* (2003). A related concern when considering the international dimensions of gender in Japan is that of how gender is socially constructed in Japan vis-à-vis women from other societies, including the West, South-East Asia and other countries in East Asia.
- 16 Of these, two notable ones are Sharon Sievers' *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Modern Japan* (1983) and Vera Mackie's *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (2003).
- 17 Barbara Molony's article, 'The Quest for Women's Rights in Turn-of-the-Century Japan' (2005) discusses some of the distinctive aspects of women's rights in a modernizing, industrializing Japan. See also Mackie (2003: 2–3).
- 18 Mackie 2003: 55.
- 19 Chan-Tiberghien 2004: 142.
- 20 The plural 'feminisms' has been used to indicate the multiplicity of causes being fought for and groups being represented by the term.
- 21 One edited volume in particular, *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan: Dislocating the Salaryman Doxa*, contains several essays engaging with diverse issues of masculinity in Japan.
- 22 Jennifer Robertson has written several pieces focusing on related issues of gender and performance in Japan. Spotlighting the issue of androgyny in Japanese theatre, Robertson looks at the all-female Takarazuka Revue and its all-male predecessor, kabuki, to see the ways that androgyny is both acted out and received in Japanese society. Ayako Kano has also explored the way that performance has affected the modern formation of gender, with her focus being on female actresses (playing females).
- 23 I thank Ayako Kano for drawing my attention to this parallel during a discussion in graduate school.
- 24 Studies of women's entrance into sports in the West include the following: Pamela Grundy, *Learning to Win: Sports, Education and Social Change in Twentieth Century North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001) and J.A. Mangan and Roberta J. Park, *From 'Fair Sex' to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras* (Ottawa: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1987). One about East Asia is Jinxia Dong's, *Women, Sport and Society in Modern China: Holding Up More than Half the Sky* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003).
- 25 Cahn 1994: viii.
- 26 Cahn 1994: 208.
- 27 See, for example, Anne Bolin and Jane Granskog, eds, *Athletic Intruders: Ethnographic Research on Women, Culture, and Exercise* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003); M. Ann Hall, *Feminism and Sporting Bodies* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1996); and Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
- 28 The current state of English-language scholarship on women's sport in modern Japanese history no doubt adds to this marginalization. One heavily referred to

- volume, Guttman and Thompson's (2001) *Japanese Sports: A History*, provides a good example of this phenomenon. Of their otherwise very carefully researched 200 plus page detailed history of Japanese sports, Guttman and Thompson (2001: 221–5), devote five pages to 'women's sports'. While the section was no doubt included with the opposite aim in mind, such a separation from the rest of the book's content ultimately ghettoizes 'women's sports' as separate and distinct from 'actual sports' and reinforces the marginalization of women's athletic endeavours.
- 29 Spielvogel 2003: 5.
 - 30 See, for example, Guttman and Thompson (2001), Igarashi (2000) and Hurst (1998).
 - 31 See Talamini and Page (1973).
 - 32 See Kelly (2004), Spielvogel (2003) and Edwards (2003).
 - 33 See Cahn (1994), Bolin and Granskog (2003) and Guttman (1991).
 - 34 For example, Japan-specific books include Maguire and Nakayama (2006), Guttman and Thompson (2001) and Linhart and Frühstück (2003). Many other works exist in other 'areas' of study, for example, studies of football in Europe or Africa, baseball in Latin America and sport in communist societies like Soviet Russia.
 - 35 Meaning more scholars are part of Japan's leading academic associations on sport than in any other nation (Maguire and Nakayama 2006: 1).
 - 36 Outlined concisely by Bill Kelly (2007: 4–5) in the introduction of his edited volume, *This Sporting Life: Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan*.
 - 37 See Sugawara's *Taiiku shakaigaku nyūmon* (1975) and Takenoshita's *Purei, supōtsu, taiikuron* (1972).
 - 38 Kelly 2007: 5.
 - 39 Available at <http://www.jssgs.org/> [accessed 4 August 2011].
 - 40 Raita 1999: 120.
 - 41 For example, the September 2010 edition (vol. 18, issue 2) of the *Japan Journal of Sport Sociology* (*Supōtsu shakaigaku kenkyū*) was a special issue titled 'The Theoretical Gender Gaze and a Shaken Body' and included a number of articles about women (generally speaking, the focus was not on individual athletes) in sport (as opposed to physical education).
 - 42 *Supokon manga* comes from a combination of the words *supōtsu* (sports) and *konjō* ('fighting spirit' or 'guts').
 - 43 Laura Miller uses a similar approach in her book *Beauty Up*, in which she critically examines the Japanese beauty industry. Just as the industry she looks at is primarily about popular consumption but has its fair share of critical discourse, so too is the sporting industry. Both industries are significantly shaped by commercial and social forces, and have shifted dramatically over time to accommodate such demands.
 - 44 For a detailed and insightful take on the emergence and significance of sport celebrities in modern Japan, see Dennis Frost's *Seeing Stars: Sports Celebrity, Identity, and Body Culture in Modern Japan* (2011).
 - 45 See, for example, Itani *et al.* (2001) and Takahashi *et al.* (2005).

Chapter 2 Japanese sportswomen in context

- 1 Though her married name is Ishizaki, Hashimoto is usually referred to by her maiden name.
- 2 See, for example, Inoue and Thomson's chapters in *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, Stephen Vlastos, ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); G. Cameron Hurst's *Armed Martial Arts*

- of Japan: *Swordsmanship and Archery* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Karl Friday's *Legacies of the Sword: The Kashima-Shinryu and Samurai Martial Culture* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1997); and Winston King's *Zen and the Way of the Sword: Arming the Samurai Psyche* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
- 3 Hurst 1998: 2.
 - 4 See Guttman's article 'Targeting Modernity: Archery and the Modernization of Japan' in Kelly and Sugimoto (2007), Guttman and Thompson's *Japanese Sports: A History* (2001) and Guttman's *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (1979).
 - 5 Guttman and Thompson 2001: 3.
 - 6 Guttman discloses an interesting irony about the origins of sumō wrestling as it relates to gender: apparently the earliest known use of the word 'sumō' referred to matches among women in the fifth century AD. While the activity itself was not precisely described, the reigning Emperor Yūryaku had female attendants strip to their waistscloths and grapple in plain view. The account is clearly sexually provocative and has been played down by many historians when talking of the origins of sumō (Guttman and Thompson 2001: 14–15).
 - 7 Guttman 2001: 26–7.
 - 8 Guttman 2001: 30.
 - 9 Guttman 2001: 102.
 - 10 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 10.
 - 11 For example, *kendō* and *kyūdō*. See Hurst (1998) for a detailed description of Japan's armed martial arts.
 - 12 In Kelly 2007: 27.
 - 13 Kelly 2007: 35.
 - 14 Hall 1973: 361.
 - 15 Cave 2004: 386–7.
 - 16 Roden 1980: 511–12.
 - 17 Roden (1980: 512) asserts that the number of foreign residents, visitors and military personnel in Japan during the 1860s grew to over 15,000, though the number of permanent foreign residents was closer to 3,000.
 - 18 Morris 1895: 223–4.
 - 19 Roden points out that baseball became so popular amongst American expatriates in Japan in the Meiji era in part because the sport helped them 'maintain social and cultural difference from the Japanese and, to a lesser extent, from the British, who outnumbered the Americans in Yokohama by as much as three to one' (Roden 1980: 518).
 - 20 Asami 1984: 191.
 - 21 Other American teachers credited with having helped baseball enter Japan include F.W. Strange, G.H. Mudgett and Leroy Janes, all of whom believed that baseball might help break down cultural barriers between the Japanese and the Americans (Roden 1980: 518–19).
 - 22 Roden 1980: 519.
 - 23 Li 1993: ii.
 - 24 Male students during the Meiji era were assigned a series of 'newly selected physical exercises' (*shinsen taisō*) as part of the national curriculum. These exercises involved moving one's arms while holding small, dumbbell-shaped pieces of wood and doing different leg movements such as lunges and squats. The University of Tsukuba's Gallery of Sport and Physical Education had a fascinating interactive exhibit in September 2010 in which you could see a video of a

- (present-day) student re-enacting the *shinsen taisō* routine. I thank Dr Shimizu Satoshi for taking me to see this exhibit.
- 25 Li 1993: 2–3.
 - 26 From an official statement given in 1872 in Ibaraki prefecture (from Li 1993: 18).
 - 27 Li 1993: 22.
 - 28 These schools also emerged in large part because of the lifting of the official ban against Christianity after the Meiji Restoration. They flourished because of a growing desire among Japanese to learn English in the Meiji period as well (Li 1993: 62–4).
 - 29 Yamamoto *et al.* 2006: 254.
 - 30 Yamamoto *et al.* 2006: 254.
 - 31 Li 1993: 95.
 - 32 See, for example, Li-Hsiang Lisa Rosenlee's *Confucianism and Women: A Philosophical Interpretation* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), Chenyang Li's edited volume, *The Sage and the Second Sex* (Peru, IL: Open Court Publishing Company, 2000) and Dorothy Ko *et al.*'s *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).
 - 33 Fan 1997: 5.
 - 34 Jane Jaquette (2001: 120) argues that the strength of Confucianism and of the state in East Asia has made autonomy an option that exists for only the most radical feminist groups, which remain largely marginalized.
 - 35 Fan 1995: 16.
 - 36 Fan 1995: 16.
 - 37 Fan 1997: 21–2.
 - 38 It is important to note that Morris sees the roots of modern physical culture in China not in the activities introduced from the West but more so in the Qing self-strengtheners, reformers and revolutionaries who sought to improve their physical strength in order to better deal with imperialist advances in the nineteenth century (Morris 2000: 877–8).
 - 39 Fan 1997: 7.
 - 40 Fan 1995: 16.
 - 41 Liang Qichao, quoted by Morris (2000: 883).
 - 42 Fan 1995: 17.
 - 43 Riordan and Dong 1996: 131.
 - 44 Riordan and Dong 1996: 149.
 - 45 Riordan and Dong 1996: 150.
 - 46 Medals given to individual athletes, with team medals not being counted. Chinese men won thirty-four individual golds. Source: IOC Olympic medal database.
 - 47 With sixteen being the minimum age for competition in the women's artistic gymnastics competition, it was reported that several members of the Chinese team had their records manipulated by officials to make them appear older than they were. For example, He Kexin's passport lists her as being born in 1992, while other official records list her birth year as 1994, which would have made her fourteen and underage at the Beijing Olympics. Officials were ultimately unable to prove that she was underage, and she kept her gold medal.
 - 48 Some sources list hurdler Ji Zheng as China's first female Olympian, but she competed for Taiwan in the 1968 Mexico City Olympics.
 - 49 Although the name of Korea was changed from Chosŏn to the Korean Empire in 1897, the country was governed by the Chosŏn dynasty until Japanese colonization in 1910.

