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War Time Memories Of Shojo (Girl) - An Analysis Of A Japanese Girls' Magazine, Shojo No Tomo, And Its Readers

Ai Yamamoto
University of Mississippi

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WAR TIME MEMORIES OF “SHOJO (GIRL)”

AN ANALYSIS OF A JAPANESE GIRLS’ MAGAZINE, SHOJO NO TOMO (A FRIEND OF GIRLS), AND ITS READERS

A Thesis

Presented in partial fulfillment of requirements

For the degree of Master of Arts

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by

AI YAMAMOTO

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ABSTRACT

This study researched a Japanese girls’ magazine, *Shojo no Tomo (A Friend of Girls)*, which was published before WWII and republished in 2009. By focusing on the republication of the magazine after more than 50 years, the study showed how Japanese women remember their girlhood during the war and how this memory is reconstructed. To discuss reconstruction, this study examines not only what is remembered but also what is forgotten. For this research, it analyzed original issues of the time that the republished issue especially focuses on, and interviewed former readers. Also, it analyzed the republished issue and interviewed the editors of it. The research found that the image of shojo (girl) acquired strength in the republished issue because this republication assumes its readers are artistic intellectuals. For this reconstruction, this republished issue marginalized wartime nationalism. This reconstruction allowed for women to claim status despite male domination. Also, the research found that fiction had more impact than non-fiction so it suggests the importance of studying fiction when history is discussed.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to everyone who helped me and guided me through my own times of stress and anxiety. In particular, I thank my parents, Shinya Yamamoto and Ryoko Yamamoto, who helped me study in the United States of America, far from my homeland.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One Japanese girls’ magazine before WWII, *Shojo no Tomo*, was republished in 2008 after more than 50 years from its discontinuance of publication. This republication caused an impact because it was done by former readers collecting signatures, and the republished issue was sold much more than the publisher expected. This magazine is regarded as showing a role model for girls. A TV news spot picked up this republication and introduced a former reader saying that the magazine taught her how a woman should live. The image of a role model that the magazine showed is not only for original readers but also for new generations who never read the original issues. The news spot showed that a young woman saying she feels empathy with lively girl image of the magazine. Moreover, in the news spot, a writer’s comment is introduced. She said the strength that the magazine taught girls is needed for us in the present time. Why was this particular magazine was republished? What is the strength that the magazine taught girls? What does it mean for women today to have a role model from a girls’ magazine that was ceased long ago?

*Shojo no Tomo (A friEditor Ef girls)* was first published in 1908 and ceased in 1955. It gained great popularity among girls and lasted almost 50 years. Because of its popularity and long term publication, *Shojo no Tomo* is considered one of the leading girls’ magazines published
before WWII. However, this magazine was not the most circulated magazine at that time. *Shojo Kurabu (Girls Club)* was published in 1923, later than *Shojo no Tomo*, but it overtook *Shojo no Tomo* in its circulation. *Shojo Kurabu* was about 67,000 in the beginning and became 490,000 at its highest in 1937 (Kan 2008:16). *Shojo no Tomo* held the second highest share in publishing.

These two magazines were the only ones that kept publishing while many other girls’ magazines ceased when total war started in 1937 (Imada 2007:14). Despite the fact that the most circulated girls’ magazine, *Shojo Kurabu*, has not been republished, *Shojo no Tomo* is the only one that has been republished among all the girls’ magazines before WWII. Those two magazines are often characterized as rural *Shojo Kurabu* and urbane *Shojo no Tomo*. *Shojo Kurabu* put weight on a story of Risshinshusse\(^1\) (success in life) by people from the countryside, and the stories were moralistic, so it was widely accepted in many places (Kan 2008:16). To compete with *Shojo Kurabu*, *Shojo no Tomo* made its character lyrical and urbane. Then, it targeted jogakusei\(^2\) in Yamanote, Tokyo, or Keihanshin\(^3\), who are comparatively free from conservatism of rural schools (Imada 2000:124). The republished issue of *Shojo no Tomo* explains that this characteristic of *Shojo no Tomo* was established by a chief editor, Uchiyama Motoi. He defined the editorial policy as romanticism, humanism, and exoticism. This editorial policy captured girls’ admiration, and the republished issue regards his time as the most recognized and “the golden age” (Iwano 2009).

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1. Advancement in life. It was encouraged in Japan after the Meiji period with the concept of European democracy. It also led to meritocracy in education.

2. This sounds nostalgic now. It stimulates various images such as, “educated women,” “good wife and wise mother,” “modern,” “romantic,” “shojo shumi (lit. girlish taste),” etc. It mainly indicates girls who enrolled in a girls’ high school under the prewar education system. “Jogakusei” is a future “good wife and wise mother”, who has knowledge of a new era to operate households, a “modern” women who enjoy literature, plays, and music, and a “shojo (girl)” who has romantic sensitivity (Imagaki 2007:4). Jogakusei’s age is 12 to 16, or 17 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, science and Technology Japan).

3. This indicates Kyoto, Osaka, and Kobe. They are big cities in the Kansai area, which is the western part in Japan.
The aim of my thesis is to study memory of *Shojo no Tomo*. Compared to *Shojo Kurabu*, *Shojo no Tomo* does not seem to represent general ideas of girls at that time, but rather, it focused on a certain kind of readers in urban areas. However, the republished issue generalizes such a character and tries to connect almost directly to the role model for women today. In this process, understandings towards the original issues and their time are assumed to be reconstructed. The golden age, that the republished issue explained, is right before and during WWII. Phenomena written in girls’ magazines cannot be irrelevant to wartime. How people remember phenomena during the war could be influenced by the present time. Through studying memory of a girls’ magazine during the war, I aim to discuss how people in the present understand and reconstruct phenomena that must relate to the war, especially around girls and women.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Collective memories of mnemonic communities

Maurice Halbwachs founded the concept of collective memory, in which “individual memories are only understood through a group context such as a family, an organization, a nation, or a social class” (Brekhus 2015:147). Zerubavel (1996) states that “our social environment affects the way we remember the past” and discusses that there should be an “intellectual terrain made up of various remembrance environments lying somewhere between the purely personal and the absolutely universal” though most of the study of memory is done by cognitive psychologists focusing on the individual (p.283-284). Halbwachs’ and Zerubavel’s discussions indicate that human memory is not only a matter of individuals. People remember a past event as a group because their environments, which might be people, organizations, culture, etc., affect how they understand their past. Halbwachs’ collective memory brought the notion of social group into discussion of human memory.

Since the theory of collective memory claimed that memory has to be considered in group contexts, memory is often discussed with recognition of the history of a nation. For example, Teeger and Vinitzky-Seroussi (2007) analyzed the first apartheid museum in South Africa and discuss how people made a consensus about the past tragedy. They pointed out a large degree of
control by the museum. This study shows the role of a memorial museum that constructs national history and makes individuals’ consensus. Saito and Wang (2014) state that “much of the sociological research on collective memory has assumed the nation as a unit of analysis and how people commemorate the past to create national identity” (p.167), then they point out the existence of cosmopolitan commemoration about the history of problems between Japan and South Korea in NGOs. They argue that a cosmopolitan commemoration articulates with nationalist commemoration. Their discussion points out stratification of understanding of national history. The theory of memories deals with how individuals relate to society in terms of understanding and making consensus of a past event.

As Saito and Wang’s research points out, there should be stratification of understanding of history in accordance with groups. Zerubavel (1996) advanced Halbwachs’ idea of collective memory in the context of groups and named it “mnemonic communities.” He explains, “The notion of a collective memory implies a past that is not only commonly shared but also jointly remembered (that is, ‘co-memorated’). By helping ensure that an entire mnemonic community will come to remember its past together, as a group, society affects not only what and who we remember but also when we remember it” (p.294). People remember the past together as a group, and this group is a “mnemonic community.”

Brekhus (2015) points out that “mnemonic community” shares “social sites of memory such as history texts, museums, memorials, ritual displays, and monuments where we identify important parts of the past” (p.159). Zerubavel (1996) gives more specific examples of mnemonic communities such as, “Beatles fans, stamp collectors, or longtime readers of Mad
Magazine” (p.284). Each mnemonic community has a site, which is something or somewhere to stimulate or connect collective memories of its members.

In a mnemonic community, its members not only share understandings of a past event but also form original understandings, which affect members’ memories. May (2000) researched an African American neighborhood tavern in Chicago as a micro mnemonic community and found that patrons, despite their ages, developed a collective memory of racism and discrimination even though some of them did not experience actual negative encounters (p.202). On the other hand, the community worked as a therapeutic place to reduce tension and stress related to interracial interactions in everyday life (p.212-213). This research shows that a mnemonic community develops its original thought and makes its members share its view. Zerubavel (1996) discusses that mnemonic communities hold their own periods of history. He takes America’s “pre-history” as an example to explain that our memory defines the beginning of its community’s history. Though there were Native Americans before Columbus “discovered” America, Americans regard the discovery by Columbus as the start of history (p.287). Members of the community are socialized to share this kind of view, which is mnemonically socialized (p.288). This implies that Native Americans might be differently socialized. Depending on which mnemonic community people belong to, they will have different views of their environment and its history. Through mnemonic socialization, mnemonic community develops its original thought and makes its members acquire its belief.

I am studying women’s memory of their girlhood during WWII and the mnemonic socialization of the republished issue. Halbwachs and Zerubavel brought the notion of social
group into the discussion of memory. This collective memory is often discussed with a nation as a unit. However, there should be stratification of understanding of history in a nation. To discern the specificity of collective memory, a mnemonic community should be considered. In a mnemonic community, members share memories of what, who, and when they remember. This collective memory centers on a social site. People who share the social site can have the collective memory even though they have not actually experience it.

From these understandings of discussion of memory, I will focus on readers of the girls’ magazine *Shojo no Tomo*, which kept publishing during WWII, to understand how women perceived the war, especially girls’ and women’s roles in the context of war and nationalism. Also, I will discuss the republished issue as the site of their memory construction and reconstruction. Although Japan as a nation has its national history of WWII, the expectations towards girls and boys were different during the war. By focusing on readers of a girls’ magazine, I aim to discern more specific understanding towards WWII.

2. *Shojo no Tomo* and its readers

One of the important features of *Shojo no Tomo* is the strong connection among readers. Many researchers indicate that girls created their own networks through the magazine. Imada (2002) mentions Honda’s and Kawamura’s research studies, which pointed out private interactions of readers in the girls’ magazine (p.189) and stated that readers of the magazine first communicated in the readers’ column and formed a wide network over different areas (p.190). This network extended into reality through readers’ gatherings and became an intimate network
Imada calls this network the “shojo network” (p.190). This kind of intimate network is also sustained even without actual meetings. The republished issue introduces the friendship of two readers. They became good friends through the readers’ column, but they only wrote letters to each other through their lives and never met each other even though they live closely (Iwano 2009:273).

This network can be considered as Anderson’s “imagined community.” Anderson (1991) states that “imagined community” came to be established through print capitalism. Print capitalism changed people’s perception of time and space and enabled people to connect to each other in a new way. This new way of connecting to each other is an “imagined community.” Anderson’s imagined community indicates that people share the same culture without interaction in actual community, but on their imagination. Readers of Shojo no Tomo form the “imagined community,” and they shared their own culture in it.

In this imagined community, readers established their identity as “shojo.” “Shojo” (girl) was a new gender identity established through modernization in Japan. Watabe (2007) points out that the establishment of a school system in Meiji era enabled girls to study 4 to 5 years from the age of 12, and the civil law prescribed that girls could not marry until the age of 15. She discusses that this grace period studying in school before girls get married is the period of “shojo” (p.32-33). Watabe argues that this was a policy of the Meiji government for reproduction of soldiers and laborers. It aimed to raise girls to be “ryousaikenbo” (good wife and wise mother), who had enough education to nurture boys who could serve for the nation state (p.33). Watabe further discusses that this policy of girls’ education caused difficulty to maintain the patriarchy. In the
patriarchy, women had to be virgins not to give birth to a child out of marriage, but “shojo,” although they are matured enough to be a mother, could not be controlled by enclosing them in house as it is used to be since they are schooling. Therefore, Watabe points out that the education for girls tried to internalize the norm of chastity (p. 35). As Watabe discussed, “shojo” was generated for the nation state and was required to be chaste for maintaining the patriarchy.

When the image of “shojo” prevailed through magazines, its charm enabled girls to have the positive image of shojo and girls made the image their own identities. Imada (2007) refers to previous research studies by Honda Kazuko and Otsuka Eishi and says that “shojo” was generated through the school system and prevailed through girls’ magazines (p.1). Imada states that “shojo” indicates female children of the new middle class living in urban areas because only such girls could afford school education and girls’ magazines (p.5). According to Imada’s (2007) research, the new middle class was a social class that practiced “home,” which imitated the modern family in the West. In 1910 to 1920, people who were in charge of jobs like public servants, teachers, bank clerks, company employees, professional soldiers, lawyers, doctors appeared because of the expansion of higher education and the change of the Industrial system. Those people were called new middle class while landowners, landed farmers, merchants, and craftsmen were called old middle class (p.6). Those people were wealthy and interested in education. Also, they supported western culture, which began to be prestigious after the Meiji era instead of traditional Japanese culture. “Shojo,” as female children of such people, became a very charming symbol of wealth, western culture, and education. Shojo was the representative of new era. (Imada 2007: 54-55). As time went by, the number of girls who went to school and read
magazines became larger. In 1905, only 5 percent of girls went to koutou jyogakkou⁴ (girls’ high school). The percentage gradually rose from 1910 and it reached almost 15 percent. In 1945, the percentage reached about 25 percent (Inagaki 2007: 6).

About women’s reading habits, Nagamine (2004) points out two different reading habit eras in the Meiji or the beginning of the Taisho era. One was a reading culture of the middle class in urban areas constituted with shokugyo fujin (working women) and jogakusei, and one was a lower culture constituted with factory girls (p.198). These two groups were separated quite well, but this separation became ambiguous in the late Taisho era because of an increase of literacy in the lower class and the popularization of women’s magazines (p.198-202). Therefore, “shojo” was not as prestigious as it was when it first emerged, but the image of “shojo” was still sustained in the girls’ magazines. Especially Shojo no Tomo, targeting jogakusei, middle class school girls who lived in urban areas, is assumed to preserve such an image of “shojo” for readers.

The images created in the magazine had great influence on readers. Benjamin (2010) discusses the power of images to influence people. As Anderson points out that print capitalism changed people’s perception of time and place, Benjamin (2010) suggests that mechanical reproduction changed people’s cognition. Mechanical reproduction made art lose its aura, which connects to the value of existence only here and once, and enabled reproductive products to come close to people and to have a certain actuality to them. Kimura (2010) discusses, based on

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⁴ This was a school that was institutionalized to practice girls’ education corresponding to a junior high school as a result of an act of girls’ high school. This school had a curriculum that taught subjects particular to girls like household or sewing in addition to general education like Japanese, foreign language, history and math. Girls spent 3 to 5 years after they graduated from elementary school (Inagaki 2007: 4).
this statement of Benjamin, that the icon created in the fantasy of *Shufu no Tomo* (*A friend of housewives*)\(^5\) became an ideal for women. This ideal icon for women is not only to admire but also to act in order to become their future selves (p.163). Images created in the magazine in the “age of mechanical reproduction” had a power which readers used to identify themselves.

By reading *Shojo no Tomo*, the imagined community of its readers was formed. In this imagined community, readers identified themselves as “shojo.” “Shojo” was a new gender identity generated through the school system for the nation state to maintain patriarchy. This began to have charm for girls who were in a new middle class as a symbol of a new era. Having a certain image in the imagined community can be understood as a similar cognitive action with having a collective memory in the mnemonic community. Schwartz and Schuman (2005) point out an analogy of the fantasy and the past by building on Radway’s work. Radway (1991) states, “It seems highly probable that in repetitively reading and writing romance, these women are participating in a collectively elaborated female fantasy” (p.97). Then, Schwartz and Schuman (2005) state, “there is some analogy between the present analysis of collective memory, based on what beliefs individuals take from history books and commemorative symbolism, and reader reaction studies, which ask individuals what they get from romance novels and other popular books” (p.97). As romance readers elaborated female fantasy, readers of *Shojo no Tomo* elaborated the image of shojo and acted as if they were shojo in their communication on the magazine. Similar to this, people from collective memory of *Shojo no Tomo* by remembering the past magazine. Unlike Schwartz and Schuman’s statement, however, collective memory of *Shojo no Tomo*.

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\(^5\) It is one of the most read women’s magazines in the same time as Shojo no Tomo.
no Tomo can be more complicated because readers in the present remember their past image elaborated in the magazine. Readers once had a certain image of shojo, but such an image could be understood differently in the present. It is possible that former readers in the present reconstruct the image of shojo in accordance with how they are now. When the time has passed, readers who identified themselves as shojo in their imagined community become adults who identify themselves as former shojo. My focus is readers of Shojo no Tomo who identify themselves as “shojo” when they look back their girlhood. Actually, “shojo” was not the one image. It changed its meaning and became almost opposite image during WWII. A meaning of “shojo” and its transformation will be discussed in the next section.

3. The meaning of “shojo” and its transformation

The characteristics of girls’ magazine can be described by such words as romanticism, sentimentalism or purism. Kawamura (1993) analyzed the readers’ column in Jogakusekai in Taisho 5 (1916) and found that the themes there included feelings of sorrow, pathos and loneliness, and those feelings imply that girls have sensitive, pitiful and pure hearts (p.61). For example, Kawamura picked one girls’ contribution as typical writing. A girl says that she cries as much as she wanted because she feels the air of autumn and remembers a past romantic moment (p.14). This attitude shows her sensitivity and romantic understanding of nature. It also shows her narcissism. Hanamonogatari (Flower tales) exemplifies this narcissistic attitude of readers of girls’ magazines. Hanamonogatari is a series of short stories written by Yoshiya Nobuko. It was originally serialized in the girls’ magazine Shojo Gahou in 1916. This series became popular
among girls and was published as a book several times, in 1920, 1924, 1939, 1949, 1954, and 1977 (Inagaki 2007:71-72). Because of this popularity and influence on following girls’ stories, Hanamonogatari is often considered as representative of girl culture. The world this series of stories depicts is highly sensitive and narcissistic. Readers are immersed in such stories. Dollase (2003) points out the relationship between readers and the stories as follows:

Excessive emotionalism and romanticism dominate this fictional world. For the readers of Hanamonogatari, the ability to sympathize and grieve for characters is essential. Through sadness and sentimentalism, the readers receive a positive interpretation of sophisticated beauty and purity of mind. … In Hanamonogatari, sadness is almost a performative act, characters as well as readers narcissistically find poetic beauty in sadness and enjoy this self image of being tormented with sorrow (p. 729-730).

As readers of Hanamonogatari narcissistically immersed into the romantic stories, the ethos of girl culture or what readers of girls’ magazines expect the magazines to have is this kind of romanticism, sentimentalism or purism.

This ethos of girls’ magazines is what captured girls and characterizes what “shojo” is. As the long term popularity of Hanamonogatari shows, this ethos was a core of “shojo” in later times as well. However, this ethos was transformed because of the war. In Shojo no Tomo, the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi changed the characteristic of “shojo.” He first admired such an ethos of “shojo” but began to criticize it later. As the chief editor, Uchiyama often appeared in the magazine and communicated with readers through the readers’ column. Therefore, he was well known to readers. Imada (2007) points out the uniqueness of the relationship between
editors and readers in girls’ magazines by comparing the one in a boy’s magazine. Readers of *Shojo no Tomo* called the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi “sensei (teacher),” “papa,” or “Motoi oniisama (big brother)” and established intimate but not equal relationships, while readers of boys’ magazine preferred distant but equal relationship with editors (p.147). Imada discusses that such a relationship required a self understanding of being a woman and a child. Uchiyama had much more social power than readers as an adult male, but he was also a guardian who could understand girls. Therefore, to acquire his guardianship, readers had to act childishly and womanly (p.148). Imada (2007) further states that Uchiyama was a guardian of girls, who could protect their purity from dirty adults. She points out discourses of girls being pure against adult being dirty, calculating, and ugly, but Uchiyama was an exception for an adult. He acted as an empathizer to the ethos of “shojo” so that he acquired the position of the guardian of “shojo” (p.159). Readers understood the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi as a guardian of their ethos of “shojo,” but the guardian himself began to criticize the ethos of “shojo.”

According to Imada’s (2007) research, Uchiyama began to denounce the ethos of “shojo” after 1937, when the Japanese-Chinese war started. Imada points out Uchiyama’s responses in readers’ columns, stating that the ethos of “shojo” such as “sweet dream” was inferior level and did not match the time (p.164-165). Instead, he started to show in the magazine that “shojo” should be loyal to the nation, healthy, hard working, and intelligent (p.174-175). This seems to be a betrayal to girls who believed him as a guardian of the ethos of “shojo.” However, Uchiyama was not accused as a betrayer and kept being a guardian of “shojo.” The reason why he could do so is that he showed resistance to restrictions on free speech and gave a different
charm to “shojo” after the change.

First, Uchiyama showed his attitude to resist restriction on the magazine. Imada (2007) points out Uchiyama’s comments that implied pressure from the nation as the reason to change the taste of the magazine (p.168). Also, she points out that Uchiyama put a lot of contributions from readers opposing the change in the magazine. Imada analyzes that Uchiyama put these contributions in the magazine though they could harm the magazine to show his attitude to resist the nation and to show sympathy to readers (p.175-176). Even though Uchiyama showed the resisting attitude, the fact is that he changed the taste of the magazine following what the nation required. *Shojo no Tomo* was awarded Jidou Bunka Sho (Children’s cultural award) in 1941 (Imada 2007: 166). Uchiyama actually changed the magazine, and the change was fundamental of what “shojo” was. This was not welcomed by readers who expected the girls’ magazine to be romantic and sentimental. Although he changed the taste of the magazine, and thus the ethos of “shojo,” he was not accused of a betrayal as a guardian because he showed empathy to readers by being against the war time restrictions.

Then, how was the ethos of “shojo” changed? Imada suggested the new “shojo” image proposed by *Shojo no Tomo* was being loyal to the nation, healthy, hard working, and intelligent. The first three were required by the nation, but the last one, intelligence, seems to be based on Uchiyama’s policy, which relates to the charm of the new “shojo” image as it replaced the old “shojo.” Imada (2007) points out that Uchiyama understood that sentimental “shojo” was criticized because they did not understand things properly (p.171). Therefore, he stated his editorial policy saying that he wanted girls to read more difficult contents that had deeper
meaning even if it might be hard for them (p.175). Uchiyama began to require girls to be intelligent, and he remade the magazine for this. With this intelligence, a new value for “shojo” was added. Imada (2007) says she found contributions to readers’ columns describing readers themselves as “Japanese shojo” (p.177). After the sentimental “shojo” was denied, “Japanese shojo” became a new identity for readers. This new “shojo” seems to be different from the old one or even opposite, but they are both based on the same idea. Imada (2007) argues that both “shojo” and “Japanese shojo” differentiate themselves from adults, and they are both superior to adults. “Shojo” as a pure existence is different from dirty adults, and “Japanese shojo” as “shojo” are aware of being a member of a nation and different from adults who are not (p.186). “Shojo” were substantially superior to adults because they were pure. They did not have to do anything. They only needed to focus on themselves and indulge themselves in romantic dreams. On the other hand, “Japanese shojo” had to be aware of being a member of nation. So, “Japanese shojo” are superior to adults by acquiring “new knowledge”. Imada (2007) points out one of the critiques written in the magazine explains that adults cannot adapt themselves to the new structure for war because they did not acquire “new knowledge” in jyogakkou (girls’ school). Imada’s discussion shows that “Japanese shojo” as a new identity required “shojo” to be intelligent to understand things properly, and such an intelligence was to be acquired through “new knowledge” learnt in jyogakkou.

Then, I will discuss what “proper understanding” of Japanese shojo is. This should depend on the time in history. Readers identify themselves as Japanese so that it relates to how they understand their relationship with other nations. Since Japanese imperialism was dominant
before WWII, it is assumed that the magazine reflected it. Kawamura (1993) pointed out “Japanese Orientalism” seen in women’s magazines, which were issued around the same time as Shojo no Tomo. Discourses written in the magazines tried to identify Japan with the West by looking down on other Asian countries such as Korea or China. Kawamura does not refer to Shojo no Tomo, but it is probable that Shojo no Tomo might have similar tastes. Also, Okada (2013) points out the discourses of idealizing Europe and America in Jogakuzasshi, which is one of the old women’s magazines in Japan. She refers to Carrier’s statement that Occidentalism, primarily used when the western researchers are facing the East, is now applied widely in non-western countries. She then points out that Japanese idealization of the west can be understood as the same version of this Occidentalism (p.21). As those discussions show, it is assumed that Shojo no Tomo comprised the imperialistic idea in its “proper understanding.” In addition, it is assumed that WWII affects readers’ understanding of enemy or allied countries.

As research discussed, the image of “shojo” was transformed in Uchiyama’s editorial time, but it is remembered as if there is a stable image. I question how such an image is constructed and how the constructed image is affected by the present time. In the process of constructing the image, some parts of the shojo image are assumed to be emphasized and some parts that contradict to the images of shojo before and after are ignored. The delicate image of shojo in the beginning is constructed mainly through fictions and creative talking in readers’ columns. Shojo in girls’ magazines were the identity of girls in narcissistic dream. When it became “Japanese shojo,” who acquired intelligence and “proper understanding” of the world, the issues in the real world came to be the matter. For such an intelligence and “proper understanding,” the non-fiction
part of the magazine plays an important role. If the readers of the magazine tried to acquire the knowledge that the magazine suggested, what the magazine instructed in the non-fiction part constructed what the Japanese shojo was.

However, the non-fiction part of the magazine has not been studied systematically. *Shojo no Tomo* is often known for its images and fiction, and it is more influential in the present because of those images and fiction. Nakagawa (2015) points out that *Shojo no Tomo* is valorized by researchers and fans in the present time. Although *Shojo Kurabu* had more circulation, *Shojo no Tomo* is more studied because it had works by famous painters or writers like Nakahara Junichi or Kawabata Yasunari. Because their works were republished or exhibited in museums, *Shojo no Tomo* became well known and is regarded as the representative of girls’ magazine before WWII (p.54). Nakagawa is concerned about such a bias for magazine research because researchers should not mix up the old value and present value, but I regard such a bias as showing what people consider important in the present time when they look back on the past. *Shojo no Tomo* is well recognized because of its images and fictions, but its non-fiction part is rarely remembered. Therefore, I will focus on the non-fiction part to see what exactly is forgotten or what is remembered if it is remembered. Such remembering and forgetting relates to the present time. In the next section, I will discuss collective remembering and forgetting.

4. Collective remembering and collective forgetting

Reflecting its popularity in the present time, *Shojo no Tomo* was republished in 2009 as a

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6 He is one of the most regarded writers in Japanese literature. He was awarded Nobel Prize for Literature in 1968.
special issue celebrating the 100th anniversary of the magazine. It was republished because former fans collected signatures and requested the republication. It was actually the only girls’ magazine that was republished and sold after it ceased publishing; other magazines and the most read magazine, *Shojo Kurabu*, were not. In the editor’s postscript of the republished *Shojo no Tomo*, one of the editorial supervisors writes that it was published to let readers have the essence of the original *Shojo no Tomo* (Iwano 2009:373). Since the republished issue is extracted from the original issues, it can be considered something that claims to represent the collective memory of the mnemonic community of girls who read *Shojo no Tomo*. Therefore, analyzing what the republished issue considers as the essence of the magazine should give us a clue to the collective memory of *Shojo no Tomo*.

The republished issue focuses on a certain time period. According to Imada’s (2000) research, the history of *Shojo no Tomo* can be categorized into five periods before World War II in accordance with the terms of its chief editors. She analyzed what kind of girl’s image *Shojo no Tomo* drew by looking into fictional stories and found girls’ images change in accordance with each time period as following:

1. 1908-1912 (The latter period of Meiji7/ Meiji 41-45): The chief editor was Hoshino Suiri. The major image of girls was ignorant and powerless.

2. 1913-1919 (The preceding term of Taisho/ Taisho 2-8): The chief editor was Hoshino Suiri with the influence of girls’ educator Shimoda Utako. A girl self-sacrificed due to affection for family.

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7 This is the name of an imperial era in Japan. These names are still used today, often to grasp the image of the time. Meiji was 1868 to 1912, Taisho was 1912 to 1926, and Showa was 1926 to 1989. Showa was very long, and the time before the war and after the war are often considered very differently.
3. 1920-1926 (The latter period of Taisho/ Taisho 9-15): The chief editor was Iwashita Shoyo, then Asahara Kyoson. Uchiyama Motoi joined and started to run articles of movies and Takarazuka Shojo Kageki. A girl was torn between herself and her family.

4. 1927-1939 (The early Showa/ Showa 2-14): The chief editors were Iwashita Shoyo and Uchiyama Motoi. A girl rejoiced freedom and self-realization.

5. 1940-1945 (Showa 15-20): The chief editor was Uchiyama Motoi. This time was under the restriction of the war. A girl served the nation actively.

Imada did not analyze after the war, but the image of girls should be expected to be different from any of the above. These images of girls can be assumed to be the result of both social expectations and girls’ dreams. *Shojo no Tomo* depicted different types of girls in its long history; however, in this long history, the republished issue focuses especially on period 4.

The republished issue of *Shojo no Tomo* focuses on a certain time and certain themes. It depicts those things as if it was a representation of the whole period of the magazine. If the magazine works as a mnemonic site and stimulates collective memory for its readers, these foci should have meanings. Also, what is not focused on should also relate to readers’ memories. What is the effect of focusing on certain things and valuing them while ignoring others?

For example, Schwartz (2009) points out “the peculiar apotheosis” of Rosa Parks and discusses it as caused by the limitation of human memory (p.124). When people look back on a past event and remember it, it is impossible to remember every detail. Therefore, it is reasonable to remember only the prominent features. However, Schwartz revealed that focusing on the bus incident of Rosa Parks resulted in excluding her other actions and many other people who
contributed to the Civil Rights movement (p.127). He states, “Collective forgetting refers to what is unregistered in the imagination of individuals, unchronicled in research monographs and textbooks, and/or uncommemorated by monuments, relics, statues, and ritual observances” (p.23).

Collective forgetting is not only a matter of what is remembered or what is forgotten. It is a matter of present perception and can be a political matter. Teeger and Vinitzky-Seroussi (2007) analyzed the apartheid museum in South Africa and indicated that it focuses on Nelson Mandela and his political party, regardless of other contributions (p.68). They argue that this leads to the exclusion of issues that may endanger the ANC’s (African National Congress) positive image (p.70). ANC is the present political party, so it can be problematic if alternative thoughts are excluded, and something included or excluded in the museum can connect to present political issues. Teeger and Vinitzky-Seroussi (2007) state, “forgetting occurs through systematic exclusion, we wish to argue that contemporary dealing with exclusion is more about marginal representation than total exclusion. Potential criticism is preempted. Issues are presented but not explored. They are marginalized spatially or subsumed under other topics. Forgetting is effected through memory” (p.70). Because which fact is included or excluded is decided by what is believed to be right in the present. The facts that support the present belief is emphasized but what is contradicted is to be marginalized. This marginalization is not the total exclusion. It is discussed but discussed less or belittled. Such an act resulted into reconstruction of the past. Studying what is emphasized and marginalized and analyzing why will tell us what we believe in the present.
Zerubavel (1996) discusses that there are numerous “mnemonic battles” fought between and within “mnemonic communities” over the social legacy of the past (p.295). Because people do not always have consensus towards what is remembered and what is not, there are fights about what should be remembered or not. “The most common mnemonic battles are the ones fought over the ‘correct’ way to interpret the past” (Zerubavel 1996: 295). As Schwartz and Schuman (2005) state, the interpretation of the past is always a matter of how people value it in the present day. Therefore, the same historical object sometimes changes its value in accordance with social change. It is often reinterpreted in a later time. For example, Nakar (2003) analyzed the image of Japanese pilots and planes during World War II that emerged in cartoon comics after the war, and revealed that the image was distorted into a boy’s sacrifice feature. He discusses that Japan deliberately forgot the real tragedy of the past and chose to remember only Japanese role as victims. Nakar’s discussion is based on the analysis of magazines. He used the magazine to see how collective memory towards the war in the 1950s and 1960s valued the war time pilots’ images. This value is affected by the values of the 1950s and 1960s. What is mainly depicted in Shojo no Tomo is not about the war, but it was published before and during the war. The contents must be understood in the context of that time. I intend to analyze the original issues of the magazine, which were published during the war, and the republished issue, which extracted the original issues in the present. Comparing them will tell us the view of the WWII in the present.

To find out what is remembered and what is not, I will compare what the magazine actually depicts and what is remembered. Since the republished issue does not include all the articles of the original issue, it introduced what the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi said about his editorial
policy and exemplified it as if that is how the magazine represented itself. However, the magazine succeeded in keeping its publishing during the war by changing its content. This shows that no matter what the editor thought, readers read what the magazine published. The action of a person can be different from what he/she thinks. I will analyze what is written in the magazine besides what the editor says, then compare what the republished issue emphasized and what readers remember.
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Prior studies about *Shojo no Tomo* mainly focus on what “shojo” was and tries to find out the contemporary sense at the time. In addition to this research, I want to focus on the significance that *Shojo no Tomo* was republished. In the process of republishing, some parts should be emphasized and some parts should be marginalized. To study this gap, I will focus on non-fiction part in a certain period, that is especially written about in the republished issue.

From literature review, I assume collective memory of *Shojo no Tomo* as following figure.

Figure 1: Collective memory of *Shojo no Tomo*
Shojo image created in the magazine changed from sentimental shojo to Japanese shojo. This shojo image was superior to adults. Members of the imagined community identified themselves as shojo. When former readers look back their past, they are assumed to identify themselves as former shojo. However, the shojo image that they remember changes even though they share only in Uchiyama’s time. Therefore, it is assumed that a stable image of shojo is created in the republished issue that former readers can identify with. I will study how two different images of shojo became a stable image in the republished issue. The change of shojo image was caused during the war, and the significant change was that Japanese shojo acquired “proper understandings.” To reveal what is remembered and what is forgotten, I will focus on non-fiction part, which suggested “proper understandings.” I set my research questions as the following.

1. How did lessons about girls’ lives, foreign countries, and the war change over time in the non-fiction articles in Shojo no Tomo? How do original readers of the magazine remember these lessons today?

2. How did the 2009 republished issue reconstruct the lessons taught in the original issues? What was remembered and what was forgotten, and why?

By answering these research questions, I aim to study how memories of girlhood during WWII are reconstructed in the present time
CHAPTER 4
METHODS

Since Shojo no Tomo is the only republished girls’ magazine from before WWII, my focus is on how the memory of the old magazine is reconstituted in present time. Therefore, I did content analysis of the original issues to know what is written and content analysis of the republished issue to know what it chose from original issues. Also, I interviewed former readers to identify what they remember about the magazine and how they remember their girlhood during the war. Then, I interviewed editors of the republished issue to investigate their intention to republish the magazine and which aspects of the magazine they focused on and why.

1. Content Analysis

A. Original issues

My aim of collecting original issues of the magazine is to study how and what the original issues actually show. The contents of the magazine can be influenced by various factors. Editors might have their editorial policy to create the magazine, but they also had to think of what captured readers’ attention or what readers’ parents might think. Relationships with writers or painters could affect the contents. The governmental policy at that time could have been a great influence as well. Such factors all affect the contents of the magazine. Also, when readers read
the contents, interpretation should occur. The contents are not always understood as the editors, writers or painters intended. In this research, I am focusing on the interpretation of readers. Since the editors were familiar to readers of the magazine, readers interpreted not only what the magazine showed but also what the editors intended when they remember the magazine. To clarify how and what readers interpreted, and what readers remembered or forgot, I will analyze the original issue by content analysis.

My data collection, therefore, focuses on the time period when former readers remember reading the magazine and what the republished issue puts weight on. Although there are a certain time differences in accordance with ages of former readers, the republished issue’s focus is the time it calls “the golden age,” when the chief editors Uchiyama Motoi and Nakahara Junichi, as a cover page painter, worked together from 1935 to 1940. To study the characteristics of the magazine in this time, I focused on before and after this golden age as well. According to Imada’s (2000) research, the history of Shojo no Tomo can be categorized into five periods before World War II in accordance with the terms of its chief editors. She analyzed what kind of girl’s image Shojo no Tomo drew by looking into fictional stories in it and found that girls’ images changed in accordance with each time period. She categorizes 1927 to 1939, edited by Iwashita Shoyo and Uchiyama Motoi, and states that the girl’s image rejoiced in freedom and self-realization. Then Imada categorizes 1940 to 1945, edited by Uchiyama Motoi, and states that this time was under the restriction of the war with an image of a girl serving the nation actively. It is assumed that Uchiyama Motoi took over the editorial policy from Iwashita Shoyo in the beginning, then he established his editorial policy and changed it in accordance with the war
situation.

Therefore, I tried to collect many articles from 1927 to 1945. I went to the Center for International Children’s Literature at Osaka, Japan, and copied articles of the original issues. The center has the most completed collection of the magazine in Japan, but there are lacks of collection especially from 1927 to 1933. So, I cut off the issues before 1933. Table 1 shows the original issues I could actually access.

Table 1: Issues Available

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>S8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>S10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>S11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>S12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>S13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>S14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>S15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>S16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>S17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>S18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>S19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>S20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although I cannot analyze the beginning of Uchiyama’s time, I assume that 1927 to 1939 issues have similar characteristics based on Imada’s research. I will focus more on the change after 1939 when the war got more serious. For this focus, my data should be enough. I have all the table of contents of the issues shown in Table 1. Based on this table of contents, I checked which articles to analyze.