- 50 Koh 2003: 69.
- 51 Koh 2003: 69.
- 52 Haboush 1995: 131.
- 53 Haboush 1995: 130.
- 54 Koh 2003: 69.
- 55 de Ceuster 2003: 59.
- 56 de Ceuster 2003: 62.
- 57 de Ceuster 2003: 65.
- 58 Koh 2003: 70.
- 59 South Korean Olympic and World Champion gold-medal-winning weightlifter Jang Mi-Ran has broken several world records in the clean and jerk, and has often been referred to in the media as the ‘strongest woman in the world’.
- 60 Kidd 2010: 18.
- 61 Longman, *The New York Times*, 23 February 2010, p. B12.
- 62 Riordan and Dong 1996: 151.

Chapter 3 The road to participation in competitive sport

- 1 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 10.
- 2 Fröbel believed that children were like flowers, each one needing care and nurturance. He thought that children were lovely as individuals but glorious when in a community of peers. Thus he called his school ‘kindergarten’ or ‘garden of children’ (Olson 2002: 353).
- 3 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 12.
- 4 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 31.
- 5 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 43–4.
- 6 *Kyōiku kenkyū*, vol. 33, 1876: 87 (cited in Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 50).
- 7 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 52.
- 8 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 52.
- 9 Ōbitsu 2000: 189.
- 10 In the Meiji era, physical education in Japan was far less organized than it was at the same time in Europe and America. While certain equipment such as balls could be found in many schools, there was little systematized ‘learning’ involved with their use.
- 11 See, for example, Kiku’s ‘The Japanese Baseball Spirit and Professional Ideology’ (in Maguire and Nakayama 2006) and his ‘Bushidō and the Modernization of Sports in Japan’ (in Kelly 2007) and Whiting’s popular works, *The Chrysanthemum and the Bat: Baseball Samurai Style* and *You’ve Gotta Have Wa: When Two Cultures Collide on the Baseball Diamond*.
- 12 Hancock, H. Irving. *Japanese Physical Training: The System of Exercise, Diet, and General Mode of Living that Has Made the Mikado’s People the Healthiest, Strongest, and Happiest Men and Women in the World* (New York: Putnam, 1904).
- 13 Hancock 1904: xi.
- 14 ‘I bowed, and we backed off a little way, then approached each other sinuously, each looking for an opening. There was a clinch that lasted, as nearly I could judge, about five seconds. Three seconds later I was compelled to pat the floor in token of surrender ... “She very good,” observed the teacher, a statement in which I was quite willing to concur’ (Hancock 1904: 6–7).
- 15 Hancock 1904: 8.
- 16 From “‘Jiu-Jitsu” for Women’, *The New York Times*, 20 February 1904.

- 17 Hill 1903: 4.
- 18 Hancock 1904: 152.
- 19 Jujitsu (*jūjutsu* in Japanese) is the unarmed martial art from which jūdō stemmed. According to Guttmann and Thompson, in the early years of jūdō (late nineteenth to early twentieth century), there was often confusion among Westerners as to what constituted jujitsu and what constituted its ‘modernized’ form of jūdō. Guttmann and Thompson (2001: 102–4) also assert that women were more welcome in jūdō than in prior forms of martial arts, which suggests that perhaps Hancock was in a jūdō school but was referring to the sport as jujitsu.
- 20 Inoue and Kameyama 2006: 134.
- 21 Also, in the Tohoku region she came from, the name ‘Aguri’ was given to the last female child born to parents who wanted a son (Raita 2005: 788).
- 22 In addition to Inokuchi, the seven other women were sent abroad to study music, home economics and English education (Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 106).
- 23 From the *New York Herald Sunday*, 6 April 1902. Reproduced in Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 108–9.
- 24 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 111.
- 25 Raita 2005: 789.
- 26 Raita 2005: 789.
- 27 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 114, 121.
- 28 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 119–20.
- 29 A women’s golf tournament took place in Kobe on 9 September 1905 (Itani *et al.* 2001: 14).
- 30 Fujimura suffered from pleurisy (*kyōmakuen*) and tuberculosis (*haibyō*).
- 31 Koshimizu 2005: 867.
- 32 A branch school next to the Tokyo joshi shihan gakkō that Toyoda Fuyu had attended, this school was established in 1900 for high school girls (also now part of Ochanomizu Women’s University).
- 33 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 136.
- 34 Koshimizu 2005: 868.
- 35 From Baron Nils Posse’s *Handbook of School Gymnastics of the Swedish System*, cited in a review article in *Science* magazine (October 1892: 209).
- 36 Wosh 1982: 48.
- 37 *Tokyo joshi taisō ongaku gakkō*.
- 38 In the first seven years of its existence, 380 students graduated from the Tokyo Women’s School of Gymnastics and Music, but in the ten years from the time Fujimura took leadership, only 120 women completed their studies. With the financial help of Tsuboi Gendō and the logistic support of her family members, Fujimura barely escaped having to close down the school (Koshimizu 2005: 868).
- 39 These journals started being published in the 1920s and continued until the start of the Second World War (*Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai* 1981: 144).
- 40 From *Josei taiiku* (vol. 1, issue 12: 15–17, 1931) and *Josei bi* (vol. 3, issue 7: 7, 1931), respectively.
- 41 Koshimizu 2005: 867.
- 42 Koshimizu 2005: 869–70.
- 43 Quoted in Mangan and Park (1987: 42).
- 44 Cahn 1994: 13.
- 45 Mangan and Park 1987: 131.
- 46 Cahn 1994: 12.
- 47 Miller 2006: 19–25.
- 48 Miller 2006: 22.

- 49 Koshimizu 2005: 870.
- 50 She was fourteen years old at the time (Anamizu 2001: 11).
- 51 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 153.
- 52 Anamizu 2001: 14.
- 53 Anamizu 2001: 14.
- 54 Anamizu 1999: 61.
- 55 Anamizu 2001: 17.
- 56 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 163.
- 57 Murayama 2004: 49.
- 58 Anamizu 2001: 18.
- 59 Spielvogel 2003: 146–7.

Chapter 4 From calisthenics to competition: Early participation in international sport

- 1 Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 79.
- 2 At one such for-profit event, the sixth Far Eastern Championship Games (the precursor to the Asian Games) in 1923, Japanese women competed in the volleyball tournament, which was included as an exhibition event. The Japanese women beat the team from China to win the tournament (Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 79).
- 3 Of course, the attitude towards women's competitive sports varied from country to country at this time. According to Allen Guttmann, in the 1920s and 1930s the Europeans were more accepting of seeing women compete than were the Americans. While Americans thought that women could channel their energies into non-competitive 'play days', the Europeans had more clearly 'athletic' events (Guttmann 1991: 154–5).
- 4 Japan was the first Asian nation to send delegates to the Olympic Games, after becoming the first Asian country to have a representative in the International Olympic Committee (Kanō Jigoro, the so-called inventor of Judo). Two Japanese men, a sprinter and a marathon runner, represented Japan in the Fifth Olympic Games in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1912 (Japanese Olympic Committee website: <http://www.joc.or.jp>).
- 5 Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 92.
- 6 In 1917, a 508-kilometre *ekiden* from Kyoto's Sanjō Bridge to Tokyo's Ueno Park took place. In 1920, university students participated in an *ekiden* from Tokyo to Hakone and back (Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 74).
- 7 Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 76–7.
- 8 Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 79.
- 9 Terada 1928, first twenty pages (pages unnumbered).
- 10 Terada 1928, preface.
- 11 It should be noted that football at this time was more of a kickball-like activity, with players standing in a circle and kicking the ball instead of competing towards two opposing goals (Edwards 2003: 19).
- 12 The first 'Women's Olympic Games' were a one-day track meet held in Paris in 1922. Athletes came from England, the United States, France, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia to compete in the following events: 60-yard dash, 100-yard dash, 300 metres, 1,000 metres, 100-yard hurdles, 440-yard relay, running high jump, running long jump, discus throw and javelin throw (Leigh and Bonin 1977: 77).
- 13 Mihashi 1924: 11.
- 14 Mihashi 1924: 13–14.