In each table of contents, the order of titles of articles is not in accordance with the page numbers, and some titles are highlighted. Table of contents in Shojo no Tomo looks like Figure 2. In Japanese magazines, letters are written top to bottom and right to left.
Figure 2: Table of Contents in *Shojo no Tomo*

a) 1934 to February 1943

b) March 1943 to February 1945

c) April 1945 to May 1945
From 1934 to February 1943, a table of contents looks like a). There are black highlights and white highlights. Exceptionally, there are black and white highlights as well. There is certain pattern to what kind of articles are listed in each place from 1 to 3. Images, like pictures and photos, are mainly listed in place 1; fiction, like novels, poems, or comics, is listed in place 2; and non-fiction is listed in place 3. This figure changes from March 1943 and April 1945, shown in b) and c). Although the figure changes, b) still shows the same tendency that can be seen in a). When the figure changes to c), the tendency is seen no more. Following this figure, I listed all the highlighted articles from the tables of contents to analyze what kind of articles are highlighted. Analyzing the kind of highlighted articles should show the editorial emphasis.

In addition to the highlighted articles, I focused on place 3, the non-fiction part and added all the articles to my list. Places 1 and 2, photos, pictures and fiction, are the main parts of the magazine. Those were the parts that attracted readers and created the image of the magazine, but they could be interpreted in various ways. Non-fiction should show a clear idea of what the magazine intended to suggest to readers. I ignored the articles written in smaller letters in place 3 to focus on the main articles.

My first coding is by the type of articles, as shown in Table 2.
Table 2: Type of articles and their definitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of an article</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>images</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>photos/pics</td>
<td>photos of someone or drawings by artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cover page</td>
<td>articles written in cover pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>novel/poem</td>
<td>fiction stories or poems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comics</td>
<td>fiction stories with pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>story</td>
<td>short fiction stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conte</td>
<td>funny short stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caricature</td>
<td>funny fiction/true stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-fiction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lecture</td>
<td>articles that teach or explain something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about a girl/woman</td>
<td>articles that focus on a girl or a woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practical</td>
<td>articles about handicraft, beauty, cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report</td>
<td>articles that report about places or issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>essay/poetic writing</td>
<td>essays or poetic writing about places or issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round-table talk</td>
<td>discussions about topics by several people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introducing school</td>
<td>information about schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book review</td>
<td>information about books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takarazuka</td>
<td>topics about actresses in all girls’ theater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about a boy/man</td>
<td>articles that focus on a boy or a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interview</td>
<td>interview to a person about a topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from nation/army</td>
<td>instruction or information from nation or army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>readers’ column</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomo chan club</td>
<td>contribution from readers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>announcement</td>
<td>announcement about coming articles or prizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supplement</td>
<td>small gifts coming with the magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>survey</td>
<td>surveys about topics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By coding this way, I categorized all highlighted articles and articles from place 3 on the table of contents as images, fiction, non-fiction, and others. This coding is applied to all the articles listed from the table of contents. Since the table of contents should show the editorial emphasis, I expect to see what kind of articles are emphasized in the table of contents.

My second coding is by theme as follows.
Table 3: Themes and Definition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girls’ life</td>
<td>articles that discusses girls’/women’s work/job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>articles that discuss school or schoolgirl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Schoolgirl</td>
<td>articles about fashion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>articles that discuss friendship between girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>articles that discuss girls’ or women’s family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>articles that discuss how girls’ behave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign countries</td>
<td>articles about Christian people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>articles that discuss Europe or America, or use a word seiyou (west)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West/Euro America</td>
<td>articles that discuss countries in Asia or use a word touyou (east)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East/Asia</td>
<td>articles that discuss domestic wartime crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism/War</td>
<td>articles that discuss wartime crisis outside Japan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I mainly coded as girls’ life, foreign countries, and nationalism/war, and each section has subcategories of coding. This coding is applied to articles I collected. So, this coding deals with the contents of each article. I coded by these themes to find out what themes are emphasized during Uchiyama’s editorial time. In the republished issue, his time is said to put emphasis on girls’ independence, and Uchiyama tried to be anti-war. My first category is girls’ life. In this category, I coded jobs, school, fashion, friendship, family and behavior, which were the themes discussed in relation to girls’ life. I will see which themes appeared more often. Jobs or school are expected to appear more to facilitate girls’ independence. Also, how the portion of those themes changes in accordance with years will be discussed. My next coding is foreign countries. The literature review shows that Uchiyama tried to suggest to readers a “proper way of understanding” the world. Therefore, I coded foreign countries as Christianity, West/Euro America, East/Asia to see whether there are any tendencies of depiction to these foreign countries. Third, my coding is War or Nationalism. Since Uchiyama’s time is influenced by the war, articles in his time should show
this theme. By coding this theme, I will analyze how such themes change in accordance with time and will see what is written in the articles with such themes.

B. Republished issue

_Shoko no Tomo_ is the only girls’ magazine before the WWII that has been republished today. According to the Society for the Publishing and Editing, this republished issue sold more than 30,000 circulations, which is regarded as pretty well done. Because this republished issue was realized by the movement of former readers, publishing companies think about the connection between magazines and readers (Aoi 2009). A local news spared a 10 minute spot for this republishing of _Shojo no Tomo_ (NHK). The significance of this republished issue is that it was realized by the movement of former readers, and it sold more than the publisher expected. Therefore, the media introduced the magazine as the representation of a Japanese girls’ magazine at that time. Since it was done by former readers, it should reflect what they remember about the magazine. It also reconstructs the original issues in accordance with what the prospective readers expect. I will analyze this republished issue in terms of what it emphasizes and how it reconstructs the original issues. For this analysis, I will use the same coding scheme as for the original issues.

2. Interview

A. Readers of original issues

I collected my interviewees by asking Japanese students of Ole Miss or my acquaintances in
Japan if they have grandmothers who know about *Shojo no Tomo*. I got 6 people. All of my interviewees said that they knew and had experience reading the magazine before I interviewed them. However, one of them totally confined it up with other magazines and did not remember anything. Therefore, I analyzed interviews of 5 people. Their memories about the magazine vary depending on their ages or situations, but they at least identify *Shojo no Tomo*. The details of my interviewees are as follows.

Table 4: Information of interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year of birth</th>
<th>Place lived in girlhood</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.Y</td>
<td>1921 (T10)</td>
<td>Osaka (urban area)</td>
<td>Jogakkou (girls school), teachers college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.S</td>
<td>1921 (T10)</td>
<td>Amagasaki (urban area)</td>
<td>Jogakkou (girls school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.M</td>
<td>1927 (S2)</td>
<td>Awaji shima (island)</td>
<td>Jogakkou (girls school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.F</td>
<td>1936 (S11)</td>
<td>Nagasaki (rural area)</td>
<td>A dressmaking school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.T</td>
<td>1939 (S14)</td>
<td>Kagawa (rural area)</td>
<td>Not sure. Not Jogakkou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows the expected time period in which they read the magazine and comparison with the golden age of the magazine and the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi’s editorial time.

Table 5: The expected time for interviewees to read the magazine and the golden age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>S6</th>
<th>S7</th>
<th>S8</th>
<th>S9</th>
<th>S10</th>
<th>S11</th>
<th>S12</th>
<th>S13</th>
<th>S14</th>
<th>S15</th>
<th>S16</th>
<th>S17</th>
<th>S18</th>
<th>S19</th>
<th>S20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>1932</td>
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<td>1933</td>
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<td>1934</td>
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<td>1936</td>
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<td>1937</td>
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<td>1938</td>
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<td>1939</td>
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<td>1940</td>
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<td>1941</td>
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<td>1942</td>
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<tr>
<td>1943</td>
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<tr>
<td>1944</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Uchiyama Motoi’s (schoolgirl) age: 12–16

*Uchiyama Motoi entered a company of Shojo no Tomo (Jitsugyôsha) in 1928, and became the chief editor in June 1931. He left the magazine in September 1945.

*Nakahara Junichi started to draw pictures in June 1932, and draw cover pages from 1935 to 1940. His last cover page was in June 1940.

*T.F and T.T became schoolgirls after WWII.
interviewed them individually for around one to two hours. All interviews were conducted during the summer in 2016 in each interviewee’s house. I had interview questions to follow but tried to let interviewees talk freely as they remember their past and how they connect things. I recorded all the interviews and transcribed later. I.Y could not speak so she replied to me by writing. Also, her granddaughter helped us communicate. I interviewed her about the impression of the magazine as well. T.T was introduced by T.F after I interviewed T.F. Therefore, I interviewed T.T and T.F together in the second meeting.

B. Editors of republished issue

I also interviewed three editors of the republished issue. First, I contacted the publisher, and Editor F replied to me. She is an editor of the publisher of *Shojo no Tomo*. She is now editing novels. She never read *Shojo no Tomo* before she started editing the republished issue and did not know about it either. She is in charge of editing the republished issue as a person who works for the publisher. She introduced me to two other editors, Editor E and Editor U. They are editorial supervisors, but they are the ones who planned the republishing and brought the plan to the publisher. Editor E is a writer, and she was a big fan of the original issue. Actually she is the only one who read the original issue in her girlhood, among the editors of the republished issue. She has researched the magazine for a long time, and the republished issue depends heavily on her memory and opinions. Editor U is a curator. Although she is not old enough to know the time that the original issues were published, she planned exhibitions about *Shojo no Tomo* and kept contact with former readers. She is the main person who planned the republished issue.
1. What the original issues show and how are they remembered?

A. Content analysis of original issues

In this chapter, I will analyze original issues of the magazine to show what and how they actually suggested. First, I will show the results of the content analysis of the tables of contents to show how the nonfiction parts relate to the others, then I will show trends of favored themes over time. In the end, I will show what the non-fiction articles emphasized, based on my coding of the non-fiction articles I collected.

a. Overview of Uchiyama’s editorial time by analysis of highlighted articles

In the beginning, I analyzed the overview of Uchiyama’s editorial time including the golden age through articles with highlights. Shojo no Tomo is often referred to for its pictures or fictions because there are painters or writers who became famous in present time. The non-fiction parts, on the other hand, are not much referred to though famous writers sometimes wrote them. Articles with highlights are assumed to be selected as hot topics. They might be a new series, a popular topic, or a current topic. Editors might intend to get attention from readers to sell the magazine or show what they think important for readers. It is hard to distinguish those intentions.
of editors, but at least, highlights show what the magazine emphasizes and how the magazine tried to appeal to readers. By analyzing highlighted articles, I try to find what was emphasized to readers.

The following table shows how many articles there are of each type during Uchiyama’s time.

Table 6: Numbers of highlighted and not highlighted articles by type of article

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of an article</th>
<th>BWH</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>WH</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>images</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>photos/pics</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cover page</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>novel/poem</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comics</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>story</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conte</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caricature</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-fiction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lecture</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about a girl/woman</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>essay/poetic writing</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round-table talk</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introducing school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book review</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takarazuke</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about a boy/man</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interview</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from nation/army</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>readers’ column</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomo chan club</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>announcement</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supplement</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>survey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>1054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1054</td>
<td>1054</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the images and fiction parts are well known, this table shows that highlighted non-fiction has the highest number. The number of articles of all highlighted non-fiction is 570, which is the most. Fiction, at 230, follows it, and the next is images, at 118. This means that the magazine
tried to emphasize non-fiction articles more than other parts in tables of contents despite the popularity of fiction or images. Also, it might be possible that images were strong enough not to be highlighted and series of novels were already well known. Yet, what is most highlighted was non-fiction.

The table shows “lecture” articles have the highest number. “Lecture” is coded to articles that have intention to teach something to readers. They teach not only knowledge but also how readers should think or behave or how to understand what was going on in the world. The high number of “lecture” articles shows that the magazine puts emphasis on teaching something to readers. Articles “about a girl/woman” have the second highest number. These articles focus on a girl or a woman. It is reasonable for girls’ magazines to have such articles since readers are assumed to be interested in other girls as representatives or admiration and other women as their models. The magazine seems to actively show models of readers. Another significant number is “supplement.” Its number follows “photos/pics,” “novels/poems,” and “report”. “Supplement” is small gifts that come with the magazine. Highlighting supplement does not introduce the contents, so it implies capturing the readers’ attention. From the relatively high number of “supplement,” we can notice the intention of using a technique other than contents to sell the magazine. The data of highlighted articles shows the magazine emphasizes the teaching aspects, suggests models of readers, and implies commercial efforts. This can be considered the intention of editors, which was conveyed to readers.

The emphasis on non-fiction shows clearer tendency over the years. The following graph shows the change of the percentage of images, fiction, and non-fiction in each year.
In 1934, the beginning of Uchiyama’s time when he succeeded the previous editorial policy, the percentages of four were similar, though non-fiction was the highest. As time goes by, the percentage of non-fiction goes higher and higher. This implies the influence of the war. Because of the war, it is assumed that fiction was restricted so that non-fiction replaced it. However, the data shows that the percentage of non-fiction began to get higher and higher during the golden age (1935-1940). In 1937, the middle of the golden age, the highest percentage was occupied by fiction. This is the only year that fiction exceeded non-fiction, and previous years shows similar percentages. Although the percentages are similar, the fact that fiction had a higher percentage in only one year actually suggests that nonfiction was more of an overall emphasis. In the latter half
of the golden age, the percentage of non-fiction goes up as fiction goes down. This shows that the tendency to put emphasize on non-fiction had already begun during the golden age. This can be understood as both the change of editorial policy and the influence of the war. In addition, the percentages of others, supplements and announcements, show relatively higher percentages during the golden age. This shows that the golden age spared the space in tables of contents for emphasizing supplements and announcements, which are irrelevant to the contents but might inspire readers to buy the magazine. This kind of supplements must have become impossible because of the wartime shortage of materials or restriction. If others mean commercial aspect, fiction can be considered as a romantic or imaginary aspect of the magazine. Both were essential to establish the golden age. When those two aspects did not work well, the magazine seemed to change its character to more emphasis on non-fiction part, which can mean education aspect. The percentage of images shows a little odd feature. It drops during the golden age and shows the lowest percentage in the middle of it. Thinking about the fact that readers remember images the best during the golden age, the graph shows the opposite tendency. Although images had strong power to make readers impressed, the data shows that they were not emphasized in the tables of contents. Overall, the highlighted articles during Uchiyama’s time show the tendency of emphasizing nonfiction articles the most, and this tendency began during the middle of the golden age. This implies that the magazine changed its character during the golden age. The magazine strengthened its educational aspect as imaginary and commercial aspects were weakened.
b. Overview of Uchiyama’s editorial time by analysis of themes

Secondly, I studied what kinds of themes were favored in accordance with years. I analyzed non-fiction articles that I collected as follows.

Table 7: Collected non-fiction articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of an Article</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>WH</th>
<th>BWH</th>
<th>Place 3 without HL</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lecture</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about a girl/woman</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practical</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>report</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>essay/poetic writing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round-table talk</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>introducing school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book review</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takarazuka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about a boy/man</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interview</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from nation/army</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>214</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I categorized themes as girls life, foreign country, and nationalism and war. First, I looked at how the percentage of themes in each category changes over the time.

The following graph shows the percentage of each theme over years in girls’ life.
Figure 4: The percentage of themes in each year in girls’ life

This graph shows school is the most emphasized theme in most of the years. This is reasonable because this magazine targeted schoolgirls. Readers must have been interested in school lives, and editors knew about it. Therefore, the percentage of school shows the highest in the early year, 1934. It is assumed that the magazine put emphasis on school theme. However, it shows lower percentage from 1936 to 1940, the golden age. Except that of 1941 shows the high percentage, this school theme does not show as high a percentage as at the very beginning. This indicates that the school theme became less emphasized though it still kept a high percentage. During the chief editor Uchiyama’s time, the emphasis on the school theme succeeded in the beginning, but it was lowered during the golden age. Instead of the school theme, fashion was emphasized slightly more during the golden age. This is because of Nakahara Junichi’s articles
about fashion. He wrote fashion articles, and it became very popular at that time. Although he left the magazine in 1940, the graph still shows a higher percentage of fashion in 1941, but it dropped after. The reason it dropped can be understood as either or both because it lost popularity after Nakahara left or/and because of the war. The fashion theme can be considered as one of the features of the golden age. The next prominent theme is jobs, which raises dramatically after 1942. In 1944, the percentage of job overcomes the percentage of school. This graph shows that job as a main theme is more emphasized as the war got more serious. Compared to school or jobs, behavior is not much emphasized. Although this theme can be talked about as a sub theme, it did not become a main theme.

Among themes in girls’ life, the magazine emphasizes school, fashion, and jobs as main themes. From this emphasis, it is assumed that the magazine, at least in the main themes, did not encourage readers be submissive. It seems that the magazine suggested readers to be educated, independent, and fashionable, especially during the golden age. The tendency changes over years. In the very beginning, when chief editor Uchiyama still succeeded the previous editorial policy, school is most emphasized. Yet, the school theme became lesser during the golden age. This implicates that the magazine changes its taste a little from the previous time. Also, when the war got worse, the theme of jobs increased. Therefore, in the category of girls’ life, the magazine shows different feature before, during, and after the golden age.

Next, themes in the category of foreign countries are discussed. The following graph shows the percentages of themes of foreign countries in each year.
Figure 5: The percentage of themes in each year in foreign countries

The graph shows that the most favored theme is about western countries or cultures. This kept high percentage especially during the golden age. In the early years, the theme about western countries was not very emphasized. After 1935, the percentage rises dramatically. Then, after 1941, it dropped as to the percentage of the beginning. This change is assumed due to the wartime influence. It could be dangerous at the time to talk about this theme. The high percentage recorded in 1945 is due to the war. The articles that are coded as West in 1945 are all about the U.S.A as a country that Japan was fighting against. It is assumed that there were no other ways to discuss foreign countries at that time. No articles have the theme of the East or Christianity. Compared to themes about the West, the East is talked much less. In the early years of the golden age, in 1936 or 1937, this theme is not mentioned much. Yet, as time goes by, the
themes of eastern countries or cultures gradually rises. After 1937, the percentage of this theme rises and stays similar after. Then, in 1942, the theme of the East overcomes the theme of the West. This change might be relevant to the Japanese – Chinese War that occurred in 1937. After this incident, attention to the east countries, especially to China, should have been raised. In addition, the theme about Christianity went up slightly during the golden age. This theme is only talked about in the golden age. Overall, themes about foreign countries were high during the golden age, so this can be considered a characteristic of the golden age. In the early years of golden age, the West is much more talked in the magazine than the East. The East was not emphasized much, but it gradually became higher in the latter years of the golden age. Then, after the golden age, when the war got worse, the percentage of the East theme overcomes the west. After all, both themes dropped, except the U.S. is discussed as the country to fight against.

Third, I studied themes in the category of nationalism and war. The following graph shows the percentage of themes in the category of nationalism and the war in each year.
Figure 6: The percentage of themes in each year in nationalism and war

Japanese arts and artists is most prominent in this graph. This coding is not only Japanese traditional arts but also includes Japanese artists who are engaged in western art. This graph shows that arts and artists were very much favored, especially during the golden age. Until 1941, this theme is exceeded by others. After that year, the percentage decreases. It is assumed that arts were not a suitable topic during the war. Instead, the theme of Japanese increases. This theme is about Japan or Japanese except Japanese artists. For example, it includes articles about beautiful places in Japan, Japanese people in history, Japanese tradition, or love for Japanese nation, etc. It increases as the theme of Japanese arts decreases. It is assumed that this theme of Japanese replaces some part of Japanese arts after the arts became unsuitable for the time. This graph shows that Uchiyama’s time put emphasis on pretty much Japanese arts or Japanese. The theme of war experience increases as the years went by. It is natural that this theme increases as the war
got worse. However, this theme already increased dramatically after 1937. Again, 1937 is the year when the Japanese-Chinese war started. It is assumed that the theme of war experience was paid attention to from that time. Compared to this war experience, the national crisis theme does not increase much during the golden age, and it got higher dramatically after 1941. In that year, the Pacific War began, so people had to change their lives for the war. This dramatic rise of the theme of national crisis should correspond to that change. While the theme of national crisis was not so focused until 1941, war experience kept a certain percentage during the golden age. Such articles can be considered as a part of letting readers to know what is going on in the world.

c. Further analysis on articles of “lecture” and “about a girl”

Analysis of highlighted articles shows that non-fiction articles were more emphasized, and that emphasis even rose as the year goes by. Analysis of each theme shows that there are certain tendencies of favored non-fiction articles in each time, before, during and after the golden age. This corresponds to the war time situation. In this section, I will do further analysis on “lecture” articles and “about a girl” articles. Among the highlighted articles, “lecture” articles and articles “about a girl/woman” have the highest and the second highest number by types of articles. Therefore, I focused on those two types of articles for further analysis. “Lecture” is the type of article that intends to teach something to readers. Although other non-fiction articles also teach readers about topics, the “lecture” articles should explicitly suggest what kind of knowledge the magazine provides to readers. The articles “about a girl/woman” should suggest models of readers that the magazine provides. The other non-fiction articles should also tell readers how
girls should behave or think, but articles “about a girl/woman” directly show them models.

The following table shows the number of themes by the type of articles.

Table 8: Themes by the type of articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of articles</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lecture</td>
<td></td>
<td>about a girl/woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls’ life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Schoolgirl</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign countries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West/EuroAme</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East/Asia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationalism/War</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JapaneseArts/Artists</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NationalCrisis</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WarExperience</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to themes in girls’ life, foreign countries, and nationalism/war, I added “world” and “science” as other. Those two themes often appeared when I coded. “World” is a theme that mentions foreign countries, but I coded it to articles that especially use the word “sekai” (world). This word means outside of Japan, but it also indicates world surrounding people. Science is a theme that I did not intend to code in the beginning, but it often appears. It especially appears often in lecture articles. The most favored themes in lecture articles is Japanese art/artist, then school and west follow. The theme school is coded to articles for schoolgirls as well, so it functions as framework. So, besides the school theme, the most favored themes in lecture articles
are Japanese art/artist, west, and Japanese. This shows that the magazine put weight on those themes as knowledge to teach to readers. In this section, I analyze articles coded as “world.” Although I did not code these articles as Japanese or west, this includes theses themes. I will see how the lecture articles actually discussed about the world. The most articles I coded as “world” and analyzed are the series of articles titled “sekaino me to mimi” (eyes and ears of the world). This series continued from November 1933 to December 1937. So, analyzing this series shows a tendency in the early part of the golden age. Besides this series, I coded “world” to some articles that discuss world issues too.

As the other lecture articles talk about Japanese art/artist the most, articles coded as world also mention that theme often. This theme relates to other favored themes, west and Japanese in a certain way. An article in October 1935 states the relationship between art, economics and politics as following.

Commodities of our country are now becoming stronger in the world market. … Merchants in every other country tried to eliminate Japanese commodities. This also linked to ethnic problems, elimination of colored race, and there were anti-Japanese movements everywhere now. … However, in the last fall, (in South Africa), The International Art Exhibition was held … then, fever for Japanese culture rose … The atmosphere of Japanophile has expanded and eight of South Africa’s cultural organizations asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to have cultural cooperation. … This was joyful news as if the sky in South Africa becomes brighter. (p.109)

This article analyses the economic growth of Japan and conflicts caused by it, then discusses that
art has the possibility to reconstruct the harsh relationship between nations. This article shows that art overcomes the other problems. As the graph shows the highest point in Japanese art/artist, the magazine put emphasis on art. Then, the art is considered to be as important as politics or economics, or even more important; or at least, art is not separated from politics and economics.

Art is also discussed as to show Japanese value in the world. For example, the following article in August 1936 is proud of a Japanese poem being translated into English.

A collection of poems by Ishikawa Takuboku, *A Handful of Sand*, is going to be translated into English and be published in the USA. And the translator is a woman, our sister, Sakanishi Siho. … We are familiar with poems by famous British and American poets since we have to remember in our English class, but do girls in foreign countries know even one Japanese poet? Don’t you want them to understand beauty with deep feelings and thoughts expressed in 31 letters in tanka, a traditional form of verse? … You should not think that it is too difficult to translate Japanese tanka. There must be something to appeal to westerners. Ms. Sakanishi planed really good work. … Please try to do something as excellent as this work and raise the name of cultivated Japan in the world when you grow older.

This article shows hegemony of western art in Japan, but it also shows rivalry to it. As the high numbers of the theme west in Table 1 show, interests in western art or culture were high in the magazine and they were considered to be knowledge that girls need to acquire. At the same time, love for Japanese art is emphasized to be against western art. This statement should inspire readers’ consciousness as Japanese. Moreover, this article encourages girls to take part in this
kind of work, which is to promote Japanese art to the world. From this article, the intention of the magazine to encourage girls to have knowledge about the art and the west, and to stimulate the consciousness as Japanese can be read.

Women’s jobs are often introduced in the magazine. For example, a female mayor in England who used to work in a tobacco factory is introduced in an article on January in 1937. It says that it is not unusual in foreign countries to have female mayors because of women’s suffrage although there had been no female mayor in Japan yet. This article indicates the progress in the west compare to Japan in women’s status. Another article on November in 1936 states that girls’ education should be done by women. It argues against there are almost all male teachers in public girls’ school except teachers of cooking and sewing. Then it calls readers to remember this statement if they become principals years later. This article claims the women’s equal rights to educational position, but it also emphasizes the women’s sphere. Another article on August in 1937 cerebrates a job that only women can do. It introduces a doctor who works in east Africa. Her job is special because it is taboo for women to see male doctors. This article states that it is boring for women to just get new jobs like pharmacist or doctor, which are considered the men’s sphere, but it is so happy for women to participate in a special job that only women can do. As these articles show, the magazine emphasizes the women’s sphere. This emphasis encourages readers to think about women’s work or rights, but it can lead to the discussion whether a certain work is suitable for women or not. An article from March 1934 introduces women’s participation in public affairs in the US. One of them is about a woman who contributed in abrogation of a prohibition law. The article wonders whether this is the most
suitable work for women. Although this is one of women’s jobs introduced in this article and various works such as artists, scientists, or an aerial navigators, this wondering indicates suitable sphere of work for women.

Besides those progressive discussions in that series of articles labeled “Sekai no Me to Mimi” (Eyes and Ears of the World), an article written by a principal of a girls’ school on February 1934, “Nihon Fujin no Bitoku to Ketten” (virtues and weaknesses of Japanese women) discusses the virtues of Japanese women. It starts the discussion stating that loyalty of Japanese people impresses the world and that is what made the nation become the only big power in the East to cope with the world. Then, the article continues to discuss what the virtues of Japanese women are. Virtues of Japanese women praised by western eyes are gentleness, goodness, chastity, spirit of sacrifice, and cheerfulness. Because of such characteristics, the article states that Japanese women can make warm and happy families by serving their parents, husbands, and children. Also, they can sacrifice themselves for the nation in a national emergency. Such a statement of the article seems to be the opposite from claiming women’s rights that are emphasized in the other articles. Since this article is written by school principal, it is possible to say that this is only the opinion of that person. However, praising Japanese and emphasizing women’s sphere of work are shared in both discussions.

When the war time topic is discussed, emphasis on Japanese is strongly mentioned. An article by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, “Sintaisei to Jyogakusei Seikatu” (The New System and a Life of Schoolgirl), is carried in the magazine in January 1941. It explains why Japan has to start the war in terms of the relationship with another countries and how schoolgirls
After the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, Japan showed its power to the world. Britain and the USA, who had helped Japan, had different understandings. They admitted that the colored could be such excellent people and a nation. Then, the WWI occurred. … After the WWI, victor nations, Britain, the USA, and France, have not considered others and got all the world wealth only for them. This old system is the one that Japan, Germany and Italy try to break. … Today, Japan is not an island in the end of far east Asia. After the Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War, Japan becomes Japan of the world. … Girls, you are not studying only for yourself. You have to be aware that you are studying to make Japanese nation prosper more and to make Japan, that our ancestors devoted all their energy to for two thousand and six hundred years, more powerful.

This article states that Japan became a powerful enough nation to be acknowledged as worldly and enough to compete among western nations. This article calls Japanese themselves colored race and stimulates pride as Japanese. Then, it encourages girls to have consciousness as Japanese and work for the nation. Again, since this is an article written by the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, it can be considered not to be what the magazine wants to express. Yet, the magazine put this article on as a lecture article. Also, stimulating nationalism is similar logic that is used in other lecture articles I analyzed. Inspiring Japaneseeness is seen pretty strongly during the golden age.

Next, I analyzed articles about a girl/woman. Table 1 shows that the most favored theme in these articles is job. It indicates that a girl or a women is talked what they work for the most.
Then, school or schoolgirl follows, but this is also a framework since this magazine targeted schoolgirls. The third one is Japanese art or artist. As the whole non-fiction articles had this theme the most, this theme occupies the center of interest of the magazine. The high number in articles about a girl or a women indicates that Japanese artists are portrayed as models for readers as specific examples. Besides these models, the articles coded as job shows different works for readers. In these 48 articles, only 2 articles are also coded as Japanese art or artist. Instead, themes of war experience or national crisis show high number. Among articles themed by job, 22 articles are also coded as either war experience or national crisis. This shows that girls’ or women’s portray of working is highly related to the wartime. These articles express how wartime logic of nationalism and work of women’s sphere is practiced in a specific example.

In 22 articles about girls or women related to the war, a portrayed woman or girl is either a nurse working in the army or a schoolgirl working as a volunteer labor or a labor services. Therefore, they are portrayed as to dedicate themselves willingly for the war. For example, an article on August in 1938, “Kizutukeru Ai no Te” (A Wounded Hand of Love), writes an experience of a nurse. She says as follows.

It goes without saying that Japanese women’s mission is to strengthen “jyuugo no mamori (home-front defence) and keep home. It is also very helpful of women to nurse and take care of brave soldiers who got wounded in the war front.

Her words clearly shows what women’s job is during the wartime. Then, she talks about soldiers’ letters she wrote for them.

All the letters wrote to encourage their family or friends instead of themselves. They taught
me beautiful heart of Japan. I cried secretly in my bed at night moved by them.

She came back to Tokyo from the front line and says as following.

The atmosphere in Tokyo is too peaceful. I always think that this peace is kept because of the brave soldiers who are fighting in front line. I cannot thank them enough. And, I feel joy that I was born in Japan.

This article concludes her story by saying that she is now working in an army hospital and dedicates herself with gentle heart. This is a touching story and it should encourage girls to work as specialists. Yet, it also stimulates romantic way of understanding the war and nationalism as Japanese. Also, this article indicates that women should be in charge of women’s sphere of work. It is helping men either they are at home or at work with “gentle heart” and with their “hand of love”. This article also had a picture with. It is a picture of a woman written in the article. She wears her nursing uniform smiling gently and holding Shajo no Tomo. This implies that she was reading the magazine as other readers, so it is assumed that the article and the image of a woman in it had strong impression to readers as a model.

The women’s sphere of work is also discussed in relation to other countries. An article on May in 1939, “Ikeru Kumotsu (A Living Sacrifice),” talks about a woman who works at school in China for Chinese children. In the article, her brother tells her the following.

Now, China needs fine Japanese woman. … Women in China now only hate Japan. Fine Japanese women must enter China to let them know the truth of Japan and make them like Japan.

To meet his expectation, the woman in the article decides to go to China. She says the following.
The war is not only for men, and I cannot think that we can stay home because we are women letting men suffer in the battle fields. It is women’s role to save people in a destroyed land after Japanese army.

In this article, women’s role in the war is discussed again. At the time in 1939, the Japanese-Chinese war had already started, and the Japanese army invaded China. Women’s role here is considered to be establishing relationship with Chinese people after the invasion. This article implies justification of invasion as well as stating women’s sphere of work. Articles about a woman or a girl depict models for readers. Artists are favored models in the magazine. Besides them, women or girls who work for the war are depicted as well. Those models are stimulating for readers to work as specialists, but they also emphasize women’s sphere of work and nationalism, and then encourage readers to cooperate for the war.

B. Interviews with original readers

In this section, I analyze interviews of women who read Shojo no Tomo to show what they remember about it. I will show what they remember about the magazine then discuss how they understand the image of shojo.

a. Memories of teaching articles

As I discussed, Shojo no Tomo strengthened its teaching aspect especially during WWII. The republished issue appreciated such an aspect. However, none of my interviewees remembered details of the teaching articles. Only T.F mentioned before I saw her that she found
a lesson written in a magazine she read and kept it for a long time, but she did not remember
Shojo no Tomo very much when I interviewed. She said that she did not get a chance to read
magazines constantly, so she remembered a magazine she was given as a present, but she was not
sure whether it was Shojo no Tomo or not. So she might talk about her impression of magazines
in general. Her story shows the general degree of recognition of Shojo no Tomo. It must have
been a representation of magazines and people knew about it, but the uniqueness of the magazine
was not so distinct for people who were not very enthusiastic readers. Yet, T.F might be too
young to know about Shojo no Tomo in its golden age.

Among my interviewees, I.Y is old enough to be a reader in the golden age, and she was a
pretty enthusiastic reader. She said she even went to readers’ meetings and contributed her
writings sometimes. She remembered pictures and novels of the magazine, but she did not
remember much about the teaching articles. When I mentioned that Shojo no Tomo had a lot of
articles about foreign countries, she denied my words and said that there could not be such
articles because of wartime restrictions. Thinking about her age and the fact she went to readers’
meetings, issues she was reading should still contain articles about foreign countries. Therefore,
it is assumed that she does not remember the contents of the magazine though she remembers
what she enjoyed, and she seems to reconstruct her memory based on an assumption about what
wartime restriction were like. Also, she remembered the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi, and she
said she was a big fan of him. She actually met him at readers’ meetings, and she visited him in
the editorial room. She told me her story about visiting him. Actually, it was the first thing she
remembered when I mentioned the magazine to her. She planned to visit the editorial room of
*Shojo no Tomo* with her friends when she had free time during a school trip to Tokyo. She said that she did not expect to see Uchiyama Motoi, but she happened to meet him. She said that Uchiyama Motoi was very kind and gave her and her friends some pictures from the magazine. Such an experience was not so rare. It was Uchiyama’s editorial policy to establish intimate relationship with readers. This kind of visiting is mentioned in the magazine as well. I.Y can be considered one of readers who admired Uchiyama Motoi like an idol. However, when I asked her whether she remembers anything he said or wrote in the magazine, she did not list anything. She did not mention any relationship with other readers or did not know about the republished issue, so my questions about *Shojo no Tomo* were out of the blue for her. She had not talked about her memory of the magazine for a long time until I asked her. Therefore, her memory is assumed not to be influenced by anyone but her for a long time. For her, an intimate relationship with Uchiyama Motoi, images and pictures had strong impressions, but not teaching articles. Since the numbers of my interviewees is small, it might be overgeneralize but there is the possibility that the memory about teaching articles is not strong enough to remember if readers have no contact with magazines or with other readers to keep remembering together. My interviewees who had not remembered about the magazine for a long time did not remember anything about teaching articles, but they remembered images, fictions, and intimate relationship with the editor. This shows that former readers without any contacts with the magazines or other readers remember the magazine because of fiction, images, and relationships, that they might enjoy, but not what the magazine or the editor actually published.
b. Impression of shojo image created in *Shojo no Tomo*

All of my interviewees remembered or were at least familiar with Nakahara Junichi’s picture as a represented picture of *Shojo no Tomo*. Since Nakahara’s girl picture was put on front pages during the golden age, it is assumed that those pictures represent the image of shojo, or the ideal or admired image of shojo, suggested in the magazine. In this section, I will point out how my interviewees think about Nakahara’s girl picture and try to analyze their relationship with the image.

**Figure 7**: Nakahara’s girl picture from one of the cover pages

First, Nakahara’s picture impressed O.S as “haikara” (stylish, in the latest Western style) and “modan” (modern). This was the very first impression she remembered when I asked her about *Shojo no Tomo*. Because she is over 90 years old, it seemed to be hard for her to remember a lot of things and explain them during the interview. However, every time she tried to tell me
about *Shojo no Tomo*, she remembered how impressive Nakahara’s picture was because of its stylishness. Also, this stylishness related to western influence. She said that there were only women who wore kimono (Japanese traditional clothes), so she was impressed by Nakahara’s girl wearing western clothes and thought it was haikara. It was not clear whether she talked about women in the real life or women in pictures of other magazines or *Shojo no Tomo* before Nakahara Junichi. Talking about *Shojo no Tomo*, girls with western clothes had been on its cover pages and Nakahara drew girls with kimono as well as with western clothes. In the 1930s, when Nakahara drew illustrations and cover pages for *Shojo no Tomo*, the westernized Japanese beauty image was already established and prevailed. Kimura (2010) analyzed a cover picture of *Shufu no Tomo* (Friend of Housewife) and points out that the western Japanese beauty face of women, which had western features such as big, bright eyes with long eyelashes but looked only Japanese as a whole, was already established as an icon (p.254). As such, Nakahara’s picture was not unique just because the girl dressed western clothes or had westernized feature. Yet, for O.S, Nakahara’s picture was impressive because of its haikara image. Also, stylishness relates to western style for her. She indicated Japanese clothes as dowdy while Nakahara’s girl was astonishing as modern. Nakahara’s picture impresses her because of its newness. Although western clothes were not new at that time anymore, she remembers such image as something new.