- 15 *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 11 June 1924, and Raita (1996: 45). It is also important to note that the day after these talks took place, the *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* ran another article specifically about the lectures. The article also further hypes the following day's athletic tournament (*Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 14 June 1924).
- 16 Raita 1996: 50.
- 17 Raita 1996: 45.
- 18 So impressive a body of material on Hitomi Kinue exists, in fact, that two separate 'literature inventories' (*bunken mokuroku*) have been published – one cataloguing newspapers and images, the other cataloguing movies, TV shows and books (Takeda and Misawa 1998, 1999). She appears to be the only female athlete for whom such an inventory was created or deemed necessary.
- 19 Like many young women of her day, Hitomi's exact birthday was not accurately recorded. Her birth date is often listed as 1 January 1907.
- 20 Originally published by Heibonsha in 1929. Reprinted in Hitomi (1983).
- 21 Hitomi 1983: 16.
- 22 Okayama kenritsu kōtō jogakkō, where only one out of every four girls who took the entrance exam was admitted (Hitomi 1983: 18).
- 23 1.5 *ri* $\approx$ 6 kilometres $\approx$ 3.75 miles.
- 24 Hitomi 1983: 23.
- 25 Hitomi 1983: 29–32.
- 26 This record was not counted as an 'official' record (Hitomi 1983: 34).
- 27 Hitomi 1983: 34.
- 28 Misawa 2003: 58–61.
- 29 Hitomi 1983: 45.
- 30 'When she triumphantly returned to the *juku*, headmistress Nikaidō was absolutely delighted over the new records that Hitomi had set' (Ohara 1990: 51).
- 31 The school of physical education was a two-year programme from which Hitomi graduated in March 1925.
- 32 Her immediate postgraduation jobs included working as a coach at girl's high school in Kyoto and filling in for a summer as head of the Nikaidō Taisō Juku while Nikaidō Tokuyo was away teaching a course in colonized Taiwan (Ohara 1990: 54).
- 33 Misawa Mitsuo has chronicled the *tanka* poetry Hitomi wrote between 1922 and 1931 (see Misawa 2001).
- 34 The *Mainichi Shimbun* was founded in Tokyo in 1872, with the Osaka branch opening in 1876. Hitomi was the first female journalist in any of the company's offices. (Source: <http://www.mainichi.co.jp/corporate/co-history.html> [accessed 9 July 2011]).
- 35 Hitomi 1983: 49.
- 36 Young and Wamsley 2005: 148.
- 37 After the Second Women's Olympic Games, the IOC declared that the FSFI had stolen the name 'Olympics' and they insisted that the word be removed from the name of the event. The FSFI agreed to change the name of the event to the 'Women's World Games' but only in exchange for ten events for women at the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam. This entry of women into Olympic track and field events took place right after Pierre de Coubertin retired as president of the IOC. The IOC ultimately did not uphold its end of the bargain, however, and even though the FSFI changed the name of its competition, the IOC only granted five events for women at the Amsterdam Olympics (Dyreson 2003: 444; Leigh and Bonin 1977: 11; Young and Wamsley 2005: 148).

- 38 The *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*, of course, also took advantage of Hitomi's trip to Sweden to create a massive publicity campaign, running numerous stories about Hitomi and women's sport in the days before, during and after the Women's Olympic Games (Ohara 1990: 67).
- 39 Hitomi 1983: 51.
- 40 Ohara 1990: 68.
- 41 In Russia, Hitomi stayed with Mr Kuroda, a *Mainichi Shimbun* special correspondent living in Moscow, and his family at their house (Hitomi 1983: 54).
- 42 Ohara 1990: 69.
- 43 The ambassador told Hitomi that Stockholm was like Sweden's Tokyo and that the industrial factory town of Gothenberg was Sweden's Osaka (Hitomi 1983: 59).
- 44 Hitomi 1983: 60, 64.
- 45 Ohara 1990: 80.
- 46 *Asahi Shimbun*, 29–30 August 1926.
- 47 Ohara 1990: 103.
- 48 Leder 1996: 27.
- 49 This was a point of contention because many member nations of the IOC thought that an event celebrating only winter sports would go against one of the main ideals of the Games, namely the bringing together of 'the youth of the world'. This was because only a small group of geographically appropriate nations would be able to take part in such games (Guttmann 1992: 41).
- 50 Guttmann 1992: 41.
- 51 An amateur is 'one who devotes himself to sport for sport's sake without deriving from it, directly or indirectly, the means of existence. A professional is one who derives the means of existence entirely or partly from sport' (Guttmann 1992: 44). The rules of amateurism underwent many revisions in the IOC over subsequent years.
- 52 To understand the significance of Coubertin's retirement to women's sports, one only has to hear what he has said of women's sports – for example, he said women's participation in the Games would be '*impratique, inintéressante, inesthétique et incorrecte*' (Guttmann 1992: 38).
- 53 Statistics for participants of each Olympics can be found on the official website of the IOC (<http://www.olympic.org>).
- 54 In Japan, the WWCTU took the name *Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai*, or the Japanese Christian Women's Reform Society, and took the lead on the first Japan-wide suffrage federation in 1924 (Dubois 2000: 547).
- 55 The five events held in women's track and field in Amsterdam were as follows: the 100-metre race, 4 × 100-metre relay, 800-metre race, discus throw and high jump (Markel *et al.* 1997: 103; IOC website). The British women's team was unsatisfied with having only five events, and as a result their amateur athletic association boycotted the 1928 Olympics – the only known women's boycott at an Olympic Games (Guttmann 1992: 47).
- 56 Hitomi 1983: 250.
- 57 Hitomi 1983: 255.
- 58 Hitomi 1983: 257.
- 59 While I have found no explicit mention of the procedures necessary to participate in Olympic events, it seems that in 1928 there were far fewer formalities involved when it came to athletes signing up for Olympic events at the last minute.
- 60 Hitomi finished second in her heat – three heats were run in the qualifying round, and the runners with the top nine times competed in the finals the next day (*Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, 3 August 1928).

- 61 The world record had in fact been broken the day before during the qualifying 800-metre race by an American runner, who ran it in 2 minutes, 21.2 seconds (*Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, 3 August 1928).
- 62 *The New York Times*, 3 August 1928.
- 63 Of course, this has had several exceptions such as Germany's denial of several Jewish athletes for its national team in Berlin in 1936 (Guttmann 1992: 65). The International Olympic Committee, however, has strived to separate sports from politics from its inception, which accounts in part for the inclusion of women and racial minorities in the Olympic Games *before* they were fully included in their respective societies. For example, women in Japan were competing in the Olympics before they had the right to vote, and African-Americans were competing while many parts of the United States were still segregated.
- 64 Young and Wamsley 2005: 149.
- 65 Most articles from the weeks following the Amsterdam Olympics simply group Hitomi together with Japan's other two medal winners – triple jumper Oda Mikio (gold medal) and 200-metre breaststroke swimmer Tsuruta Yoshiyuki (gold medal). These three Japanese athletes (along with the Indian field hockey team) were the first Olympic medal winners from Asia (*Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, 3 August 1928).
- 66 *Fujin Sekai*, July 1929, 54–69.
- 67 *Fujin Sekai*, July 1929, 58.
- 68 Hitomi 1983: 289.
- 69 She writes in her autobiography that she lost motivation after returning from Amsterdam. After the journey back to Japan her spikes were covered in rust and mould, her training clothes smelled of mildew and when she saw the sports grounds where she used to train she had no desire to return (Hitomi 1983: 290).
- 70 The first such article to appear was the 11 August 1924 *Asahi Shimbun* piece cited above, written when Hitomi was only seventeen years old.
- 71 The original phrase is, 'Standing she's a peony, seated a tree peony, and her bearing as she walks a lily'. Cited in Yamashita (2001: 132).
- 72 *Asahi Graph*, 14 March 1928, cited in Yamashita (2001: 132). Ohara also contends that the jeers towards Hitomi in her races against the Terao sisters were related to the fact that the sisters were considered very cute and were popular among male fans (Ohara 1990: 123).
- 73 Inoue and Kameyama 2006: 139.
- 74 See *Shincho* 45, Issue 283, November 2005: 'The Legitimacy of the Theory that Amsterdam Olympic Medallist Hitomi Kinue Was a Man' and *Sunday Mainichi*, 20 August 2000: 'Was the "Blazing Sprinter" Really a Man?'
- 75 Hitomi 1931: 87–9.
- 76 Cited in Yamashita 2001: 132.
- 77 *Asahi Shimbun*, 3 August 1931.
- 78 Japan came in fourth place overall at this meet (Ohara 1990: 292).

Chapter 5 From antipathy to applause: The emergence of female powerhouses on the international scene

- 1 Her publications are written under her married name, Hyōdō Hideko. Her 1982 memoir (*Maebata ganbare*) recounts her childhood up to and including the 1936 Berlin Olympics. Her 1990 memoir (*Yūki, namida, soshite ai*) focuses more on the later part of her life, including her wedding after the Berlin Olympics, her experiences as a swimming coach and the births of her children.

- 2 Hyōdō 1982: 14.
- 3 Hyōdō 1982: 15.
- 4 Hyōdō 1982: 17.
- 5 ‘The ladies in my neighborhood would laugh and say things like, “That little Maehata girl will swim in this cold weather till her lips turn blue!” People would also say, “Won’t that little girl become a tomboy, being raised with that short haircut?”’ (Hyōdō 1982: 20).
- 6 Hyōdō 1982: 29.
- 7 Hyōdō 1982: 32.
- 8 Maehata recounts in her memoir an amusing interaction between herself and her coach, in which the time he recorded her in was so quick that he doubted the veracity of the time on his stopwatch (Hyōdō 1982: 33).
- 9 Hyōdō 1982: 38.
- 10 Hyōdō 1982: 51.
- 11 Including the 1912 Stockholm Games, the 1920 Antwerp Games and the 1924 Paris Games (there were no Olympic Games in 1916 due to First World War) (Guttmann 1992: 173–4).
- 12 In addition to having its first female medallist, Japan also had its first swimming medallist at the 1928 Amsterdam Olympics, as Tsuruta Yoshiyuki won the gold medal in the men’s 200-metre breaststroke event (Hyōdō 1982: 58–60).
- 13 Hyōdō 1982: 64.
- 14 The American woman to whom Maehata lost in the 200-metre race was the world record holder at the time. Moreover, the finals of the 200-metre race took place only 30 minutes after Maehata had won her gold medal in the 100-metre race, and she contends that she was unable to swim to her full potential as a result (Hyōdō 1990: 31).
- 15 Hyōdō 1982: 81.
- 16 Hyōdō 1982: 83–91.
- 17 Hyōdō 1982: 103.
- 18 The other female athletes who competed in the 1932 Olympic Games included a 4 × 100-metre swimming relay team, freestyle swimmers, a 4 × 100-metre track team, a high diver and a javelin thrower. Japanese Olympic Committee website database: <http://www.joc.or.jp/database> [accessed 4 August 2011].
- 19 *Asahi Shimbun*, 10 August 1932.
- 20 She writes that she had recurring dreams in which her mother would tell her to keep swimming (Hyōdō 1982: 127).
- 21 Hyōdō 1982: 127–8.
- 22 Hyōdō 1982: 130.
- 23 See Hyōdō (1990: 83).
- 24 Hyōdō 1990: 135.
- 25 Guttmann (1992: 53) and Mandell (1971), respectively.
- 26 Mandell 1971: xii.
- 27 ‘Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles’ (Olympic Charter, Fundamental Principles, Paragraph 1).
- 28 Guttmann 1992: 66.
- 29 While Riefenstahl denied that her film was in any way linked to the Nazi government it was, in fact, financed by Hitler’s propaganda minister, Josef Goebbels. Goebbels realized the Olympics’ potential to demonstrate to the world