B.M also indicated that Nakahara’s girl was not like Japanese, but this does not necessarily mean western. After B.M compared Nakahara’s girl and other cover girls, she said that other cover girls were approachable because they were like girls in old Japanese tales, but Nakahara’s
girl was like someone in dream world or another world. Like B.M, I.Y also mentioned that Nakahara’s girl was like a resident in a dream. Nakahara’s picture is characterized by its unreality.

Because of such newnesss and unreality, my intervieweess felt distance between Nakahara’s picture and themselves. I.Y. said that Nakahara’s girls were different from her or her friends. She described herself and her friends in girlhood as fat, and such fat girls were majority, so Nakahara’s skinny girls existed only in magazines. This does not mean that I.Y. did not like the pictures. She said that she and her friends talked more about pictures than the contents of the magazine because they were pretty.

Nakahara’s pictures were also impressive for B.M. She said she thought they were pretty, but she never felt close to those pictures. I showed her several cover pages from different time periods of the magazine, and she said that she felt close to other pictures but not Nakahara’s. B.M. said that Nakahara’s girls seemed to be an existence from another world who never experienced hardship. B.M. felt approachable girl was one who experiences hard time. She mentioned “Oshin.” Oshin is a girl’s name and the title of a TV drama in 1983 to 1984. The drama was about a girl who was born in the Meiji era and lived through the hard times of the history before, during, and after the WWII. The drama was one of the most famous dramas in Japan, and Oshin is a symbol of being in hardship. Also, B.M. said that girls in other pictures than Nakahara’s were like girls in old Cinderella stories in Japan. In such a story, a girl marries a man in a rich family in the end, and this is an unrealistic story as well; but B.M. seems to feel such a girl is approachable because she experiences hard times. B.M. distinguishes those two
types of girls as different world or dream world.

For T.T., Nakahara’s girls look submissive. She said that Nakahara’s girls seem to follow whatever men told them to do. This is a very different impression of the pictures from others. Although others think Nakahara’s girls were delicate, they did not connect to submissiveness. Pictures do not explain what they are with clear words, so it is normal that people’s impressions vary. Considering mnemonic community, T.T. is assumed to be outside of the community or at least marginal. Her impression to Nakahara’s pictures shows the other possibility that his girls could have.

Nakahara Junichi’s girl pictures gave modern and delicate image to my interviewees, and most of my interviewees felt distance from the image. Such distance seems to be slightly different in accordance with their ages. I.Y and O.S are about the same age, and they are expected to have read the magazine in the golden age or even a little before. Their image of Nakahara’s girl is pretty positive, and they admire the image. For them, Nakahara’s girl image is ideal as a modern girl who is different from previous times. B.M is little younger than I.Y. and O.S. She spent her girlhood in the middle of WWII. For her, Nakahara’s girl is pretty, but she draws a clear line between herself and the image. She does not even admire the image. She longs for a Cinderella story, but Nakahara’s girl image does not fit for her dream. T.F and T.T are the youngest of my interviewees. They experienced wartime when they were children before school. For them, Nakahara’s girl image is “like a child,” “high class,” and “subservient.” T.F shows a positive reaction to the pictures, but T.T did not really like them. The delicate shojō image of Nakahara’s girls was admired as a modern image before WWII, but such an image was not
welcomed during the war. Then, after the war, such an image just shows high class submissiveness. In addition to those former readers’ reactions, I happened to interview I.Y’s granddaughter, who is around thirty years old. Of course she does not have any experience of WWII. For her, the delicate shojo image of Nakahara’s girl has a strong-will. She thinks the girl is delicate and fragile, but she reads strength in her eyes. Her impression of Nakahara’s girl does not relates to any memory of her girlhood. She just read strong-will from the picture as a woman living in the present time. Though this is only one example, it might show the reason for popularity of Nakahara’s picture in present time. All of the interviewees recognize the delicate, stylish or pretty image of Nakahara’s picture, but what they read from if was different. Though readers who had experienced WWII did not recognize or indicate strength in his pictures, young generations after WWII seem to read more strength in their big eyes.

2. The collective memory; its construction and emphasis in republishing

The republished issue and its process of republishing can be considered as the collective memory and its construction. In this chapter, I will talk about what the republished issue shows from content analysis of it, how the republished issue was published, and what the editors’ thoughts behind it were.

A. Content analysis of republished issue

In this section, I will analyze the republished issue to show what it extracted from the original issues and how it reconstructed the image of shojo and the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi.
I will show how the republished issue constitutes, how it assumes what its former readers like, and how it portrays the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi. In the end, I will analyze the selected articles from original issues to show what kind of articles the republished issue chose to publish.

a. Constitution of the republished issue

Articles of the republished issue can be categorized into two groups: articles from original issues and articles about Shojo no Tomo. The former are republished articles and pictures from original issues. The latter consists of explanations or essays about Shojo no Tomo, interviews with people who read original issues, interviews with people who are fans but not original readers, a report of a gathering of former readers, and messages from former readers. The percentage of the former articles and latter articles are 60 percent and 40 percent, respectively. These percentages show that the republished issue is not only to cite some articles to show people in the present time, but rather it also interprets what the magazine was and how people in the present time remember or accept it.

There are three parts in the republished issue. The first part is titled “100 Anniversary features of Shojo no Tomo.” This part contains mainly interviews with writers in the present time and essays about Shojo no Tomo. The second part is titled “A Choice Selection of Articles from Shojo no Tomo.” Actually, this part is titled as section 1 since it is the first part is a special feature. This part is directly quoted from original issues, and consists of “Illustration Selection,” “Gravure Picture Selection,” “Poetry Selection,” “Novel and Comic Selection,” “Lifestyle of School Girl before WWII,” “All Front Covers by Junichi Nakahara,” “Fabulous Accompanying
Gifts issued with *Shojo no Tomo,* “Fashion Handbook for School Girls by Junichi Nakahara,” “A Selection of Articles which Broadens you Mind,” and “A Selection of Reader’s Articles.” The third part is titled “The Centennial Story of *Shojo no Tomo*” and is labeled section 2. This section contains “Almini Reunion of *Shojo no Tomo,*” “Literati Growing up with *Shojo no Tomo,*” “On the Occasion of the Centennial Edition of *Shojo no Tomo* – Letters from Readers and Those Connected,” “The Achievements of Motoi Uchiyama, the Editor,” and “Chronological History of *Shojo no Tomo* from 1908 to 1955.”

I focused on the first part to see the editorial tendency of the republished issue. Also, “The Achievements of Motoi Uchiyama, the Editor” from the third part was analyzed to see how the republished issue portrayed the editor because he is the only editor chosen to be focused on out of 6 editors. Then, I analyzed the second part to see which articles the republished issue emphasizes from the original issues.

b. Readers as former “shojo” in republished issue

The republished issue starts with a directly quoted message of publishing in 1908. It shows how the magazine saw “shojo” and the purpose of the magazine.

Nothing is lovelier and scarier than the period of “shojo.” It can be easily infected by any color, and it is hard to give up bad habits once it is contaminated. That is why there are some girls who associate with bad friends and acquire bad habits. Such girls do not listen to what their parents say, do not follow what teachers teach, and live their lives like ones who are hated and laughed at. To prevent such bad habits, it is necessary to have interesting and
instructive readings for girls in addition to schools and homes. … I believe that this “Tomo” should be a best friend to lead our girls to be sweet, lovely, and respected women.

First, this statement sees “shojo” as the target of education. It states that “shojo” are “easily infected” so that such an existence has to be led by good readings like Shojo no Tomo. This also indicates that the “shojo” is a tabula rasa. From this statement, it is hard to read that editors at this time assumed that “shojo” had any ability to resist or think themselves what was good or bad. They are just an existence who are only affected by what they were given.

Second, it states that “shojo” is a pure existence. “Shojo” is not only pure, but also has never been contaminated even once. This statement shows the ideal image of girls. As bad ones are described disobedient to parents and teachers and hated by people, the ideal image should be the opposite. Ideal girls should be obedient, loved, “sweet,” and “lovely.” This message from the very beginning of the magazine in 1908 stated “shojo” had to be educated because they are pure, and they had to be obedient and loved. This kind of understanding and expectation for “shojo” matches what researchers have found about “shojo” in the early times. Also, as I cited from Imada’s (2000) research in the literature review, Shojo no Tomo depicted “shojo” as, powerless and ignorant from 1908 to 1912.

Following this message from the first issue in 1908, the republished issue introduces a brief history of the magazine, and puts interviews of three people as 100th anniversary interviews. Interviewees are with Tanabe Seiko⁸, Anno Moyoko⁹, and Asano Atsuko¹⁰. Tanabe Seiko is a former reader, but the other two are too young to be contemporary readers. Yet, they talk about

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⁸ A writer. She was born in Osaka in 1928. She was a jogakusei and contributed her writing to Shojo no Tomo.
⁹ A comic writer. She was born in Tokyo in 1971. She said she has been a big fan of painters at the same time of Shojo no Tomo.
¹⁰ A writer. She was born in Okayama in 1954.
their impression or memory of the magazine. In addition, there is an essay about Nakahara Junichi by his son. Nakahara Junichi was a painter who drew the cover pages from 1935 to 1940. The republished issue states that this time was the golden age of Shojo no Tomo. These three interviews and an essay are placed at the very beginning of the republished issue and categorized as feature articles of the 100th anniversary issue. Therefore, from what they talk, how the editors of the republished issue see “shojo” can be understood.

First, a unique world that only “shojo” could have is talked about. Nakahara’s son writes that Nakahara thought that there should be a world only for “shojo,” not childish or like a nursery story, and that his idea about “shojo” influenced editors. Nakahara thought that “shojo” was around the age of 14 or 15 to 18 or 19. In his view, “shojo” longs for beautiful stories, hum their favorite poems, and exchange letters with friends. Shojo is neither a child nor an adult. She dreams, thinks, and acts like a little woman (p. 17).

Nakahara’s image of “shojo” is talked about as if readers were willingly accepted this definition. Tanabe states that she became a fan of Shojo no Tomo because of Nakahara’s pictures and cover pages. She says that Nakahara’s pictures were different from pictures that were only sweet and tried to entertain little girls, and she felt Nakahara drew such pictures by looking through what “we,” shojo, liked the most (p.8). From these feature articles, the republished issue shows that a world only for “shojo” exists and that Nakahara’s pictures represent “shojo” living in such a world.

This world is not just a sweet place that pleased little children. It was respected. Tanabe says that the pictures by Nakahara and writings in the magazine made her understand what dignity
was. She was really surprised to look back and see that top class writers like Kawabata Yasunari or Yoshiya Nobuko wrote stories in *Shojo no Tomo*. She said she got to know after WWII that it was an editorial policy of the magazine that “shojo” should be given top quality writings by top class writers even in a time when no one cared about girls’ literature or children’s literatures. (p.10). Tanabe’s words show that the contents of the magazine were not to be belittled even though they were for girls. So, Tanabe, as a girl reader, understood such respect and appreciated it. Also, Anno Moyoko, saw illustrators in *Shojo no Tomo* as proper adults with hearts and dreams of “shojo.” Such adults drew the illustrations for children, wishing to teach them something that is truly beautiful. Those adult illustrators did not look down on children but respected them. Readers perceived such attitudes. That was why, Anno says, *Shojo no Tomo* was a very popular magazine (p.21).

Such respected “shojo” is not passive. Rather, she is understood as an active image. Asano Atsuko says that she thought girls in the old days were oppressed and lived like accessories of men, but she saw that girls appearing in *Shojo no Tomo* before WWII were pretty aggressive and had tough aspects. At the same time of such toughness, Asano had the impression that those girls had something like “the power to dream,” or girly romanticism. She says *Shojo no Tomo* captured real girls (p.22). Asano’s interview states that the general image of girls in the old days was as passive followers of male domination and that *Shojo no Tomo* was different from such attitudes.

In Asano’s interview, such an attitude of *Shojo no Tomo* and depiction of “shojo” as aggressive but girly and romantic are directly connected with an anti-war attitude. She says she
was surprised to see that *Shojo no Tomo* kept the romanticism when the nation went to war (p.22). From this comment, the interviewer pointed out the oppression to the editors and that Nakahara Junichi resigned because of it. Answering this comment, Asano states that the magazine kept showing the lyrical stories, beauty, or grace, that “shojo” wanted at that time, although the magazine did not intend to be anti-war. As a result, the attitude of the magazine was not liked by the authorities. She concluded that the heart of “shojo,” one that longed for beauty, was a great anti-war message (p.23). In Asano’s interview, the strength of “shojo” was emphasized and connected to girlish romanticism. Also, her understanding of girlish romanticism is understood as strength to oppose the war.

The world of “shojo” is not limited to young females. It is illustrated as a heart that adults can keep holding. The title of Tanabe’s interview is “I am still doing ‘adult Shojo no Tomo’” (p.8). This is also the conclusion of her interview. In the end, she says that she is 80 years old and has been writing all through her life. That is why, she says, she thinks of herself as still doing adult *Shojo no Tomo* (p.11). If Nakahara Junichi understood “shojo” and created the world of “shojo,” and also illustrators with hearts and dreams of “shojo” represented the world, “doing *Shojo no Tomo*” can mean doing art work with the heart of “shojo.”

In response to this, the republished issue includes messages from writers as former readers of the magazine. They are introduced as “Literati growing up with *Shojo no Tomo*” (p.291). The introductory words from the editors state that quite a few distinguished women literati after WWII, including Tanabe Seiko, say that they loved *Shojo no Tomo* in their girlhood. Furthermore, the successive readers of the magazine correspond to lady intellectuals who led
Japan after WWII, and the time reading the magazine inspired their literary cultivation (p.291).

Following these messages from writers, the republished issue also introduces messages from many readers as well. However, none of those readers’ occupations are mentioned. It might not be necessary to introduce those former readers’s backgrounds, but because the only image of former readers introduced in the republished issue is writer, it looks like writers are the model of former readers of the magazine. Also, this model suits how the republished issue understands “shojo.” From such a model of the reader, it could be read that the “shojo” reading Shojo no Tomo grow up to be writers or artistic intellectuals who keep holding the world of “shojo” in their hearts.

c. The chief editor Uchiyama Motoi

While the republished issue starts with a message from the very beginning of the magazine, its focus is on the golden age. The image of “shojo” in those two times is different. The original message shows ignorant “shojo,” but the republished issue understands “shojo” as more aggressive and with the power to even be against the war. This difference could be understood from two meanings. One is that the republished issue shows that the purity of “shojo” sustains whether or not the image changes, the other is that the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi improved the contents of the magazine. In Tanabe’s interview, she says that Uchiyama had a strong doctrine about how “shojo” should be raised. Therefore, he gave a significant meaning to “shojo.” She also mentions that readers used to call him Uchiyama sensei (teacher) with a great trust. She herself thought she would follow Uchiyama’s words much stricter than the school
principal’s words when he wrote something that girls should not do (p. 10-11). As Tanabe’s words indicate, the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi had a great influence on the magazine and readers.

Besides some interviewees and messages from readers mention Uchiyama Motoi, there are two articles mainly talking about him. One is the article that explains how great his *Shojo no Tomo* was, and the other is to introduce him as a family man through his daughter’s eye.

In the first article, his time as editor was divided by 5 terms and titled as following.

1. Succeeding an earlier period: Showa 6 (1931) – Showa 9 (1934)
2. Showing his uniqueness: Showa 10 (1935) – Showa 12 (1937)
4. Sparkling while bearing pressure: Showa 15 (1940) – former Showa 17 (1942)
5. His efforts failed because of the turmoil of the war: latter Showa 17 (1942) – Showa 20 (1945) (p.325)

The storm in period 3 means the war time influence. These titles indicate that Uchiyama was struggling with the war time influence for more than half of his time. A story that can be read from these titles is that Uchiyama was resisting and keeping the magazine away from the war influence but he was defeated in the end. This story insists that the contents of the magazine were influenced by the war instead of Uchiyama’s will and efforts. Then, the article suggests that Uchiyama had courage during the war time. One of the small headlines of this article is “courage under the war”(p.326). In this chapter, for example, Uchiyama’s project to open a prize list for letters for soldiers is introduced. The article says it was a countermeasure to the pressure by
military authorities (p.326). Here, Uchiyama’s anti-war will is emphasized in what he has done.

In addition to his resistance to the war, his policy to support girls’ independence and intelligence is written about. The article describes Uchiyama’s change during wartime as following. Uchiyama used the wartime expectation for women to contribute to society as a means to suggest girls should be independent. To support girls’ independence, he put articles enhancing girls’ education in the magazine. This amazingly high qualified Shojo no Tomo was accepted by readers because girls with high potentials before WWII were starving for culture and knowledge due to the low percentage of girls who went on to higher-level education (p.327). Overall, he is regarded as the editor who could have balance this well. The article says that he suggested that girls should talk aloud with their own ideas, but he was careful to state that it was nice to be submissive to avoid being criticized from schools at that time (p.325). As it is, he balanced between girls’ independence and submission. Also, he made the magazine balanced between what the military authority expected, and in keeping the magazine pretty. In the end, the article mentions that he could make the magazine both quality and also popular. The magazine sold pretty well (p.327).

The second article, the interview with his daughter, is titled “His family talks about the true face of Uchiyama Motoi.” This title indicates that his family aspects were not shown in the original issues, and it can be considered as something added to the image of him that readers had. Uchiyama Motoi is not only an excellent editor but also is portrayed as a good husband and a good father. Firstly, it is emphasized that Uchiyama was different from the older generation in terms of the relationship with his family. His daughter said that Uchiyama Motoi was critical of
his own father, who had children outside of marriage. The interviewer said that it was not so rare considering the era, and that his daughter admits that his family including his father was not so bad. However, Uchiyama’s daughter talked Uchiyama saying that he decided to take good care of his family when he saw his father did not often come back to his home in his childhood (p.330).

Uchiyama Motoi was introduced as a good family man in the republished issue.

Uchiyama Motoi’s portrayal as a good husband and a father is also talked about as a man who supported women or girls. In the interview, Uchiyama’s daughter said that her mother was not the type of ryosaikenbo (good wife and wise mother), but she helped her father’s work. Uchiyama’s daughter said that her mother was not good at housekeeping and her father, Uchiyama Motoi, helped in housekeeping. She talked about how Uchiyama woke up earlier than his wife and made breakfast and lunchboxes for his daughters (p.331). Also, Uchiyama’s daughter said that Uchiyama kept telling her that women have to be independent because he did not want his girls to bear unhappy marriage only for living (p.331-332). Uchiyama’s attitude towards marriage and women seemed to be advanced at that time. His way is certainly different from his father’s generation. Uchiyama’s progressive way of thinking is emphasized in his advice to his daughters. Uchiyama’s daughter said that he advised her sister to learn about computers already in Showa 40s (1965-1975).

d. Analysis of the selected articles from original issues

The republished issue assumes readers of Shojo no Tomo are artistic intellectuals, and that the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi led them through the magazine. The selections from original
issues are supposed to support this model of readers, who acquire knowledge to be intellectuals.

In this section, I analyzed what the selected articles show.

Table 1 shows how many articles the republished issue has by the type of articles.

Table 9: Number and Percent of Republished Articles by Theme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type of articles</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>images</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>photos/pics</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cover page</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>novel/poem</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caricature</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-fiction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lecture</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>round-table talk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book review</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about a girl/woman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practical (handicraft, beauty, cooking)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>readers' column</td>
<td>Tomo chan club</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>composition</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supplement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Images and fiction occupy more than 60 percent. This is reasonable because these are considered the main part of the magazine, which captured readers’ attention. Non-fiction is only 19 percent. However, as I pointed out previously, the educational aspect of the magazine was highlighted in the new articles about Shojo no Tomo.

When it is compared articles from original issues and articles about the magazine by the main theme, each covers different theme. Table 2 shows number of each theme in original and new articles in the republished issue.
Table 10: Number of Each Theme in Original and new Articles in the Republished Issue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Girls’ life</th>
<th>original articles</th>
<th>present articles</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Schoolgirl</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foreign countries</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West/EuroAme</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East/Asia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationalism/War</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JapaneseArts/Artists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NationalOrris</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WarExperience</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This theme coding is the same as the one I had done for the original issues. First, the theme of Japanese arts or artists in new articles is a significant number. In the republished issue, many artists, especially writers, talk about their memory of the magazine or explains about it. This leads to the significant number shown in Table 2. In the republished issue, Japanese arts or artists is the main theme, and new articles covers more of this than the original articles that were put in.

Second, the theme of war shows a difference between the original articles and the new articles. While some new articles talk about war as one of the main themes, there is no direct quotation from the original issues about war.

This shows that war is a topic that is only talked about as a memory of readers. Besides the new articles talking about war as one of the main themes, there are also messages from former readers mentioning their girlhood during war. Since the republished issue focuses especially on the time right before WWII and former readers of the magazine remembers their girlhood in war, it is natural for the republished issue to mention the war. So, the fact that no articles talking mainly about the war are cited from the original issues shows that the republished issue avoids
those articles, either consciously or unconsciously. Third, the jobs and family theme is also not
cited from original issues, but is mentioned in the new articles. Since the family of people who
were involved in the magazine talk about them, more numbers are shown in new articles.
Basically, original articles show fun themes like school life, fashion, or arts. Jobs are also talked
in the new articles but are not cited from the original issues.

As it is discussed, the selected articles support the model of “shojo” as an artistic
intellectual, so I did further analysis of the contents of the selected articles. More than images or
fictions, non-fiction articles should show what they are stating directly. Table 1 shows that there
are 5 lecture articles. In these 5, two of them are fashion articles by Nakahara Junichi. I coded
these fashion articles as lectures because they tell girls what to wear and these articles were
written with the pretty strong policy of Nakahara. In the republished issue, Nakahara’s work is
very much focused on and his fashion articles have their own section titled “Fashion Handbook
for School Girls by Junichi Nakahara.” The other three are articles about friendship, Japanese
arts, and the world. The article about friendship is categorized in the section titled “Lifestyle of
School Girls before WWII,” and the articles about Japanese arts and the world are categorized in
“A Selection of Articles which Broaden your Mind.” In Table 1, the other non-fiction articles are
a round-table talk, book review, about a girl, and practical advice. Among these articles, round-
table talk is categorized as “Lifestyle of School Girls before WWII” because the theme of the
article is school. Though round-table talks in the original issues had various themes, the
republished issue takes the school themes.

The book review, diary and practical advice are categorized in “A Selection of Articles
which Broaden your Mind.” My coding and the categorization of the republished issue are different. I assumed that non-fiction articles are intended to broaden readers’ world. Even fashion articles or school articles are assumed to influence how readers understand the world. The republished issue seems to share this understanding but emphasizes Nakahara Junichi and school. It also includes some images in the category of “A Selection of Articles which Broaden your Mind.” This shows that the republished issue acknowledges the impact of images on readers. To know what kind of themes from the original issues were emphasized in the republished issue, I analyzed two articles, that I coded as non-fiction and that are categorized in “A Selection of Articles which Broaden your Mind.”

The first article is about a girl/woman. It is a diary of a girl who lived in Beijing, titled “Pekin no Seikatsu (A life in Beijing).” This is a diary of one of the readers who was well recognized and popular among other readers. She writes about what she sees in Beijing. Such an article comprises discourses of Japanese Orientalism, which looks down on the other Asian countries. This diary mentions a way of thinking that sees people or culture in China as inferior, but it also shows the girl’s hesitation to think that way. For example, she writes,

I wondered how they could do such a terrible thing when I saw or heard Japanese adults and children beat Chinese servants. I thought people who are supposed to represent the Japanese and who came to China should treat Chinese people better and with sympathy, but I recognize myself feeling irritated after I face Chinese people daily faking and not doing what they are told to do. I feel sad for myself (p.225-226).

Her writing shows the relationship between Japanese people and Chinese people as masters and
servants, and she is one of the masters. However, at the same time, she recognizes her own attitude and “feels sad.” Such a sensitivity was highly valued in the republished issue. For this article, the republished issue included a commentary to explain about the article. The commentary says,

If you read her diary, you will understand that she is not only good looking but also an intelligent shojo. It was the time when the Japanese-Chinese War began and anti-Japanese campaigns occurred in Beijing. She wrote various things she felt there. Her sensitive heart feels a danger of colonization under the fine-sounding slogan “to help Chinese friends” and wavers. She did not beautify nor idealize things. She has honest eyes to write whatever she feels in her heart without beautification or idealization. It is reasonable for the chief editor Uchiyama to put her again and again in the magazine as a model image for readers (p.231).

The selection of this article and the commentary show that the republished issue recognizes the elements of Japanese Orientalism, but it also emphasizes the exception of shojo because of her intelligence and sensitive heart. This shojo image matches how the republished issue portrays readers.

Although the commentary does not mention it, the diary also shows a strong self-awareness as Japanese, which differentiate itself from the Chinese and is counter to the West. She writes,

I do not want to admire for foreign countries\(^\text{11}\), but things managed by foreigners are much better in every point including such a thing like a skating rink. I recognize only buildings by foreigners when I walk in town. I heard that this inspires Chinese people’s admiration for

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\(^{11}\) She uses a word “gaikoku.” This literary means other countries or foreign countries, but I assume she intends this word to indicate western countries. Her way of using this word implies her understanding western countries as others, also it shows group feeling with China when confronting to the west.
and dependence on western countries. I think it is necessary to show actual superior things either spiritually or materially to acquire respect from people in other countries. I myself have to think about it as one of the Japanese (p.227).

Her writing shows the hegemony of western countries over Asia at that time. She shows feelings to confront to such a power as Japanese. This indicates her nationalism. Also, this nationalism differentiates her from China, and other Asian countries, criticizing the Chinese attitude of following the west. Such nationalism seems to be accepted in the republished issue. I guess it is because she does not sound hostile. This can be accepted as part of her intelligence. In the republished issue, the shojo model is a girl with intelligence. Though this girl in a diary shows a nationalistic mind, she does not mean to harm anything, but analyzes the world around her and had her own idea. Such an image of a girl suits pretty well with the artistic intellectuals.

The second article is a lecture article titled “Sekai no Me to Mimi (Eyes and Ears of the World)”. The very first topic of this article is to question whether women are inferior to men or not (p.233). The article mentions that everyone should have experience of being bitterly disappointed by being fooled as a woman. It states that the general understanding that women’s brains are inferior to men’s is just a legend, and it was proved not true scientifically (p.233). Then, it goes on to discuss that the cost spent for women’s higher education is too low compared to men’s (p.234). This topic shows clear rivalry between women and men and tries to claim women’s right in social position. On the other hand, this article itself does not sound so aggressive because the words used are very feminine and it only suggests girls not to belittle themselves. It avoids clear blame for men but focus on women’s matter.
Other topics in the same article are about the most favorable flower in France, what color
goldfish prefer, an annual salary of an American child star, and a talented girl artist in Russia
(p.234-236). Although this article suggests strong statements about women’s rights, it also covers
these with girlish romanticism. The first topic uses science as the strong evidence to disprove
women’s inferiority, but in the topic about goldfish, “science” also deals with the psychology of
goldfish. Such a balance of rivalry and girlish romanticism can be understood as avoiding
conflict, but it can also be understood as defocusing. Thinking about Uchiyama’s portrayal in the
republished issue, as one who supports girls’ independence, the focus of this article can be seen
as disproval of women’s inferiority. Yet, at the same time, such a statement is covered with sweet
girlishness. The topic of the salary of a child star and a talented artist fits the suggestion of the
republished issue.

The third article is a book review for “shojo.” This book review is not just one article from
the original issue. In the original issue, the book review usually contains several books in an
article. In the republished issue, several books were selected from different articles in different
time period. There are ten books introduced. Eight of them are books written by Japanese female
writers. The other two are by male authors. One is the translation of a book written by Mark
Twain, and the other is a book by a Japanese male writer but it is called a girls’ novel. This
selection of the book shows a clear tendency to focus on women writers and girls’ novels. In
addition, books discussing anything about the war are not introduced though it is easy to find
such books in original issues.
B. Interview with editors of the republished issue

In this section, I will analyze the interviews of editors who edited the republished issues. I interviewed three editors. Editor E was born in 1931 and was a reader of original issues. The time she was a reader is about 1943 to 1948, but she also had issues in the golden age and read them in her girlhood. She said she especially liked issues in the golden age. Editor U was born in 1969. She is not an original reader, but she read the original issues as a curator of a museum. Editor F is also too young to be an original reader. She is an editor from the publisher of Shojo no Tomo. I will firstly show those interviewees involved in a mnemonic community and how it is constructed. Second, I will discuss the motivation of the republished issue. Third, what is the editorial policy of the republished issue and how it was decided will be stated. Forth, the relationship between Shojo no Tomo and memory or understanding of editors will be shown. In the end, I will show how young editors understand Shojo no Tomo.

a. Interviewees and development of a mnemonic community

I interviewed two editorial supervisors and an editor of the republished issue at the same time. They are the core members of the mnemonic community. I assume that they generated collective memory through editing the republished issue. One of the editorial supervisors, Editor E, is the key person of the republished issue. She is a recognized writer of children’s literature and has been mentioning about Shojo no Tomo in her essays because she was a big fan of the original issues. As she wrote about the magazine, she became to be known as a researcher of Shojo no Tomo (Iwano 2009: 372). Editors of the republished magazine said that one of Editor
E’s writings about *Shojo no Tomo* on a magazine, *Hana mo Arashi mo*, was a start of the republishing. *Hana mo Arashi mo* had articles about boys’ and girls’ magazines before the WWII and got letters to request articles about *Shojo no Tomo*. So, they asked Editor E to write about the magazine. Since *Hana mo Arashi mo* was a mail order magazine, it showed titles of its articles on the newspaper advertisement. Editor E wrote an article about the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi and it attracted former readers attention. They wanted to buy the magazine to read about Uchiyama Motoi. Editors of the republished issue said that this article helped to reconstruct the network of *Shojo no Tomo*. The former readers formed its own network through contribution on *Shojo no Tomo*. Although each reader individually wrote a letter to each other and had had a connection for a long time, the network that used to exist on the magazine seemed disappeared with discontinuance of publication. Starting with Editor E’s article, the former readers connect each other again and had meetings to talk about their past experience of reading the magazine. Editor E herself is a former reader and she should generate collective memory through talking in this reconstructed network.

As many former readers responded to Editor E’s article on *Hana mo Arashi mo*, a meeting of former readers was held. Editor E’s article was about the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi, so readers’ response also focused on him. One of his daughters also read the article, then, held a meeting of former readers, “Uchiyama Sensei wo Kataru Kai (A meeting to talk about the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi)” in 1996. In this meeting, my other interviewee of editorial supervisor, Editor U, got a strong impression and I assume that she became a member of a mnemonic community here. She is a curator of a museum. This museum introduced Editor E to Hana mo
Arashi mo, so Editor U involved in the meeting of former readers to talk about the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi as a curator though she was not a former reader. Because she is a curator, she had known about the magazine, *Shojo no Tomo*, but she said that she was so surprised to see former readers talking on the meeting. What impressed her was that the former readers talked enthusiastically about the magazine with calling each other by their pen names from more than 50 years ago. This experience led her to plan an exhibition of *Shojo no Tomo* in Yayoi museum. In the exhibition, a visitor’s book to ask a signature for republishing *Shojo no Tomo* was placed. Many people signed up in it. Editor U expressed her amazement for how many people signed up for that it became as thick as 10 centimeters (Iwano 2009: 372). Editor U and Editor E took the signatures to the publisher of *Shojo no Tomo*, Jitugyo no Nihon Sha, Ltd, but the request for republishing *Shojo no Tomo* was rejected at that time. It was 1999. Since then, Editor U has kept the signatures in her own desk and also she kept in touch with former readers. She said that she has been telling former readers that she wants to do something with *Shojo no Tomo* again because she could not forget scintillating “girls’ talk” of “obaachan gata (old ladies).” Through the communication with former readers and studying the original issues as a curator, Editor U shared the collective memory with former readers.

Editor F, an editor of the publisher, is my last interviewee of the interview. She explains that the request for republishing *Shojo no Tomo* in 1999 was rejected because her company did not understand how valuable the magazine was although the company knew the magazine existed. She herself was just entered the company and was not belong to the department which is in charge of republishing. Therefore, she said she got to know about the magazine at the first time...
when Editor U and Editor E brought a new proposed plan for republishing *Shojo no Tomo* to celebrate 100 anniversary in 2008. She also became a member of mnemonic community through editing the republished issue with Editor U and Editor E. Editor F said she did not have any impression to *Shojo no Tomo* in the beginning, but began to know about it by Editor U and Editor E talking about the magazine so enthusiastically. She said that she felt them with a do-or-die spirit. All of them, Editor E, Editor U, and Editor F, were laughing together when they talk about it. After editing the republished issue, Editor F said she totally changed her impression about the magazine. She now feels *Shojo no Tomo* as one of identities of her publisher. She now regards herself as “kohai (a junior colleagues)” of Uchiyama Motoi and she feels respect for him as a great editor. Through editing the republished issue, Editor F shared collective memory of *Shjo no Tomo*, and the collective memory changed her perception of her contemporary work.

This story of reconstructing of the old networks tells that fans of the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi are the core of the mnemonic community about *Shojo no Tomo*. Each editor has different relationship with the magazine. Editor E has been a fan and held passion for the magazine. Her and other fans’ passion attracted a new fan, Editor U. She then started to work for reconstructing *Shojo no Tomo* through exhibition and republishing. Then, when those two editors came to the publisher to ask for republishing, it was firstly denied. The publisher finally decided to republish because of fan’s enthusiasm for the magazine. The republishing of *Shojo no Tomo* can be defined as the movement of the former fans.

b. Motivation of reminding the old magazine
Editor E was a fan of the magazine, so her motivation is of course to see her favorite old magazine again, but her motivation is more than that. She wants the magazine familiarized.

Editor E and Editor U talked about their motivation for republishing as following.

U: *Shonen Kurabu (Boy’s club)* began to be republished earlier. Well, girls’ magazines…

Women are busy (laugh). Well, there has not been any movements to look back girlhood, but about *Shonen Kurabu*, there were a lot of republished issues started around Showa 50s (1975-1984).

E: Yes, yes, yes, there.

U: Then, there were a various republished books. Boys become around age of 40 and have money (laugh). When they get power to do something, they become nostalgic and look back their past. I guess.

Yamamoto: I see.

U: Then, E sensei (teacher/ Ms.) became impatient and said, “there was *Shojo no Tomo* as well, oh my” (laugh). She complains that women forget. (laugh)

E: Well, actually. (laugh). Everyone seemed to feel down. And I am getting old. Really. I felt hasty when I turned 60s. (laugh)

This conversation shows their recognition toward the difference between women and men. While magazines that male readers read in their boyhood. This tendency has not been changed for a long time so that Editor E felt impatient. The editors also talked as following.

U: But women are busy, aren’t they? They cannot only look back the old good days because they need to pay attention to daily childcare or so. (laugh) So, (remembering old
magazines) are not only to feel nostalgia for women, I guess.

Yamamoto: What does *Shojo no Tomo* mean to you, E sensei?

E: (laugh) Well, it is not only nostalgic. I made a big hue and cried for republishing like this because I was upset to see everyone in society forgetting in a certain exhibition. How could everyone forget about such a great magazine? I tried really hard, well, for movement to republish. It was very small in the beginning. Mr. Iwano in *Jitugyo no Tomo sha* said that we should try, but. Well, Yayoi museum supported a lot. Well, various people helped me. Their helps supported this republishing. Well, obviously, I was really angry about the magazine forgotten.

U: (laugh). Yeah. E sensei’s that feeling. (laugh)

F: What was the exhibition about? Kawabata Yasunari?

E: Yes, yes, yes.

F: There was not much mentioned about him writing for *Shojo no Tomo* in his chronological record…

U: Not at all.

F: It was not mentioned not at all, was it.

E: So, I heard the chief editor Uchiyama wrote about it. He also told me about it though. About not being mentioned at all. And, he said that he wondered girls’ novel was, girls’ magazine was belittled like that. He said he was very sad. He told me so. I told him that it was not, but the reality in the world was like that. But, now, the republished issue was completed like that. Then, when it was completed, phones to ask about it kept ringing, I
heard. Also, various newspapers wrote about it as well. They wrote that the republished issue sells well. And they wrote there was a great girls’ magazine. Well, I am not good at analyzing why like critics. I cannot explain well. But it was like words in the bible. I am not Christian at all though. The time came. For 100th anniversary, the republished issue came true.

This conversation shows Editor E’s desire for equal recognition with the main stream and she states that Shojo no Tomo is worth it. Editor E said that she was angry because everyone is forgetting the great magazine she liked. Her feeling is not only from the magazine was just forgotten, but it was ignored in the exhibition of Kawabata Yasunari. Kawabata Yasunari is one of the most recognized writers in modern Japanese literature. She was upset to see that the fact that he wrote novels for girls in Shojo no Tomo was not mentioned at all. Her upsetting could be understood as anger for being ignored by the authority. Also, Editor E mentions that her feeling is shared with the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi. This indicates either or both that she feels angry for him or she uses his words as a support for her anger. Then, Editor E is pleased that the republished issue was not only published but also was very succeeded.