- the organizational expertise of the Germans. The film also premiered on 20 April 1938, Adolf Hitler's birthday (Guttman 1992: 55, 66–71).
- 30 Hyōdō 1982: 143.
 - 31 That said, many athletes intentionally choose to hold back during preliminary heats in order to conserve energy for the finals (Mandell 1971: 178).
 - 32 Name appears occasionally as Marta Genenger.
 - 33 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 26.
 - 34 Hyōdō 1982: 156.
 - 35 The first commercial station, KDKA, was broadcast from Pittsburgh, PA, beginning in November 1920. That same year, Japanese radio stations began covering university club sports and the all-Japan middle school baseball tournament. This kind of sports coverage was widespread in the early 1920s and became more popular after NHK was incorporated in 1924 (Hashimoto 1992: 14).
 - 36 Hashimoto 1992: 17.
 - 37 Sakaue 1998: 220–1.
 - 38 *Asahi Shimbun*, 12 August 1936.
 - 39 'Now the only question left for that twenty-three year-old young lady is that of marriage – I know that she will have a splendid wedding and a happy future, and I wish her the best for the rest of her days' (*Asahi Shimbun*, 12 August 1936).
 - 40 Hyōdō 1990: 98.
 - 41 'Now that this weight has been lifted from my shoulders, I feel very relieved. I think that I would like to live a somewhat more relaxed lifestyle now' (Hyōdō 1990: 98). It is important to keep in mind that, unlike Hitomi Kinue's autobiographies, Maehata's were written several decades after the events actually took place (in this case, almost fifty years later). Her recollection of her thoughts during this period of mayhem may well be influenced by later events in her life.
 - 42 Maehata was introduced to Hyōdō by the principal of her former girl's school, Sugiyama Sensei.
 - 43 Hyōdō 1990: 101.
 - 44 Collins 2003: 72.
 - 45 Collins 2003: 73.
 - 46 Japan had left the League of Nations in 1933, and in order to counter this move, Japanese government officials stressed the importance of bringing foreigners into Japan in order to 'promote a correct understanding and appreciation of our nation' (Collins 2003: 84).
 - 47 Collins 2003: 89. Note that it was extremely uncommon for IOC members to speak directly to political figures or to engage in political negotiations, and the IOC considered Sugiyama and Soyeshima's gesture to be inappropriately aggressive.
 - 48 Collins 2003: 108.
 - 49 Collins 2003: 121.
 - 50 Collins 2003: 123.
 - 51 Collins 2003: 205.
 - 52 Guttman 1992: 73.
 - 53 Guttman 1992: 74.
 - 54 Mandell 1971: 288.
 - 55 With, of course, the exception of the 1936 Berlin Olympics.
 - 56 See, for example, Martin Vinokur's *More than a Game: Sports and Politics* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), Paul Taylor's *Jews and the Olympic Games: The Clash between Sport and Politics* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2004), Mark Kurlansky's *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Ballantine,

- 2004) and Richard Pound's *Five Rings over Korea: The Secret Negotiations Behind the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1994).
- 57 Some of these medals were later contested, however, as some athletes from colonized territories competed for Japan. Two such notable athletes were the gold and bronze medal winners in the men's marathon competition, Korean runners named Sohn Kee-chung and Nam Sung-yong running for Japan under the names Kitei Son and Nan Shoryu, respectively (Olympic medals database: www.olympic.org).
- 58 Itani *et al.* 2001: 18.
- 59 Havens 1975: 915.
- 60 While the volunteer corps was not a compulsory labour system, the Ministry of Welfare estimated that between 1944 and 1945, about 472,000 women had gone to work for them. It was difficult for single women to refuse serving in the corps, but the mobilization plan stipulated that 'due consideration shall be given to the limitations of women' (Havens 1975: 922).
- 61 Moreover, while they may have been physically strong, by the end of the war there were many food shortages and the female population increasingly came to be physically and emotionally fatigued. Loss of a menstrual period was a physical effect noticed by many malnourished women during the war years in Japan (Havens 1975: 929).
- 62 Itani *et al.* 2001: 18.
- 63 Itani *et al.* 2001: 18.
- 64 *Asahi Shimbun*, 14 July 1946.
- 65 '*Bungeishunju*' went out of publication for one year during the war (1942), so there are no articles from this year included in the volume.
- 66 Toyoda 1988: (vol. 1), 559.
- 67 Guttmann 1992: 82.
- 68 Guttmann 1992: 82.
- 69 The advances made in women's sports were in spite of other biased and controversial viewpoints that Brundage espoused. For example, he was often called anti-Semitic and a Nazi sympathizer, and he strongly opposed any sort of politicization of the Olympic Games (which was virtually impossible considering the global state of affairs at the time of his presidency) (Guttmann 1992: 87–9).
- 70 'State of Japanese Participation in the Games', Japanese Olympic Committee online database: http://www.joc.or.jp/olympic/sanka/olympic_s4.html [accessed 4 August 2011].
- 71 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 35.
- 72 'Overall Records of Japanese Olympic Delegates', Japanese Olympic Committee online database: http://www.joc.or.jp/database/search_top.asp [accessed 4 August 2011].
- 73 The Asian Games took several different forms over the twentieth century – it was called the Oriental Olympics when it began in 1913, then the Far East Championships, the Oriental Championships, the Asian Track and Field Championship and finally became the Asian Games in 1951 (Asian Games website: <http://www.gz2010.cn> [accessed 9 July 2011]).
- 74 Katzoff 1998: 10.
- 75 Ueno 2004: 34.
- 76 The 1956 Olympics were the first to be held in the southern hemisphere, taking place in the late Australian spring from November to December. However, Australian quarantine laws were too severe to allow the entry of foreign horses, so the equestrian events were held separately in Stockholm in June. This was the first and only Olympics to separate a single Games by time and continent (IOC website).

- 77 'Japanese Delegation Participation at the Olympic Games', JOC website: <http://www.joc.or.jp/english/JapaneseDelegation.html> [accessed 4 August 2011].
- 78 JOC database: <http://www.joc.or.jp/database/> [accessed 16 August 2011].
- 79 "*Hi no maru ni mune ga itai hodo no kandō*".
- 80 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 45.
- 81 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 48.
- 82 Thirteen-year-old figure skater Inada Etsuko took part in the 1936 Garmisch-Partenkirchen Winter Olympics (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 243). No other women took part until the 1960 Squaw Valley Games, in which five Japanese speed skaters participated (Japanese Olympic Committee website).
- 83 Guttmann 1992: 41.
- 84 The Winter Games would be held the same year as the Summer Games (preceding the Summer Games by a few months) until 1992, when it was switched to a two-year alternating schedule for Summer and Winter Games (Guttmann 1992: 41).
- 85 Long-distance skier Nagata Makoto earned twenty-fourth place in the 50-kilometre cross-country skiing event with a time of 6 hours, 2 minutes, 42 seconds (JOC database).
- 86 Wallechinsky 2000: 581.
- 87 Wallechinsky 2000: 582.
- 88 For a more complete account of Inada Etsuko's appearance at the Olympics, visit the 'Olympic Memorial Goods' link on the Japanese Olympic Committee's website. This site also contains a few good photographs of Inada (<http://www.joc.or.jp/olympic/memorial/20051124.html> (Japanese only) [accessed 9 July 2011]).
- 89 'I wore a costume that consisted of a red carnation pinned to a white outfit – the red and white represented the colors of the Japanese flag. The costume had been a gift to me from the Japanese Women's Association in Berlin' (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 246).
- 90 Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 195.
- 91 Japan had sent 179 athletes (seventeen women) to Berlin and came back with twenty medals, and 167 athletes (twenty women) were sent to Rome and came back with eighteen medals (JOC database).
- 92 Partner 1999: 162–3.
- 93 JOC database.
- 94 'Miss Tanaka Sets New Record of 2:37.1 in 200-Meter Backstroke', *Asahi Shimbun*, 13 July 1959.
- 95 *Asahi Shimbun* (evening edition), 4 September 1960.
- 96 *Asahi Shimbun* (evening edition), 4 September 1960.
- 97 For example, marathon runner Takahashi Naoko ('Q-chan'), judo champion Tamura/Tani Ryōko ('Yawara-chan') and table tennis star Fukuhara Ai ('Ai-chan').
- 98 Yamanaka Toshiko's article 'Queens, Misses, Fighting Ladies ... Wait a Minute! What Are Those Words You're Using?' and Iida Takako's article 'How Have Female Athletes Been Gendered in Newspapers? A Case Study: Change in Identity from Miss Noriko Sugawara to Mrs Noriko Narazaki' discuss these representations in the media, which will be looked at later in further detail.

Chapter 6 Progress and potential: Sportswomen in the 1960s and 1970s

- 1 In 1994, the IOC announced that single-sex sports were no longer eligible for being introduced into the Olympic programme ('Women's Sumo Pushes for Olympics in a Turn from Tradition', *The New York Times*, 18 October 2010).