While Editor E states that Shojo no Tomo should not be ignored and she has been working for it, she is humble for what she has done. During the interview, she told me several times that she could not explain or tell me about Shojo no Tomo and her story well. She said that she just rambled in her talk and so could not talk logically. By saying so, she often let Editor U to tell me about her story. Editor E even described herself like, “I am not good at analyzing.” In the interview, she often used words being humble. This humbleness could be from her personality,
her thankful feeling for others or the respect for Uchiyama Motoi. At least, she did not forget to be humbled when she asserts the value of girls’ magazine. It is assumed that her self understanding is not the one who asserts something. Such attitude of Editor E seems to suit to the image of former shojo that the republished suggested: the artistic intellectual. She is intelligent to be critic to male dominated society and claim for women’s rights, but stay feminine enough not to be too aggressive.

c. Editorial policy of the republished issue and Shojo no Tomo for Editor E

Shojo no Tomo was first published in 1908 and ceased in 1955. It has 48 years of history. Among the long history, the republished issue mainly focuses on the first half of Showa 10s (1935 – 1940). It states that years as “golden age.” When I asked editors how they judge this time as golden age, Editor U said it was just obvious. She said that if you see Shojo no Tomo from the beginning to the end, you can see that the time was golden age because of the thickness of a magazine or the gorgeousness of supplements. On the other hand, Editor U mentioned that the time after WWII has more number of copies. Editor F said that there was no record of the number of copies in her publisher, but she guessed that more number of copies were published because magazines as a popular culture was spread. Their analysis shows that their editorial policy of the republished issue did not put weight on the numbers of copies but more on contents. Editor U also said that they considered the time as “golden age” because that time had more influence on later ages. Actually, this time, when Nakahara Junichi drew cover pages of Shojo no Tomo, seems to be remembered the most. All of my other interviewees, who said they knew the
magazine, explained me *Shojo no Tomo* as a magazine with Nakahara Junichi’s pictures. Even though they do not remember the contents, they remember his pictures. There should be reasons to consider that the golden age as the most important time of *Shojo no Tomo*’s history, but what is clear from the editors’ interview was that they understand this time had the greatest impression on readers. However, they view Uchiyama Motoi as the most important figure and the core of the mnemonic community, while the original readers and wider community consider Nakahara Junichi as the main figure. As a result, editors include time after Nakahara left and it is the time the war got worse.

The golden age was the time that former readers were deeply attached to. Editor F said that there had a discussion about where to focus on in the beginning of the editorial planning about the 100 anniversary issue. She said there are fans who read the magazine after WWII, and she actually got comments from them after the republishing saying that they were disappointed because they could not find contents from the time they were reading. However, Editor F said that they decided to edit the republished issue focusing on the golden age as Editor E and Editor U suggested besides introducing whole history evenly because they wanted to respond to readers’ wish to talk about how wonderful *Shojo no Tomo* was. Some readers were focused on and others like post-WWII fans were ignored because editors wanted to focus on the “wonderful” part, as a result. This time period seems to be special for even those who were not the contemporary reader at the time.

Editor E is a former reader of the magazine but she was not a contemporary reader of the issues in golden age. If she was not a contemporary reader and the golden age was not the time
she attaches to as a former reader, what does the golden age mean for her? She says how she read the magazine as following.

Well, I am about 10 years younger than so called readers of *Shojo no Tomo*. But well, I did not read it after WWII. So, I am a member of generation of *Shojo no Tomo* before WWII. My family, my mother and two older sisters were enthusiastic readers of *Shojo no Tomo*, so there were a lot of old issues in my house. Though I did not really understand them when I was little. But my parents let me take *Shojo no Tomo* with me when I evacuate from a city because they are good magazines.

Editor E had the older issues from her sisters and she was reading them instead of her contemporary issues during the war. More specifically, she said she had issues from 1937 to 1943, but she disposed issues in 1943 later because she felt these issues were not *Shojo no Tomo* any more. Therefore, the specific time she attaches is from 1937 to 1942. This time is not exactly same as the golden age. She said that she also liked the issues after 1940, Nakahara Junichi left and the golden age ended, because it had more articles that she could learn from though the contents of the magazine became difficult. Editor E read issues from golden age denying her contemporary issues affected too much by the war. At the same time, she also values the issues a little after the golden age. These issues were also changed because of the war, but she values them for their quality of teaching her something. This contradiction might be from emphasizing the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi’s greatness. To keep his greatness, the change of the magazine that he made has to do something good. For editor E, emphasizing teaching aspect and stating that the aspect really taught her to grow an artistic intellectual.
Among three editors of the republished issue I interviewed, Editor E was only one who experienced WWII. When I asked her how she thinks about the interview of Asano Atsuko in the republished issue, which says that girls’ world expressed in *Shojo no Tomo* was an excellent anti war, Editor E was pretty careful to agree with it. Although she said that she might agree with Asano Atsuko now, she said that it was impossible to say anti war things at that time.

E: People say why we did not do anti war, but it was not the time that we could do such a thing. Well, this is not my story, but someone who are 10 years younger than I am writes that his (her?) father was ashamed of himself when he (she?) asked why he did not do anti-war. When I read this story, I thought this person did not understand, did not understand at all. I think he wanted to say when his (her) father was asked why he did not say anti-war, like, ah, there is no way that children could understand how scary the era was. For us, really, it was far from anti-war. If we said something, though it was a bit, oppose to the government, it was immediately reported to the police. Anti-war required a great courage like at the risk of your life. (pose) I sometimes think that what would they say if young people now, especially people who cry for anti-war easily without knowing the era, were thrown into the era.

Yamamoto: I see. People would not be caught by the police if they said anti-war today, wouldn’t they?

E: Yes. It was a very scary time. Well, we knew to the bone what we could not say at the
era. They were about a national polity, in other words, about Tennoism, and about the war, or something anti-war. And one more thing, for students in jogakko (girls’ school), I already mentioned a little, it was about relationship between boys and girls. It was so strict. If you only talk to a man thoughtlessly, you were called by teachers. And, one of my friends said that her sister’s classmate was called by police because she saw Chuo Koron at the bookstore. She was seen by the Special Higher Police and was reported. The magazine, Chuo Koron, was placed as a decoy. It was a really really scary era.

For Editor E, the beautiful world that Shojo no Tomo depicted is not understood as anti-war since she knows the fear of it. This fear, she insisted, was not understandable for younger generation. Also, she states that there are two kinds of fears that people today could not understand: the anti-war movement and relationship with boys. These two seem to be irrelevant, but both could be understood as the opposition to the regime for girls. Editor E understood both equally scary and people who do not experience such a thing would never understand.

Rather than anti-war, Editor E seems to understand the girls’ world depicted in Shojo no Tomo as adults’ conscience during the war. Editor E said that she accepted there were two sides during the war. When I ask how did she think if things written contradicted to what she was told, for example, in school, she answers as following.

E: I might be dishonest, but I understood that there were another world of Shojo no Tomo though whatever teachers at school say.

Yamamoto: What did you think how the another world was like?

E: I thought I would understand what it was when I grow up.
Then, she explains what the different world in *Shojo no Tomo* meant for her.

E: It was not only for fun for me. I see the front cover and felt like, oh, this is a beautiful world, and I thought there is such a world. However, well, in short, I was taught by it. If it is too stiff to describe as teaching, well, I felt another world.

Yamamoto: I see. Is it not only a dreaming story?

E: No. well, how should I say. In every matter, during the war, everyone used different faces, I think. Well, ones personal feelings and the accepted view. I still remember clearly. Our textbooks of Japanese had terrible cover pages like cardboards. Then Japanese teacher said, “if only a little while ago, you could have…” She (he?) mentioned about pretty textbooks in previous years. It would be nice if you have chance to see them. They were very pretty in traditional Japanese fashion though the contents were not so good, like only old Japanese literature. Since I knew them from my older sisters’, I was thinking she (he) was right. Then, she (he) suddenly changed her attitude and said, “oh, no. No, no. This is only a temporal problem. When Japan wins this war, things will be much better and greater. Everyone has to be patient.” So, I understood that she (he) told us her real feeling but she hurry conceal her feeling and said the accepted view because it would get her in trouble. I clearly remember this incident even now.

Editor E basically understands that the another beautiful world *Shojo no Tomo* gave her was not only escape like dreaming from the reality but also taught her another way of thinking. This world is for “shojo,” but it does not seem to be against adults. Editor E reminds that her teacher had her personal feeling and the accepted view. She did not think that adults oppressed girls
following the war time government because they had their personal feelings though they could not say. Thinking about that Editor E remember how scary to tell personal feelings during the war, it can be guessed that she understands adults personal feelings she heard during the war as their conscience.

For Editor E, adults’ conscience is represented by the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi when she talks about the magazine. She has been trying to rediscover his work and state that he had anti-war policy even though he changed the magazine following the wartime government. This understanding of her is shared in the republished issue. However, younger editors did not totally agree with this statement. In the following conversation, Editor U and Editor F showed their question and different understanding toward Uchiyama’s attitude. We were discussing the restriction during the war, and I asked whether it was trouble to be found out that Editor E had *Shojo no Tomo*. Then, she answered,

E: *Shojo no Tomo* was not that trouble. The chief editor Uchiyama was a very smart editor and he could evade such a wartime restriction well. When he wrote girls to say their own opinion, he always wrote previously that although it was good to be obedient. He also adapted commercialism very well too when it was successful. Well, it was pretty hard to have strong policy. So, well, I think he had a good balance.

U: I might change the topic, but well, did Uchiyama sensei believed that he had to keep the magazine even he changed it? I think he could have alternative choice to cease the magazine. (laugh)

E: No, he did not, I think.
U: Because of readers?

F: Maybe, I guess it was natural for a company to keep publishing as long as the magazine produces profits. If he thought the magazine’s policy was different from his, he better left though keeping the magazine. Well, the magazine is owned by a company. I think so.

E: I think so, yes.

U: He might have thought he had to lead readers as long as there were any?

E: I think so, I really think so.

Editor E reads his greatness in keeping the magazine with balancing the wartime situation, economics, and his policy. Then she evaluates that he had strong policy and tried to let readers to know. On the other hand, Editor U has a question for the decision Uchiyama made. She suggests the option that Uchiyama could make, which was to leave the magazine for his policy. Editor U does not disagree with his decision. She as well as Editor E thinks that Uchiyama was talented editor and his work was great. Yet, I assume that Editor E as younger generation who never experienced WWII has an image of anti-war who did not change his/her policy instead of the wartime oppression. For Editor E, it was impossible to be like that at the “really scary era,” and the fear can never be understood by younger generation. For this subtle difference of understanding about Uchiyama’s decision between Editor E and Editor U, Editor F has different explanation. She, as an editor who works for a company, understands that Uchiyama’s decision was professional as an editor of the magazine, which belongs to the company. The difference of understanding towards Uchiyama’s decision for the wartime restriction among editors show what they decide to include in the republished issue about the WWII. They emphasize on Uchiyama’s
greatness and anti-war policy he had besides what he really did.

Such an intentional decision was also made about the fact that Nakahara Junichi leaves from the magazine. This fact has different aspects and is understood differently in present. Editor U went to the play about Nakahara Junichi and found the image of Uchiyama Motoi was depicted very differently.

U: (Showing a pamphlet of the play) This is a person who played Uchiyama sensei.

F: Which one? Oh, he looks mean. (laugh)

Yamamoto: He looks different. (laugh)

U: This Uchiyama follows Junichi around feeling jealousy of his talent. (laugh)

F: He is not like that person. (laugh)

U: Yeah. (laugh) Look, an editor of Shojo no Tomo.

F: Oh, yes. They use a real name. Well, they did not ask us about permission or anything.

(laugh)

(omission)

U: There was a clash of opinions between them. (laugh)

Yamamoto: Were there any such facts? Collision?

U: Well, actually, in between Junichi sensei and Uchiyama sensei.

E: Until Showa 15 (1940), there wasn’t any such conflicts, was there? Junichi ask for Uchiyama’s opinion when he got married. His wife wrote about it. Uchiyama said that he guaranteed their marriage so that Junichi decided to marry her. Junichi though him like a big brother. I wonder how things changed like this. When Kodansha published Junichi’s
book of pictures, it did not mention about Uchiyama at all.

U: Well, in later years.

E: Yes.

F: The book of pictures does not say good things about him, does it?

U: It writes Uchiyama as the editor X.

Yamamoto: Oh-oh.

E: Yes, I think using anonymity like that indicates bad intention. So, I once told Uchiyama that Junichi acted pretty rudely about stating him as the editor X. Then, he said he refused most of offers came to Nakahara to protect a little publisher. I did not think that Jitugyo no Nihon sha was small, so I was upset. He said, “Nakahara must not like what I did,” plainly. I do not think it was not only for that.

(omission)

F: It was not like they did not get along. Well, somehow it broke down. Well, basically, he was made an exclusive contract with the magazine. Uchiyama paid pretty much for the exclusive contract for Nakahara. But he might not like that.

U: He might be glad in the beginning of his career, but when he turned 20 something and got longer career,

F: He wanted more freedom.

U: After he grown up as an artist, he wanted to do his preferred work. But, this kind of thing occurred in Shojo no Tomo after WWII, too. The chief editor Morita and Fujii Chiaki also broke off in the end as well.
E: Oh, really.

U: It was really sad ending. But it could not help, could it? If an editor finds a talent, he cannot smile to say goodbye when the talent fly away. (laugh) He carries a company and the magazine in his back. It was not so easy.

As this conversation shows, editors are aware of the aspect that Nakahara Junichi had intention to leave the magazine and Uchiyama knew he was forcing Nakahara for the profit of the magazine. Editor E seems to be a little upset about it, but the other editors take it as normal. Knowing the fact, they decided to explain Nakahara’s leave as the result of the oppression of the war. They did not mention about the conflict between Uchiyama and Nakahara, and took Nakahara’s work as a representation of Shojo no Tomo. This, as a result, emphasizes the oppression of the war and Uchiyama’s anti-war policy.

e. Shojo no Tomo and young editors

For younger editors, Editor U and Editor F, Shojo no Tomo is not the one that reminds them about their girlhood. In the process of editing, they should have known various aspects of Shojo no Tomo and have decided which to include or exclude. This is the process of reconstitute the past into the present time. In this process, those editors also establish their own understanding for the reconstituted past. When they accept the reconstituted past, they are assumed to judge in accordance with their own situation. Younger editors highly appreciated the intellectual image of shojo and they relate their own experience between working and doing family chores.

First, Editor U understands Shojo no Tomo is represented by Nakahara Junichi’s picture and
the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi. She uses the word “the spirit” of Shojo no Tomo as following.

I think that *Shojo no Tomo* before WWII was created by two people, the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi and Nakahara Junichi. However, Uchiyama left *Shojo no Tomo* after the war, and Nakahara Junichi started to create his own magazine, didn’t they? So, the spirit of *Shojo no Tomo* before the war went, well, not to *Shojo no Tomo* after the war, but to Nakahara Junichi’s *Himawari* or *Junior Soleil*, I think. Of course, in Jitugyo no Nihon Sha (laugh), Mr. Morita tried (laugh) tried really hard though.

In the long history of the magazine, it is not surprising that there are many characteristics in accordance with each other. However, Editor U assumes that there is a “spirit” of *Shojo no Tomo*, and it was completed by Uchiyama Motoi and Nakahara Junichi. This “spirit” is the one that editors tried to preserve by republishing the magazine. As the realization of the “spirit,” Nakahara’s girl is remembered well as an image of shojo. Editor U finds strength in Nakahara’s pictures. As a researcher, she explains Nakahara’s feelings and his pictures when he left the magazine as following.

This is Junichi’s last picture. Pictures of him were resigned because it was too delicate for the time. It became like this from July. If I compare them, I wondered Junichi’s was a bit weak, but I felt differently when I saw the original picture of him. I thought I could receive strong determination of Junichi’s girl since she sharply looks up. When I saw the original picture, I wondered Junichi was not resigned, but he left with his will. I felt so. I thought Junichi thought it was better not to draw anything if he had to draw something he did not like. Actually he said such a thing. Like, I left because I did not want to any more. (laugh)
So, I thought that such an explanation can be understood.

Editor U mentions that Nakahara left the magazine because of his will, but this is not included in the republished issue. Yet, she explains such an attitudes of Nakahara as the strong belief in him to draw his ideal shojo image. Then, she found his strong will in his drawings as well. This indicates that she understands Nakahara’s girl as shojo with hidden strength.

Next, young editors show their appreciation to Uchiyama Motoi as a great editor and a good father. Editor F reminds of her interview to Uchiyama’s daughter when they discussed about the popularity of him among contemporary readers.

U: Readers had strong emotional attachment with the magazine because they thought

Umotoi sensei listened and talked to them through readers’ column. (…) It was

mysterious balance to work as a job. (laugh)

F: I think so, too. He really is amazing. And he regularly ate dinner at home.

U: Yes. (laugh)

Yamamoto: Lovely. (laugh)

F: Only to get manuscript from writers was already hard. Kawabata Yasunari was in

Kamakura. When Uchiyama Motoi went to Kawabata’s to get the manuscript, it took him

a day. He did such a hard work while he met readers and ate dinner at home every day.

He seems to be a superman.

U: He might be coming back after. (laugh)

F: Oh, he might. (laugh) I heard that Uchiyama Motoi sensei always eat dinner at home no

matter how busy he was.
Yamamoto: Was it written in the magazine?

F: No. I interviewed his daughter and she said so then.

Yamamoto: He must be a lovely person. (laugh)

F: Yes. It is lovely, isn’t it. (laugh) He might stayed over at the company sometime, but he usually went home, and he was a very good father, I heard.

This good father’s image is included in the republished issue. Editor F connected to Uchiyama’s role as an editor, who is a guardian of readers, and his image of a good father from the interview. Then, younger editors also appreciate his daughter as a working woman. They considered Uchiyama’s daughter contributed in reestablishing the network of Shojo no Tomo.

Editor U: Shojo no Tomo was forgotten, but Editor E’s article was introduced on the newspaper. So, the environment that information gathered established again. That was nice.

Editor E: And, the network of readers in Midori no heya (green room), Editor U san connected those people. Well, relationship between readers scattered all over, then.

Editor U: Well, daughters of Uchiyama Motoi sensei were helpful. They were not shufu (housewife), who say things like we cannot do anything and we’ll let you take care of everything, but they were properly shokugyofujin (working woman). So, they could organize things right away. That was lucky, too.

Although Uchiyama’s daughter is not an artist, she is an working woman and fits for the image of Uchiyama’s shojo, that the republished issue suggests. In this point, it is assumed that young editors can assimilate themselves to former shojo. Then, as a working woman, they see
themselves in between works and their family lives in relation to the process of republishing *Shojo no Tomo*. The interview showed that Editor U became more enthusiastic than Editor E at a certain point. She said she reminds of *Shojo no Tomo* during her maternity leave.

U: (After the rejection of republishing) I have been thinking to do something about *Shojo no Tomo*. One day, I suddenly noticed that it might be 100 years since *Shojo no Tomo* was born this year. (laugh). I still remember, I was cleaning my house. Well, I was using a vacuum cleaner. (laugh)

E: Good idea should come like that.

U: At that time, I was shut myself up in the house for childcare leave and I felt kind of depressed. (laugh). I concentrated on cleaning without thinking anything, then I was like oh, noticed. I immediately called Editor E sensei, then she also said yes it was.

E: But Editor U san was more aggressive. For me, even though 100 anniversary, well. (laugh). ( ) The president or directors of the publisher did not appreciate *Shojo no Tomo* at all, and I had heard from them that republishing was impossible. I thought it could not be realized so I was not so excited. (laugh). Not much. Well, Editor U san was really.