- 2 Every four years, the IOC commissions, with the host city, a film to commemorate the Games, though most of these films are more like compilations of television broadcasts than of actual works of documentary art. According to Ichikawa, in a 1992 interview included on the DVD, he instructed his cameramen to pay special attention to the moments just before and just after a given sporting event, as the results themselves would be covered by TV and print media (*Tokyo Olympiad*, Criterion Collection DVD, 2002).
- 3 See, for example, Gordon (1993: 72).
- 4 The main impact of the Games on Japan's infrastructure is often cited as the development of the bullet train, as the Tōkaidō line connecting Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto and Osaka opened on 1 October 1964, just in time for the Olympic Games (Roche 2000: 138–9). The Tokyo Metro system was also considerably expanded and improved for the Games, with two new lines totalling over 22 kilometres added to the system (Findling and Pelle 1996: 136). The Olympics also had a major impact on Tokyo's highways and roads, its architecture and its parks system.
- 5 Guttman 1992: 106.
- 6 Findling and Pelle 1996: 136.
- 7 Yoshikuni Igarashi's *Bodies of Memory* contains several interesting discussions of the Tokyo Olympics in the context of post-war memory. Guttman and Thompson devote four pages of their *Japanese Sports* to the Tokyo Olympics, as do Findling and Pelle in their *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*. In Japanese, the National Diet Library holdings contain fifty-six monographs that focus solely on the Tokyo Olympics, and countless academic journal articles. The topics of the Japanese monographs vary greatly, from first-hand accounts of life in the athletes' Olympic Village to strict historical accounts of the event to behind-the-scenes accounts of Japanese journalists covering the Games. Shimizu's (1994) edited volume *Orinpikku Sutadāzu* contains four chapters (out of twelve) that focus only on the Tokyo Games.
- 8 Findling and Pelle 1996: 137.
- 9 'Heroes on Every Hand', *Time*, 30 October 1964. The *Asahi Shimbun* also reported that the Soviet team was wailing in the locker room after the match (*Asahi Shimbun*, 24 October 1964).
- 10 Igarashi 2000: 156.
- 11 Both men's and women's volleyball were introduced into the Olympics in 1964 (along with men's jūdō – women's jūdō was to be added to the programme in 1992). (Official website of the Olympic movement: <http://www.olympic.org> [accessed 4 August 2011].)
- 12 See Arata in Shimizu, ed., 2004, 175.
- 13 In Shimizu, ed., 2004: 175–91.
- 14 Shimizu, ed., 2004: 184.
- 15 *Asahi Shimbun*, 12 October 1964.
- 16 *Bungeishunjū*, November 1964.
- 17 *Asahi Journal*, 27 April 1984.
- 18 *Bungeishunjū*, November 1964.
- 19 Of course, this dynamic was by no means limited to the case of Japan, as management in most industrialized countries has, and continues to be, dominated by men. However, for the present study I am only looking at twentieth-century Japan.
- 20 Molony and Uno 2005: 361.
- 21 Molony and Uno 2005: 374.

- 22 Molony and Uno 2005: 378.
- 23 Players were generally not involved in manual labour at the textile factory – they had low-level desk jobs, still managed by male supervisors.
- 24 Kelly 2007: 223.
- 25 Kelly 2007: 224.
- 26 *Kantoku – Orinpikku joshi marason rannā wo sodateta otoko tachi.*
- 27 *Hekotareru monikai.*
- 28 *Nazeba narul, Watashi no shinnen, Dare no tameni ikirunoka.*
- 29 Okuda (1996: 224–5) asserts that there is something inherently alluring about men who can not only train women to run fast and far (i.e. physical toughness) but also teach patience, a fighting spirit and a strong will to win.
- 30 *Onna wa onna ga tsuyoku suru* (Women making women stronger; Masayo *et al.* 2001) was written by the three most famous contemporary female coaches in Japan: synchronized swimming coach Imura Masayo, softball coach Utsugi Taeko and rhythmic gymnastics coach Gomei Misako. Note that these three sports are among the only sports in which men generally cannot compete; therefore it is logical that some of the best coaches are women.
- 31 Over eighty per cent of the Japanese public watched the final Japan/USSR match on television (Wallechinsky 2000: 458).
- 32 At the Summer Olympic Games, the women's volleyball team won: gold (Tokyo 1964), silver (Mexico City 1968), silver (Munich 1972) and gold (Montréal 1976).
- 33 Wallechinsky 2000: 458.
- 34 Ono Takashi's other medals were in the horizontal bars, the parallel bars, the pommel horse, the rings, the vault, individual all-round and team competition (Olympic database).
- 35 A November 1964 article in *Bungeishunjū* about the Onos begins with the following passage: 'In Japan, it is uncommon to see mommy athletes. It is also uncommon to see married couples in which the husband is the coach and the wife is the athlete. Gradually, more and more unmarried women are taking part in sports, but it is very rare to see a pair like lovebirds like Takashi and Kiyoko Ono' (Toyoda 1988: vol. 3, 330).
- 36 Yoshioka was known for his quick starts at the beginning of his races. At his Olympic race he was in the lead for the first 40 metres. However, at 60 metres five runners passed him by, and he wound up taking sixth place with a time of 10.8 seconds. The gold medal winner of this race, Thomas 'Eddie' Tolan, was known in Japan as the 'late night super express' because of the way he would pick up speed at the end of his race, and Yoshioka came to be known as the 'daybreak super express' because of his speed at the start of the race (*Asahi Jinbutsu Jiten* 1990: 1738).
- 37 *Asahi Jinbutsu Jiten* 1990: 1762.
- 38 Yoda was only 0.2 seconds off the winner's time – in fact the race was so close that the gold, silver and bronze medallists were all clocked in at exactly 10.5 seconds, with Yoda coming in at 10.7 seconds.
- 39 *Shūkan Shinchō*, 27 October 1983, 162 ('Why Did Olympian Yoda Ikuko Decide to Hang Herself?'); and *Sports Graphic Number*, vol. 146 (5 May 1986), 40 ('100 Women Who Colored the Shōwa Era').
- 40 *Sports Graphic Number*, vol. 146, 40.
- 41 'As Far as Our Home Life Was Concerned, She Was a Perfectionist' (*Sports Graphic Number*, vol. 146, 40).
- 42 *Shūkan Shinchō* (27 October 1983), 160.

- 43 For an account of Tsuburaya's suicide, including a scanned image of the suicide note he left for his family, go to <http://www004.upp.so-net.ne.jp/kuhiwo/dazai/tsumuraya.html> (Japanese only [accessed 9 July 2011]). Some tabloids report that when he was found dead he was clutching his bronze medal in his hand, but I cannot find any solid evidence to support this claim.
- 44 In Rome in 1960 there had been 167 Japanese athletes (twenty women), in Tokyo there were 355 (sixty-one women) and in Mexico City in 1968 there were 183 (thirty women). (<http://www.joc.or.jp>).
- 45 For example, in 1968 the sport of shooting was opened to women, and in 1972 the women's 1,500-metre race and 4 × 400-metre relays were added, and the 80-metre hurdles race was extended to 100 metres, the same length as the men's race (Wallechinsky 2000).
- 46 The South African National Olympic Committee had long refused to take a stand against apartheid, and citizens from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) were forbidden from entering Mexico because of similar problems in that country (Guttmann 1992: 127). Moreover, the civil rights movement in the United States was at its height, with the recent assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr (in April 1968) and ongoing student protests that often escalated to violent confrontations (Findling and Pelle 1996: 139). Sports sociologist and activist Harry Edwards had called for African-American athletes to boycott the Games in order to protest the ongoing mistreatment of minorities in the United States. While they did not boycott, there were several powerful statements made in protest, perhaps most memorably when sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos bowed their heads and raised their black-gloved fists in the well-recognized black power salute. The two athletes were expelled from the Olympic Village and suspended from the national team for this act, and as they were preparing to depart Mexico City, three of their African-American teammates expressed sympathy by wearing black berets when entering the stadium to receive medals for their 400-metre race (Findling and Pelle 1996: 144).
- 47 To this comment, IOC president Avery Brundage replied, 'The Olympic Games belong to all the world, not the part of it at sea level' (Guttmann 1992: 133). While those competing in distance running and rowing events did have difficulty breathing, athletes whose events required only short, anaerobic bursts of strength actually benefited from the thin air of Mexico City, with jumpers and pole-vaulters having particularly impressive results, including many world records. American long jumper Bob Beamon had one of the most incredible performances of the Mexico City Olympics, with his jump of 29 feet, 2½ inches beating the previous world record by nearly 2 feet (Findling and Pelle 1996: 143).
- 48 Guttmann 1992: 129.
- 49 Young and Wamsley 2005: 119.
- 50 Olsen-Acre 2007: 207.
- 51 Olsen-Acre 2007: 216.
- 52 For example, if the IOC were to deem a female athlete too 'masculine' in appearance, they might test for anabolic steroids. Women who are found to have elevated testosterone levels are considered unfair competitors. In this sense, Olsen-Acre (2007: 223) argues that the IOC policy simply shifted its focus from chromosomal to hormonal and that certain intersexed athletes are still marginalized by the policy.
- 53 Wallechinsky 2000: 459.
- 54 Japan's major newspapers (*Asahi Shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun*) did not begin to give the Olympics front-page coverage until around the time of the Tokyo Games in 1964. Prior to this, the coverage was generally found only in the sports section.

- 55 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 113–4.
- 56 Findling and Pelle 1996: 284.
- 57 The medals were won by Kasaya Yukio (gold), Konno Akitsugu (silver) and Aochi Seiji (bronze) (Wallechinsky 2000: 619).
- 58 Japan had sent one woman to Garmisch-Partenkirchen (1936), five women to Squaw Valley (1960), six women to Innsbruck (1964) and nine women to Grenoble (1968) (JOC database).
- 59 The Japanese women who took part in the Sapporo Olympics were represented in five sports: alpine skiing, cross-country skiing, speed skating, figure skating and luge (JOC database).
- 60 JOC database.
- 61 Findling and Pelle 1996: 148.
- 62 Early on the morning of September fifth, eight Palestinian terrorists broke into the Olympic village, killed two members of the Israeli delegation and took nine more Israelis hostage. All nine of these hostages would be killed, as would five of the terrorists and one German policeman. The Games were suspended for a memorial service the following day, with IOC president Avery Brundage stating at the service,

Sadly, in this imperfect world, the greater and more important the Olympic Games become, the more they are open to commercial, political, and now criminal pressure ... I am sure that the public will agree that we cannot allow a handful of terrorists to destroy this nucleus of international cooperation and good will we have in the Olympic Movement. The Games must go on and we must continue our effort to keep them clean, pure and honest and try to extend the sportsmanship of the athletic field onto other areas. (Guttmann 1992: 140)

While some critiqued the IOC's decision to continue the Games after the terrorism incident, Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir agreed with the IOC that a cancellation of the event could suggest a victory for the terrorists and might encourage repeated acts of terror in the future (Guttmann 1992: 140).

- 63 However, in 1964 the Japanese team won sixteen gold, five silver and eight bronze medals, while in 1972 the distribution was thirteen gold, eight silver and eight bronze. In Mexico City, the team had won eleven gold, seven silver and seven bronze (twenty-five medals) (JOC database).
- 64 The Japanese men's gymnastics team dominated the Olympic competition in the 1960s and 1970s, winning the gold medal for five consecutive Games (Rome, Tokyo, Mexico City, Munich and Montréal) (Wallechinsky 2000: 309–12).
- 65 *The Japan Times*, 3 September 1972.
- 66 *Ushio*, September 2002, 284.
- 67 *Bungeishunjū*, March 1984.
- 68 By contrast, the number of women in the Winter Olympics dropped from twenty (at the Sapporo Games) to six at the following Games in Innsbruck, Austria, and remained below or around ten athletes until the 1990s (JOC database).
- 69 JOC database.
- 70 That is to say, Japan reached its game point of fifteen before nearly any team could even reach ten points (Wallechinsky 2000: 460).
- 71 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 153.
- 72 'As I watched the Japanese flag slowly rise up the flagpole, my whole body was enveloped by an emotion more powerful than anything I had felt before. To this

- day, I have never since experienced such a feeling of euphoria and contentment. It was as if something awoke in me that day' (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 156).
- 73 See Nakano's profile on the website of sports advocacy group, S-Rights: <http://www.s-rights.co.jp/member/athletes/nakano.html> (Japanese only [accessed 9 July 2011]).
 - 74 'I believe, from the bottom of my heart, that volleyball gave me the ability to overcome challenges and to never give up, in addition to all of the great experiences and people I came into contact through my involvement in the sport. The encouraging fans shouting "Mariko, fight! Mariko, fight!" brought out the courage in me' (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 158–9).
 - 75 One notable example to be discussed later in further detail is marathon runner Arimori Yūko, who established an NGO called Heart of Gold, which encourages disabled people to take part in sports. She helps raise money for victims of landmine explosions and has been named a goodwill ambassador by the United Nations Population Fund (<http://www.unfpa.org/ambassadors/yuko.htm> [accessed 9 July 2011]).

Chapter 7 Female athletes in contemporary Japan

- 1 Carter's official announcement came on January twentieth, when he wrote to Robert Kane, president of the United States Olympic Committee, 'I ... urge [you] ... to advise the International Olympic Committee that if Soviet troops do not fully withdraw from Afghanistan within the next month, Moscow will become an unsuitable site for a festival meant to celebrate peace and good will' (Guttmann 1992: 150).
- 2 Findling and Pelle 1996: 163. Guttmann's suggestion as to why Japan joined the boycott is simple – military dependence on the United States: 'On May 22, the Israeli National Olympic Committee – which had never been enthusiastic about sending a team to Moscow – voted to stay away. Two days later, Japan followed suit. Military dependence on the United States was unquestionably a factor in both of these decisions' (Guttmann 1992: 153).
- 3 The British government did its best to prevent athletes from participating – for example, they refused to allow the official state airline, British Airways, to fly anyone involved with the Olympics to Moscow, and athletes consequently had to ride ferries to and from the Games. The British flag was also never raised nor the national anthem played, with a generic Olympic flag and Olympic ballad playing in lieu of it for any winning British athletes (Guttmann 1992: 164).
- 4 Guttmann 1992: 164.
- 5 *Taiiku no kagaku*, vol. 30, October 1980.
- 6 'One of the reasons that the JOC decided not to participate was because of our strong belief in both the importance of solidarity with other Asian nations in the sporting arena, and in solidarity with the rest of the world. The fact is that many Asian nations did participate in the event, and I would like to report that many of the delegates of these nations said that the absence of the Japanese team at the Games was disappointing. While it is important to consider the position of Japan within the world of Asian sports, it is also important that we not forget the role and responsibility of Japan with respect to the rest of the world. Our strong belief is that by participating in the boycott of the Moscow Games, we have avoided creating a great stain on the otherwise splendid sports history developed in Japan over the past almost eighty years' (*Taiiku no kagaku*, vol. 30, October 1980, 771–2).

- 7 Riordan in Findling and Pelle 1996: 164.
- 8 Some non-dissenting voices were included as well, such as a 1976 Olympian in the steeplechase, Mike Roche, who said, 'I don't think we should go. I wouldn't go. I don't think the Olympics are going to be around much longer, anyway. This may be the last one'. Marathon runner Lou Calvano said, 'I support it because in a time of national crisis every American has to do his part for national unity and solidarity. Many times you have to make sacrifices' (*Running Times*, April 1980).
- 9 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 166–70.
- 10 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 166.
- 11 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 168.
- 12 'While this would be the end of my competitive athletic career, looking back on it I realize that this difficult period gave me a real sense of self-awareness and independence that I may otherwise have never gained. That said, I have been told by many of my friends that competing at gymnastics at the highest level, the Olympic Games, truly provides a feeling of incomparable excitement' (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 170).
- 13 Boston Athletic Association Past Champions database: <http://www.baa.org/races/boston-marathon/boston-marathon-history/past-champions.aspx> [accessed 9 July 2011].
- 14 Tokyo International Women's Marathon database: <http://www.asahi.com/tokyo-marathon/results/1983.html> (Japanese only [accessed 9 July 2011]).
- 15 *Sportiva*, 'A Thirty-Year History of Women's Sports', February 2005, 111–17.
- 16 *Sportiva*, 'A Thirty-Year History of Women's Sports', February 2005, 111–17.
- 17 *Sportiva*, 'A Thirty-Year History of Women's Sports', February 2005, 111–17.
- 18 In the team competition, Japan won the silver medal in 1978, 1998, 2001, 2003 and 2005 and the bronze medal in 1973, 1975, 1982, 1986, 1991 and 1994.
- 19 *Sportiva*, 'A Thirty-Year History of Women's Sports', February 2005, 111–17.
- 20 *Sportiva*, 'A Thirty-Year History of Women's Sports', February 2005, 111–17.
- 21 LPGA tournament winners' database: <http://www.lpga.com> [accessed 4 August 2011].
- 22 Flor Isava Fonseca of Venezuela and Pirjo Haggman of Finland were elected to be members of the IOC at the Olympic congress meeting of 1981. In 1982 they were followed by Mary Alison Glen-Haig of Britain, and in 1984 Liechtenstein's Princess Nora (Guttmann 1992: 156).
- 23 *Sportiva*, 'A Thirty-Year History of Women's Sports', February 2005, 112.
- 24 Four Japanese women travelled to Lake Placid in 1980 – three speed skaters and one figure skater. Watanabe Emi, who had won the World Figure Skating Championships the previous year, came in sixth place at the Lake Placid Olympics. Five women travelled to Sarajevo – three speed skaters and two figure skaters. The best performance in Sarajevo was by Hashimoto Seiko, who finished eleventh in the 500-metre speed skating event (JOC database).
- 25 Though her married name is Ishizaki Seiko, she is usually referred to by her maiden name. This is in part because of the recognition of her maiden name as well as the fact that her husband is now deceased (*Fujin Kōron*, 7 December 2000, 41).
- 26 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 270.
- 27 'When I saw for myself the Olympic flame, the origin of my own name, all I could say was "incredible". That may have been the moment at which I decided to make sports the central focus of my life' (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 270).
- 28 In addition to her eleventh place finish in the 500 metre, she finished twelfth in the 1,000-metre race, fifteenth in the 1,500-metre race and nineteenth in the 3,000-metre race in Sarajevo (JOC database).

- 29 Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 270.
- 30 JOC database.
- 31 Hashimoto 1992: 129.
- 32 Hashimoto 1992: 132.
- 33 Hashimoto's profile available on the *sangiin* website: <http://www.sangiin.go.jp/> (Japanese only [accessed 9 July 2011]).
- 34 *Fujin Kōron*, 7 December 2000, 41–3.
- 35 Quoted in Roche 2000: 19.
- 36 Guttman 1992: 157.
- 37 Findling and Pelle 1996: 174.
- 38 JOC database.
- 39 Bale and Christensen 2004: 148.
- 40 Findling and Pelle 1996: 158.
- 41 Findling and Pelle 1996: 169.
- 42 Guttman 1992: 160.
- 43 This money was raised for various charities such as the YMCA and the Special Olympics, not to fund the Games themselves (Findling and Pelle 1996: 174).
- 44 Findling and Pelle (1996: 176) and Guttman (1992: 163).
- 45 Roche 2000: 137.
- 46 JOC database.
- 47 For example, gymnast Mario Makiko (now Sate Makiko), who competed in the 1984 Games writes, 'From the time I was a young child, I had not envisioned ever entering an event like the Olympic Games' (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 185). Rifle shooter Kunai Noriko, who competed in both 1984 and 1988, writes, 'I did not think that it was a dream of mine to be a participant in the Olympics, but it seemed that I should go to the Games in Los Angeles' (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 191). A few women, however, do start their essays discussing their lifelong dreams to compete at the Olympic Games.
- 48 Masuda did not finish in the Olympic marathon.
- 49 'In 1984, she regrettably had to drop out of the long-anticipated women's marathon at the Los Angeles Olympic Games ... After retiring, she became a sports journalist and a marathon commentator' (Masuda, book jacket cover). See also Masuda's personal profile at <http://www.akemi-masuda.jp/profile.html> (Japanese only [accessed 9 July 2011]).
- 50 In March of 2006, I ran a 10-kilometre race near Nagano, in which Masuda was the invited 'guest runner'. She had slowed down a bit over the years, to the point at which she was running my pace, and the two of us ran side by side for most of the race. I can personally attest, from the throngs of fans lining the entire course and calling out 'Akemi-chan!' and snapping photos, that she continues to have a large following.
- 51 Her record-beating time was 2 hours, 28 minutes and 1 second (*Sportiva*, 'A Thirty-Year History of Women's Sports', February 2005, 114).
- 52 Arimori *et al.* 2003: 23.
- 53 The women's marathon at the Barcelona Olympics produced the closest win ever recorded in Olympic marathon history, which drew more attention to the runners involved. Arimori Yūko finished only 8 seconds behind Russian runner Valentina Yegorova (Findling and Pelle 1996: 191).
- 54 A 2005 manga version of Hitomi Kinue's biography entitled *Raijingu Gāru!* (Rising girl!) features a photo of Arimori Yūko on the book cover with the quote, 'Please let us never forget – The woman who cleared this glorious road for us.' Also, a 2004 NHK special about Hitomi Kinue's legacy includes lengthy