U: Well, I guess I was in childcare leave at that time. (laugh)

F: Were you still in childcare leave when you came to talk about the plan of republishing?

U: Yes, I was. I had three years of childcare leave. I happened to get that though I did not say I wanted. (laugh). I thank for it now, but I felt something somehow at that time. I went Hong Kong and back in the first year so I felt like I was traveling. But in the second year, I had to live in Chiba, where I did not know at all. I was all alone with my baby in a
small house without any friends. (laugh). I noticed that it was 100 anniversary, then my
switch turned on.

Republishing *Shojo no Tomo* for Editor U sounds like a symbol of something to take her away from dullness of being at home. Editor F, on the other hand, talked about hard time during editing. She talked about the difficulty of balancing between her work and her life as a mother.

F: It (the republished issue was sold a lot) was really amazing. So, I am really glad that I could publish it. It was really hard when I was making it though. (laugh). Well, personally. The editorial work was pretty heavy but my child was still very little. I left my child at home and worked until midnight. I had to work on Saturday, too. I felt like what I was doing. (laugh).

E: It was hard. (laugh).

F: I was doing that with little crying. But our work made everyone happy. And, for our company, we could publicize that our company has history. (laugh). Personally, I could build relationship with Asano san and she now writes a novel for us. And other writer is now writing a novel modeling *Shojo no Tomo*. Such a such.

Yamamoto: Is the novel already published?

F: Not yet. It will be next year. ( ). Next year is our company’s 120’s anniversary. We will publish it for the anniversary.


F: Oh, yes.

E: Moyoko san?
U: Yes, we did it together. (laugh)

F: Then, I could take in charge of Anno’s book, who I have been a big fan. I feel that Shojo no Tomo gave me a lot of present personally.

For Editor F, republishing Shojo no Tomo end up with establishing identity of the company she works and gave her more chance at work. Although they talk about different experience towards the republished issue, they mentioned about their work and life balance. If they becomes fans of Shojo no Tomo through editing and share collective memory, they should have a certain attachment with former readers, former shojo. The shojo image must appeal to them as working women in present time.

3. Discussion and Comparison

A. What is remembered and what is forgotten

Editor E’s memory about the magazine and her girlhood is connected to her social position. She is a recognized writer and was succeeded in being independent woman. She actually became an artistic intellectual from a former shojo. She posits the magazine as educational and helped her to be as she is. As if to reflect her understandings, the republished issue firstly emphasizes the educational aspects. The analysis of the original issue shows that the non-fiction part, especially lectures, is more emphasized in headlines. This indicates that the magazine had intention to teach readers through its contents. Also, this tendency was strengthen as the time goes. However, the interviews of former readers tell that the non-fiction part is not remembered. They only remember some famous fictions and images. As a girls’ magazine, Shojo no Tomo had
educational aspects and the editors seem to intend to make the magazine as such, but not all readers received such intention. Rather, the commercial effort, like emphasizing supplements or Nakahara’s pictures impressed those readers to remember. Non-fiction part is basically forgotten by them. For some readers like Editor E, the non-fiction part was important. The analysis of the republished issue shows that the non-fiction part is more reconstructed. It chose to put images the most from the original issues, fiction the second most, and non-fiction is the third. Though it did not select non-fiction articles the most, it discusses about the educational aspect of the magazine and the greatness of the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi. Non-fiction part, which is emphasized in original issues but forgotten by former readers, is not only recalled in the republished issue but also reconstructed. In the original issues, themes of Japanese and war experience kept certain percentage and grow higher during the golden age, but none of articles with such themes are directly cited to the republished issue. Instead, the republished issue discussed such topics in the new articles. The republished issue forgets nationalistic aspect and war time articles and reconstruct them by explaining the time in the new articles. Also, the Japanese artist is emphasized in the republished issue the most. Such theme occupied high percentage during the golden age in the original issue, but it is even more discussed in the new articles in the republished issue. This shows that the republished issue is the magazine for former shojo, artistic intellectuals.

Second, the image of “shojo” is represented by Nakahara’s girl and given a new meaning. The analysis of the republished issue suggests that the typical model of former readers is assumed to be an artistic intellectual with “shojo” heart. They were former “shojo” and grow up
to be an artistic intellectuals who did not forget pureness and strong will of “shojo.” This image of “shojo” is represented by Nakahara’s drawing in the republished issue. Former readers who I interviewed also remembered his drawings well. The image towards Nakahara’s girl varies according to ages but everyone said she is pretty and delicate. None of them except a granddaughter who never read the magazine had impression of strong willed. This indicates that Nakahara’s girl for former readers was more delicate image of shojo and this shojo image is liked or disliked according to generation. Compared to shojo image in the republished issue, former readers only remember Nakahara’s girl as delicate. This indicates that the republished issue added the strength in the image. In the original issue, Nakahara’s girl was in the cover page only in 5 years. In this years, shojo image shows different aspects. The analysis of original issue shows that original issues recognized art or artists as superior. At the same time, they kept emphasis on Japaneseness. While original issues emphasize arts and artists, they show nationalistic Japanese girl as well. Japanese girls are depicted as specialists and work in women’s sphere. This shows strength of women, but it also implicates women’s submissive position and support for the war. In the republished issue, women’s strength is remembered, but the wartime influence and its submissive role as a result is forgotten. Therefore, in the republished issue, shojo image can have both delicate and strong image. This image seems to be supported by the generation who did not experience the war.

Third, the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi is regarded as a great man in the republished issue. The analysis of the republished issue emphasizes his resistance towards the war and his support for girls. In addition to discussing those of his greatness from the original issue, the republished
issue talks about what was not written in the original issue about him, like the relationship with his family. This also strengthens his greatness as a supporter of girls and women. Analysis of the original issue shows that the articles he edited had aspect to encourage nationalism and possibility to lead girls to take submissive role. This does not necessarily mean that he supported war or the magazine drew readers to support war. He might have strong will to resist to the war and intention to encourage girls’ independence. However, what the articles show can be read by my eye in present time as nationalistic and encouraging women to take submissive role. This is natural because he must have been influenced by his time even though he tried to think new way and he had to keep his magazine publishing under the restriction of the war. The important point is that what he really made was marginalized in the republished issue and his intention to resist the war is emphasized. This marginalization and emphasis are intentionally done by editors of the republished issue. In the editors’ interview, I found three editors did not totally agreed on Uchiyama’s reaction of the wartime. Yet, they chose to follow what Editor E, a big fan of him, understands of him.

B. Why this is remembered or forgotten now

In the collective memory of *Shojo no Tomo*, non-fiction part is remembered, but it is more reconstructed. The reason why is that non-fiction articles deal with contemporary events and their opinions directly reflect them. No matter how the editors or writers thought, what are shown do not suit for present time. By avoiding direct quotations and discussing about those part, the intention that editors might had, educating readers and resisting the war, can be
emphasized. This avoids to make bad reputation of the magazine that encouraged readers during the wartime. I do not think it is done to fake or deliver wrong information. It is natural for fans to remember good aspects and the magazine actually has educational aspects. However, more than that, it is important for Editor E and the republished issue to state that the magazine is as qualified as other regarded works since it relates to how readers see themselves and their girlhood. They are former “shojo” who grow up to be what they aimed to be. “Shojo” had delicate and vulnerable image, and shojo magazines are ignored or belittled. To recover the status of Shojo no Tomo was Editor E’s intention. To do so, the magazine has to have strong contents that support girls to grow to be women who people present time can regard as models. Also, it is important for the magazine to be away from the war because it can claim that girls were different from male adults at that time, who caused the disastrous war. Therefore, the wartime influence and women’s substituted position drawn on the original issues are marginalized and educational aspects are emphasized. The chief editor Uchiyama Motoi, as the producer of the magazine, has to be a great man. He cannot be one of the male adults who were in charge of the war. So, he was given a role as the supporter of shojo, and as a person who is understandable to shojo, his aspect of resisting the war was emphasized. In the collective memory of Shojo no Tomo, the wartime influence is marginalized and educational aspects is emphasized because the republished issue claims that the magazine should be recognized to make respected women’s model in present time.

My aim is not to belittle the magazine or criticize it as instigator of the war or of girls’ inferior position. Rather, I found how much readers of the magazine loved it and how much
passion they had on the magazine. Also, I found the magazine suggested those readers’ affirmative feelings as girls, who can be placed as secondary existence otherwise. This kind of feeling is also accepted women in present time. The interview to younger editors of the republished issue showed that they appreciate the image of shojo and could assimilate themselves to it.

At the same time, it was not difficult to find contents that support the war in the magazine. Since the magazine was published during the WWII, it is natural to be influenced by the contemporary society. However, the republished issue of Shojo no Tomo reconstructed the contents of the magazine apart from its original context. As a result, the strength of Japanese shojo becomes an artistic intellectual as a model of former readers without the context of the war. Though this strong-willed Japanese girl’s image is attractive, it can be dangerous if the image is favored without context. The republished issue put writer’s word, that says the beautiful dream that girls’ magazine had was anti-war. There should be such a aspects, but as I found out, there are also different aspects as well. Editor E, who experienced the WWII though she was little, was careful for this statement. Yet, the republished issue did not fully explains her anxious but only emphasized the chief editor Uchiyama had a will to resist the war. I found this is the limitation of memory. People cannot remember everything so they forget part of them. As a result, memory is reconstructed without the original context. When it loses the context, it can comprise the danger.

Tan (2017) points out that Japanese prime minister is trying to lead Japan back to old fascism today. The old fascism, he states, is the time when “Japanese acquired a sense of superiority as a result of advances in various fields during the Meiji Restoration.” Now, the
prime minister Abe is taking Japan back to that time by “Rewriting the Peace Constitution imposed by the American occupation.” *Shojo no Tomo* was republished in 2009, so it does not relate directly to the tendency today. However, the logic seems to be similar. The analysis of the original issue states that Japan became as strong as other western countries so it is not the small country in the far east any more. Then, girls as Japanese can contribute to such a strong nation. This sounds encouraging, but this kind of nationalism led Japan to the WWII and girls were confined into submissive position. *Shojo no Tomo* encouraged girls as shojo and encourages women today, but it is worth thinking about things that are forgotten by separating from the context when it is remembered.

C. Mnemonic community

After I interviewed former readers and editors of the republished issue, I found the mnemonic community forms more complicated feature. The following diagram shows the mnemonic community of my interviewees.
The mnemonic community is formed based on re-networking of Uchiyama Motoi’s fans. Members of this network kept contact each other and talked about Uchiyama Motoi and his magazine sometimes. As a result, members of the mnemonic community are limited to women who could reach to the network and keep the contact. Such members were someone who contributed often and like to write. The core member is Editor E, who became a writer from former shojo who contributed her writings as well. Their collective memory differs from former readers outside of the network. The most significant part is the non-fiction part. Since fictions and images are more likely to be remembered, non-fiction part is forgotten. However, members of the mnemonic community reconstructed the non-fiction part through communicating with
other readers and remembering the part. Therefore, their collective memory for non-fiction part is highly influenced by their, especially Editor E’s, status in the present.

Collective memory of these members produces the republished issue. In the process of producing it, the younger editors joined the mnemonic community. Although these editors basically agreed on Editor E’s memory, they had different opinion towards understanding of the WWII and the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi. Editor U had more research interest, so she doubted Uchiyama’s reaction during the war. Editor F had more commercial interest and highly valued Uchiyama’s ability to make the magazine that can sell.

As I discussed in the literature review, shojo image was changed because of the influence of the war from delicate shojo to intelligent shojo. The analysis of the original issue shows that the shojo image created or changed by the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi was nationalistic, independent, but also submissive to take women’s role willingly for the war. Readers outside of the mnemonic community had image of shojo as delicate and weak, or even obedient to male domination. From these differences, I could observe that there are the delicate shojo image and strong Japanese shojo image, but only the delicate shojo image is remembered as “shojo” in readers memory. However, the republished issue added strength in shojo image, that might come from the strength during the wartime. It includes independence and strength in shojo, but it forgot nationalistic aspect and women’s submissive role as a result of the war. This indicates that the republished issue created shojo image as combining delicate shojo and strong Japanese shojo without wartime context. Because of reconstructing memory and generating the collective memory by the republished issue, shojo became a girl delicate with strong will because of her
intelligence. Such an image is welcomed to young editors who are both mothers and working women. This shojo image might be something that women in present time want as to reflect their own ideal image.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

My research aimed to study how memories of girlhood during the war are reconstructed in the present time. For this study, I focused on Shojo no Tomo, the only magazine before the WWII, which was republished. Though this magazine had been publishing for more than 50 years, I focused on the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi’s time because his time is especially remembered. From the content analysis of the original issues, I found that the magazine during his time emphasizes the non-fiction parts and strengthens educational aspects. While the non-fiction articles encourage readers to be independent as specialists, they also comprise nationalistic way of thinking and that confines girls to submissive roles in relation to the war. To see what is remembered or forgotten, I interviewed original readers. These interviews show that readers without any connection to the network of other readers did not remember non-fiction part and their impression towards the shojo image varies in accordance with ages. Comparing this, the republished issue has a stable image of former readers as artistic intellectuals. Assuming such readers, it emphasizes the greatness of Uchiyama Motoi as a supporter of such readers’ growth and resistance to the war. Interviews of editors of the republished issue tell the background of the republishing of the magazine. The republished issue is mainly based on former readers re-networking and on one of the editors’ memories. The editor who is the center of the republished
issue had a clear will to make the magazine recognized. Therefore, the republished issue marginalized the fact that the magazine actually showed support for the war and instead emphasizes educating girls to become intellectuals. So, it is worth being recognized. The collective memory of *Shojo no Tomo* gives affirmative feelings to women but it loses the wartime context.

The republished issue of *Shojo no Tomo* shows the construction of collective memory and it exemplifies the collective remembering and forgetting of WWII, that women experienced in Japan. As Schwartz’ (1990) research of Rosa Parks showed, people have limitations in remembering a past event. Therefore, what is not registered is forgotten. Teeger and Vinitzky-Seroussi (2007) stated that such a forgetting relates to what is valued in the present time, for example, by pointing out the apartheid museum in South Africa marginalized what endangered the present government. They also suggested that this marginalization, not total exclusion, causes reconstruction of the past event. They pointed out that the apartheid museum represented issues that endanger the ANC’s positive image, for example, its violence, in a convoluted way to avoid potential criticism. It blurred the boundaries between judicial process and other violence. As a result of this blurring, the issue of the ANC’s violence is understood as resistance. This literature shows that a marginalized fact is remembered in a different way.

In the case of the republication of *Shojo no Tomo*, the greatness of the chief editor Uchiyama Motoi as a guardian of independent shojo is emphasized and the wartime context is marginalized. The image of shojo, who is delicate but intelligent, is depicted in Uchiyama’s time in articles about a girl. This type of girl is introduced in the republished issue and is understood
as the girlhood of artistic intellectuals. However, a marginalization has occurred here. The republished issue picked up an article of a girl who was in China from many other articles of girls or women. Other articles, for example, showed nurses who were actually in the battle fields and talked about it. The choice of the republished issue shows that they marginalized that Japan was in the war, and forgot the fact that girls were also shown in the battle fields and such girls’ nationalism was admired.

Unlike Teeger and Vinitzky-Seroussi’s research, the marginalization and forgetting of Shojo no Tomo occurred without political influence, but the result is similar. The shojo image is reconstructed to claim that girls or the magazines were not guilty during the war. If the relationship between the war and girls was forgotten completely, the republished issue would get criticism for not saying this fact. Therefore, it mentions the war and reconstructs the fact by marginalizing. This led to the claim that the dreaming world of shojo depicted in the magazine was anti-war. Though Shojo no Tomo is just a magazine for girls and seems irrelevant to politics, this shows that popular culture can reconstruct the understandings of past events.

Such reconstruction occurred because of the mnemonic battle (Zerubavel 1996) between women and the main stream of understanding history. Editor E showed a clear intention to make her understanding of shojo recognized. From her interview, the mnemonic battle of Shojo no Tomo can be understood not as a battle among girls’ magazines but as a battle against the main stream of male domination. The strategy she took was to emphasize the educational aspect of the magazine. In general, girls’ magazines are devalued as just a romantic and sensitive reading for girls, but what she claimed was that this particular magazine was qualified to educate girls to be
artistic intellectuals who can lead Japanese women today.

In addition to this claim, the republished issue claimed that the romanticism of the girls’ magazine was anti war by marginalizing the fact that this magazine also encouraged girls to dedicate themselves for the war. This can also be a weapon to claim this magazine is worthy in the present because it was anti war, while boys magazines encouraged boys to be soldiers.

Despite those claims, the shojo image retains its femininity. Editor E kept did not forget being humble through interviews and the republished issue drew only artists as model readers. This is not a strong claim to fight the male domination. Both editor E and the republished issue drew the shojo image with strength and by the guardianship of the great editor Uchiyama Motoi. Because the shojo image retains a romantic image, it appealed to the younger generation, but this also confined girls to the artistic work; that feminine children do. Judging whether this is a limitation or a new way of claiming women’s position in the present requires further research, but the mnemonic battle of Shojo no Tomo shows the complexity of femininity.

In the end, my research also suggests the importance of studying fiction when we look back the past event. Schwartz and Schuman (2005) studied the public image of Lincoln and stated an analogy between fantasy and collective memory. They pointed out the complexity of making collective memory through commemorative artworks including at the popular level such as in magazines, newspapers, television, film, etc., when thinking about the impact on individuals. My research found that people remembered the fiction part more though the magazine comprised both fiction and non-fiction. This indicates that fiction has more impact than non-fiction for remembering past events. Thinking about this impact, it is important to study the fiction part.
although non-fiction tends to be more emphasized when studying past events. People understand past events in accordance with the present and they reconstruct the past. My research showed that non-fiction parts are reconstructed by marginalizing the facts. Most non-fiction parts were forgotten. Fiction, on the other hand, is remembered well, because it is easier to interpret in any way by the receiver. Therefore, it has more possibility to reconstruct things unconsciously. As understanding history is a similar cognitive action as interpreting fantasy, it is important to study fiction when we think about history.

The limitation of my research is firstly to focus on only one girls’ magazine. To reveal what kind of things are picked to republish, comparison with other forgotten magazines, including one which had more circulation at that time, is needed. Secondly, I had limited interviewees. Especially, I could not reach any former readers from the re-networking except Editor E. Also, more interviews of former readers without contacts to networks should give clear difference from them. I will research more of these part in my future research.
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VITA

AI YAMAMOTO

ayamamot@go.olemiss.edu

EDUCATION:

M.A. University of Mississippi
    Sociology, expected August 2017

M.A. Hyogo University of Teacher Education
    Education in Language Studies, 2015

B.A. Kyoto Prefectural University
    English and American Literature, 2005

A.D. Osaka Jogakuin Junior College
    English, 2002