- interviews with Arimori Yūko, including a tearful discussion about the insults and ridicule she used to face for being a female distance runner at a time when it was still fairly uncommon (NHK, *Sono toki rekishi ga ugoita*, 18 August 2004).
- 55 Communist authorities in these countries believed that ‘professional sports’ were imbued with the spirit of profit and corruption, which were both akin to capitalist societies and harmful to the health of the athletes. Cash and material rewards for top performances were not officially permitted under this system. However, according to observations made by Reet Howell in his article ‘The USSR: Sport and Politics Intertwined’, top athletes in the USSR were in fact able to have better living quarters than poorly performing athletes, and they would receive some luxury items such as cars. During their competitive years, these ‘state amateurs’ received all their income from the state and remained under state control (Howell 1975: 143). The parallel between ‘state amateurs’ and ‘corporate amateurs’ is this complete reliance on the state/company for one’s livelihood and the mindset that one must compete at one’s highest level in order to further the state/company.
 - 56 That is to say, a football or volleyball player would consider herself to be a professional when she was part of a corporate team, as her full income would be from the sponsoring company. Athletes from the individual sports mentioned above would be considered amateur until individually proclaiming professional status (Shimizu Satoshi, email message to author, 12 February 2008).
 - 57 ‘Big in Japan: Yuko Arimori’, *Metropolis*, July 2002, Issue 367.
 - 58 ‘At that point, I had yet to participate in a national meet, and thought that by joining a company team I would be more likely to be part the national team’ (Arimori *et al.* 2003: 24).
 - 59 Keep in mind that Arimori had two major transitions – one from college athlete to high-level amateur athlete (when she was with Recruit) and another from amateur to full-blown professional athlete following the 1996 Summer Games.
 - 60 TOMOZOE: So, did your training change at all?
ARIMORI: It was the mood that changed. To that point, I had cared more about what the public thought of me, but after turning professional I cared less what people thought, and more about how I was being compensated. That was the mindset of a professional. (Arimori *et al.* 2003: 25–6)
 - 61 Hartmann-Tews and Pfister 2003: 245.
 - 62 ‘As she took action to turn professional, Arimori critiqued that, “It is strange for us not to have the rights to our own image”’ (Shimizu Satoshi, email message to author, 12 February 2008).
 - 63 Shimizu Satoshi, email message to author, 12 February 2008.
 - 64 Hartmann-Tews and Pfister 2003: 245.
 - 65 Not only did Arimori open the door for female athletes to break from the JOC to become professional if they so chose, but she also was the first woman to take issue in general with the policies of the committee. In 2000, another woman, freestyle swimmer Chiba Suzu, followed Arimori’s lead by making an appeal to the JOC after she was not included on the roster to compete in the Sydney Summer Olympics (even after she won the women’s 200-metre freestyle race at Japan’s national championships that year). Chiba criticized the JOC for their lack of transparency in not disclosing the criteria they used for selecting Olympic delegates, and in June 2000 she became the first Japanese athlete to take her case to the Swiss-based Court of Arbitration for Sports. While Chiba remained cut from the national team the court did find that the selection criteria on the part of the JOC were unclear, and the JOC was ordered to reimburse Chiba for her legal fees (‘Chiba Quit Over Olympic Appeal’, BBC Sport, 26 October 2000).

- 66 'Runner with a Cause: Japan's Michael Jordan Takes on the NYC Marathon', *Village Voice*, 1 November 2000.
- 67 *Village Voice*, 1 November 2000.
- 68 See a list of the organization's activities at <http://www.hofg.org/jp/activity/index.shtml> [accessed 4 August 2011].
- 69 The team from the United States has won the gold medal in every Olympic Games until they were beaten by Japan in 2008 (JOC database).
- 70 This controversial decision has been criticized as being Euro-centric by many, as European members have strong voting power in the IOC. Baseball and softball have historically been more popular in the Americas and Asia than in Europe, which accounts for the accusations that Europeans would rather the sport be removed from the programme ('Baseball, Softball Bumped from Olympics', *USA Today*, 8 July 2005).
- 71 'I would say that Japanese society is centered around men. Companies are this way as well, right? I think that women must also hold a certain responsibility in society. There is a common belief that when it comes to running the household, women are more in charge than men. These days, though, the number of women working outside the home is similar to that of men. Since these women are still expected to run the home, I believe that women these days are working harder than men' (Imura *et al.* 2001: 144).
- 72 For example, during Hitomi Kinue's time there was discussion in women's magazines and tabloids that her muscular legs and suntanned skin were decidedly unfeminine. Swimmers, gymnasts, volleyball and tennis players are often photographed wearing skimpy, skin-tight uniforms, which has led to the sexualization of many of female competitors in these events.
- 73 Itō came in fifth place at the Calgary Olympics of 1988 and then won the gold medal at the World Championships in 1989. In 1992 she won the silver medal at the Winter Games in Albertville, making her the first female medallist, along with Hashimoto Seiko, at a Winter Olympics.
- 74 'Why was it that I wanted so badly to be a pioneer of the triple axel at the great Olympic Games? I had already successfully executed the jump at national meets and at the World Championships. However, the Olympics only take place once every four years. The Games are a place where the best competitors in the world gather to give it their best' (Total Olympic Ladies 1996: 288).
- 75 JOC database.
- 76 From Arakawa's personal website profile: <http://www.shizuka-arakawa.com/english/profile/index.html> [accessed 4 August 2011].
- 77 'The Arakawa Effect' (Web Japan, 21 April 2006).
- 78 Arakawa is now affiliated with Prince Hotels, a chain of luxury hotels that has funded and organized professional ice shows in Japan for over a decade.
- 79 The books, both published in September of 2006, are titled *Kin medaru he no michi* (The road to a gold medal; NHK publications) and *Tira mi su: Dakara watashi wa ganbaru!* (Tiramisu: that is why I persevere!; Kadokawa shoten).
- 80 According to Takahashi, she was given the nickname 'Q-chan' after a welcome party at Recruit in 1995, where she was told she had to do some sort of entertaining performance (a common hazing ritual at such parties). Takahashi sang a song from an anime series called *Obake no Q-tarō*, that went 'Kyū kyū kyū, shara shara shara, yay!' and gave such a memorable performance that the nickname 'Q-chan' stuck with her over the years (Takahashi 2004: 79–84).
- 81 'Vaam' stands for 'vespa amino acid mixture'.
- 82 *The New York Times*, 3 January 2001.

- 83 'Even though I am technically still an amateur athlete, since running is the central focus of my life it feels as if I am a half-professional athlete. Be that as it may, I still think that I lack the mindset of a professional athlete. I think to myself things like, "you must make running a *more* central part of your life"' (Takahashi 2004: 273).
- 84 While certain restrictions still apply, nearly all Olympic athletes are now permitted to receive cash for their athletic performances, and the previous rules of Olympic amateurism are considered dated relics of the past.
- 85 Kanō defined the principle of his new school of jūdō as *seiryoku saiyūkō katsudō*, which means 'the most economical use of body and mind energy' or 'economized energy' (Maguire and Nakayama 2006: 12).
- 86 Guttman and Thompson 2001: 102.
- 87 *Sportiva*, 'A Thirty-Year History of Women's Sports', February 2005, 113.
- 88 International Olympic Committee official athletes' database.
- 89 *Sports Graphic Number*, February 2005, 70.
- 90 *Sports Graphic Number*, February 2005, 70.
- 91 Articles about the birth of her son inevitably also mentioned the future of her career. For example, a *Nikkan Sports* article from 5 January 2006 (less than a week after the birth of her son) reads, 'On December thirty-first, 2005, Olympic gold medal winner in the women's forty-eight kilogram jūdō competition, Tani Ryōko, gave birth to her first child at Hyōgo prefecture's Nishinomiya Hospital. She had a son with husband Tani Yoshitomo, an outfielder on the Olympic baseball team. I interviewed Tani as she was holding her son, and she told me that she and her husband chose to take one character from each of their names to form their son's name, Yoshiaki. She told me of her desire to bring home a third gold medal, saying, "While raising my son, with some help from those around me, I still want to set my sights on a third consecutive medal at the Olympic Games in Beijing".'
- 92 The headline from an article in the popular weekly magazine *Yomiuri Weekly* reads, 'Saying, "As a mommy, a gold", Tani Ryōko finally makes her return to competition this spring' (*Yomiuri Weekly*, 21 January 2007).
- 93 'Judoka Tani Strikes Election Gold; Other Celebs Mixed', *The Japan Times*, 12 July 2010.
- 94 'Parliament member Tani retires; Female parliament members show understanding, and criticize "responsibilities to the party"', *Asahi Shimbun*, 16 October 2010.
- 95 *Asahi Shimbun*, 16 October 2010.

Chapter 8 Theoretical concerns surrounding Japanese women in sport

- 1 In the introduction to his 2007 edited volume *This Sporting Life: Sports and Body Culture in Modern Japan*, Kelly writes, 'There is surprisingly little foreign scholarship thus far on Japan's participation in the Olympics and in the Asian Games' (Kelly 2007: 7).
- 2 In the Olympic Games, for example, prior to Hitomi Kinue's appearance in 1928, Olympic medals had been won by women from the United States, Canada, Germany, France, Bohemia (Czechoslovakia), Great Britain, Italy, Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Australia (IOC database).
- 3 I have borrowed the term 'master metaphors' from Olympic scholar John MacAloon. In his article 'The Theory of Spectacle', he writes, 'Terms such as spectacle continue to be used today as master metaphors for every conceivable

- manufacturing of power, and critical terms old and new are if anything even more conflated in today's "discursive world"' (in Tomlinson and Young 2006: 16).
- 4 While the list of scholars whose work could be drawn upon in my analyses is impressive (i.e. those dealing with modernity, globalization, spectacle, femininity), I have chosen to limit my resources primarily to those who deal with Japan or sport in some form or another. The use of (the vast body of) work by those theoretical scholars working outside the bounds of these topics is beyond the scope of the current project.
 - 5 Ivy 1995: 4–5.
 - 6 Roche 2000: 6.
 - 7 Miyoshi and Harootunian 1989: 146.
 - 8 Molony and Uno 2005: 5.
 - 9 Guttman and Thompson 2001: 2.
 - 10 Scrolls produced in the thirteenth century show aristocrats shooting at six-ring targets, which suggests that the activity of archery was rationalized and quantified at that time (in Kelly 2007: 30).
 - 11 Kelly 2007: 35.
 - 12 For example, in Gluck's 'The Invention of Edo', she writes that the idea of Tokugawa Japan being considered 'pre-modern' is illogical, as Japan was as modern as most Western nations at that time, and it was not until the Meiji Restoration that this period came to be thought of as 'pre-modern'. She writes, 'Did Tokugawa Japan lag behind the West? Not a bit: in seclusion it experienced an "industrious revolution" of its own, gave up the gun, and lived peaceably in Asia while Europe tore itself apart' (Vlastos 1998: 276).
 - 13 Josei taiiku shi kenkyū kai 1981: 10.
 - 14 *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, 14 March 1925.
 - 15 In his book *Assembled in Japan*, Simon Partner writes, 'Japanese television buyers seem to have been motivated ... out of love for popular pastimes, particularly sports. Almost universally, Japanese television owners mentioned sports as the key reason for their purchase' (Partner 1999: 163).
 - 16 Partner 1999: 162.
 - 17 See images from the *Asahi Shimbun*, 12 August 1936.
 - 18 Maguire and Nakayama 2006: 159.
 - 19 Personal discussion with Dr Shimizu, October 2006.
 - 20 Maguire and Nakayama 2006: 164.
 - 21 The definition of 'neoliberalism' that I am using is the 'hegemonic mode of discourse and policies that seek to bring all human action into the domain of the market' (Hoffman *et al.* 2006: 9).
 - 22 The slogan usually appears in English in Japan, but on the company's website the slogan is translated to Japanese and reads as follows: "Fukanō" nante, arienai".
 - 23 Young 1986: 9.
 - 24 In addition to endorsing commercial products, athletes are frequently used in public service announcements. For example, Tani Ryōko appeared wearing her jūdō uniform in a poster campaign by the Fire and Disaster Management Agency. The slogan on the poster read, 'Let's tighten up on our mindfulness in handling hazardous materials.' Hamaguchi Kyōko, daughter of famous wrestler Hamaguchi Animal, was a bronze medal winner in wrestling at the 2004 Summer Games in Athens. Like Tani, she can also be seen in various advertising and public safety campaigns around Japan.
 - 25 Frost 2011: 128 (citing Hitomi's (1929: 365) *Supaiku no ato*).

- 26 That is to say, while the 'impossible is nothing' mindset has been promoted widely and many barriers that used to exist have been torn down, there is still a large segment of the population that is unable to participate in many sports due to a lack of money or resources.
- 27 Debord 1995: 12.
- 28 Tomlinson and Young 2006: 15.
- 29 For example, jūdō wrestler Emoto Yūko gained sudden fame as the first female gold medallist in the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta.
- 30 This image was made into the commemorative postage stamp in the year 2000.
- 31 You will recall that Hitomi won the silver medal in the 800-metre race, while Inada finished in tenth place in the free-skating competition.
- 32 See, for example, Hall (1996), Cahn (1994), Hargreaves (1994), Hartmann-Tews and Pfister (2003) and Mangan and Park (1987).
- 33 Interestingly, the few Japanese scholars who look at women in sport have also often relied on English-language resources, with Jennifer Hargreaves and Allen Guttmann appearing frequently in the footnotes of their work. See, for example, Tanaka Tōko's article 'The Olympic Baron and the Modern Day Athletic Girl' (in Shimizu) or Inoue and Kameyama's chapter 'Sports and Gender'.
- 34 See Ayako Kano's useful and relevant description of essentialism and gender in Japanese theatre on pages 21–3 of *Acting Like a Woman in Modern Japan: Theater, Gender, and Nationalism*.
- 35 See Elise Edwards, in Kelly (2007: 211).
- 36 According to the official Olympic database, prior to 1960 only one or two events for women were added each Olympics, while from 1964 onwards at least two events (and sometimes three or four) were added at almost every Summer and Winter Games. For example, in 1964 volleyball and luge were added; in 1976 rowing, basketball and handball were added; in 1988 it was tennis, table tennis and yachting; in 2000 weightlifting, pentathlon, taekwondo and triathlon were added to the women's programme (www.olympic.org).
- 37 Ichō Chiharu won the silver medal in the under forty-eight kilo division, Yoshida Saori won gold in the forty-eight to fifty-five kilo division, Ichō Kaori won the gold in the fifty-five to sixty-three kilo division and Hamaguchi Kyōko won the bronze in the sixty-three to seventy-two kilo division (JOC database).
- 38 Cahn 1994: viii.
- 39 See, for example, the covers of the two books about Arakawa and the photos contained therein.
- 40 Cahn 1994: 224.
- 41 While Cahn's book contains many insightful views on gender and sexuality in sports, at times it feels dated, having been published in 1994 (and probably written several years before that).
- 42 Japan sent a team to the first ever Women's Rugby World Cup held in Wales in 1991.
- 43 '*Joshi ragubī no miryoku: gorin he no chikamichi mieta*' (The appeal of women's rugby: a shortcut to the Olympic Games is seen), *Asahi Shimbun Weekly*, 20 May 2002.
- 44 Yamanaka, Toshiko, '*Joō, misesu, onna no tataikai ... chotto matta! Sono kotoba*' (Queens, misses, fighting ladies ... Hold on a second! Those words!), *Shūkan kinyōbi*, vol. 335, 13 October 2000.
- 45 For example, she reports that rather than calling Takahashi by her last name or full first name, she is frequently referred to in the media as 'Nao-chan', a diminutive form of her first name Naoko – *Naochan kagayaku egao* (Nao-chan radiantly smiled). Yamanaka, 12.

- 46 Yamanaka, 13.
- 47 '*Shimbun hōdō ni okeru josei kyōgisha no jendāka: Sugiwaru Noriko kara Narazaki Noriko he*' (The 'genderization' of female competitors in newspaper reports: from Sugiwaru Noriko to Narazaki Noriko), *Supōtsu to jendā kenkyū*, vol. 1 (2003), 4–14. Narazaki Noriko was a bronze medallist at the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta and a silver medallist at the 2000 Olympics in Sydney. Sugawara Noriko was a bronze medallist in 1996.
- 48 Iida and Itani 2004: 4.
- 49 Kawahara, Takatsu, '*Sūji de mitsumeru josei no tsuyosa*' (Looking hard at women's strength through the numbers), *Sports Godzilla*, vol. 1, November 2006.
- 50 For complete charts of Olympic participation and medals won by Japanese men and women since the start of the modern Olympic Games, see the Tables section at the end of this book.
- 51 This figure was also representative of the 2002 Winter Games in Salt Lake City, when Japanese men and women each came home with one medal.
- 52 '∞' is the mathematical representation for the undefined result of one divided by zero (Kawahara 2006: 16).

Afterword: What about women's baseball and women's sumo?

- 1 Softball had been an informal game for both men and women that changed significantly over the first decades of the twentieth century and was not formalized until the 1930s. The governing body of the International Softball Federation was founded in 1952, and the first world championships of softball took place in 1965, by which point the sport was dominated by women (International Softball Federation website: www.internationalsoftball.com).
- 2 Tanioka 2010: 258–9.
- 3 'GPBL/Girls Pro Baseball League Winning Fans in Kyoto', *Asahi News*, 7 August 2010.
- 4 For example, the *Asahi Shimbun* ran a long piece on eighteen-year-old Kyoto Asto Dreams player Miura Iori, one of the league's top batters (*Asahi Shimbun*, 1 September 2010).
- 5 'Japan's "Knuckle Princess" Arrives in U.S.', *The New York Times*, 30 May 2010.
- 6 'Tough Season for Female Pitcher', *The New York Times*, 11 September 2010.
- 7 Amateur sumō is set apart from the professional version through the inclusion not only of women but also of weight classes and a lack of religious ceremony. For a brief but detailed account of women's sumō in contemporary Japan, see the 23-minute documentary titled *Pushy Women* (2001) produced by the Royal Anthropological Institute (directed by Caro MacDonald).
- 8 'In Sumo's Push for the Olympics, a Turn Away from Tradition', *The New York Times*, 18 October 2010.
- 9 '*Sekai ni hirogaru josei sumō*' (The global growth of women's sumō), *Asahi Shimbun Weekly AERA*, 24 January 2000.
- 10 'In Sumo's Push for the Olympics, a Turn Away from Tradition', *The New York Times*, 18 October 2010.
- 11 For example, the concurrent 'greying' of the Japanese population and the declining birth rate.