

Media and Mother: A Case of Actress Mimasu

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The actress known as Mimasu experienced several critical turning points during her career of over fifty-five years. As was not surprising within the male-dominated system of screen and stage of her time, every time she advanced in her profession male help was essential. Since such support created a certain fixed image of Aiko Mimasu on the public, the merging of image and reality played an intriguing part to manipulate viewers' impression of the persona and, later on, even to impinge on her private realm. In this paper I intend to show both affirmative and negative aspects of the double faced coin of Mimasu's identity constructed on the brand of "the Japanese mother" she was given by the industry and the media.

Starting her career in 1927 at Osaka, where she was born in 1910, with her earliest stagings as a farmer's daughter and a dancing girl, Aiko Mimasu steadily climbed to stardom as a popular actress. Her extensive range of activities inscribed her name and fame in domestic films and stage productions which count approximately one hundred and seven until she passed away in 1982 at the age of seventy-three. Along with her prolific repertoire, the roles she covered are extremely varied: popular comedian, murdered opera singer, single mother, farmer's wife, prostitute, geisha, hostess, shopkeeper, rich widow, samurai official's wife and aged miser (Sato and Shiba 661-663).

One of the greatest footprints she left on the Japanese film historiography is her immeasurable contribution to the box office of the Daiei film company through her consistent portrayal of a mother in the *hahamono* (maternal melodrama) films during the two decades following World War II. Another aspect of her contribution is as notable as this financial one; through the considerate and self-effacing mother role frequently personified in these films Mimasu has built a definite icon of the Japanese mother among viewers' psyche. A trade movie journal, also trying to advocate Mimasu's persona as a good mother, unfolded an episode of her demonstrating warm maternal concerns and cares to the little ones acting with her at the location. She reportedly saved a stranger's life (*Daiei Fan* Nov. 1948: 2). Furthermore she got to have two children whose "papa-san" was a distinguished person of Daiei, expecting another (*Daiei Fan* Jun. 1950: 15). Despite of her tremendous popularity, for some reason, her detailed life history was not made clear to the public at this point (Ibid. 14). Much later in 1964 she started out advising and counseling readers for their family dilemmas on a weekly based journal. Mimasu was now finally able to negotiate the urge for the exploitation of her motherly star image with her inner reality.

Mimasu's dedication to the silver screen, particularly that of the postwar Japan, thus focused the representation of mothering. Certainly one of the most significant aspects of the use of a leading actress in the woman's film is "the purpose she seemingly embodied vis-a-vis the female role in society" (Basinger 165). Yet Mimasu's persona created as mother and her subjectivity as mother in real life draw the viewer's attention for the unique interdependence at play between the two. The unified identities of the public and the private self develop into an important sociocultural issue owing to their unusual proximity. When one gets to be damaged by the other

or vice versa, the friendly balance would be spoiled depending upon the degree of erosion of her popularized image as mother.

The most striking image Mimasu left for audiences when she died, despite the varied representations of Japanese women including erotic figures in her earlier appearances, was arguably but invariably “the Japanese mother.” The death of the great star was detailed in papers and weekly commercial magazines under the title of “the end of the Japanese mother”(Shukan Posuto, 5 Feb. 1982). What is implied by the label “the Japanese mother”? Who created such a brand as “the Japanese mother”? One clue lies somewhere in the filmic representations of mother in the *hahamono* films which the Daiei film company conjured one after another from the late 1940s through the 1950s. Mimasu acted the archetype of the self-effacing mother in as many as thirty-one films with Daiei, ranging from *Yamaneko Reijo* [*Mrs. Wild Cat's Daughter*] (1948) and *Haha* [*Mother*] (1948) to *Haha no Tabiji* [*Mother's Voyage*] (1958). Over and over again we find the similar plot design refrained in these works: mother submits children to society at cost of her private happiness or she sacrifices herself to protect children's name and financial stability. Reviewers did not necessarily take in this monolithic theme of the self-blaming motherhood, little less the subplots escalated year by year into horrors forged apparently to victimize mother. Tadahisa Murakami was even “appalled” at *Haha Tôdai* (1949) (*Kinema Junpô* 1950: 47). Others on the *Kinema Junpô* review column recommended these stagnated narratives only to the local audience. Despite the negative reactions raised from these influential reviewers, Daiei never gave up its reliance on the cash value expected of the *hahamonos*.

In *Yamaneko Reijo* Mimasu acts a self-determined wild cat geisha mother who looks much older than Mimasu's real age. Two types of

motherhood are demonstrated, “phallic” and “complicit,” in the postwar patriarchal society, that demands mother to earn both money and daughter's trust. The phallic mother gives way with too much ease to a remorseful mother who is supposed to turn more attention to the social gaze and her adolescent daughter's. The mother paradigm inherited from the Hollywood classical *Stella Dallas* seems to be too extensively inscribed there to construct her own untamed mother paradigm. An embarrassed reviewer thus had to find the social and ethical implication of this characterization: “A stupid mother is required transformation to a wise mother so she could survive in this rough world. She ought to respect and nurture her daughter's healthy dreams” (*Daiei Fan* Mar. 1948: 2).

Under this circumstance Mimasu's role was yet to be associated with such phallic mother paradigm under which E. Ann Kaplan categorizes the mothers we encounter in *Now Voyager* (1942) and *Marnie* (1964) (110). In both narratives the mother shows little compliance to a psychiatrist's concerns about her distressed daughter. On the other hand, Mimasu's persona becomes more intensely absorbed into such a stereotyped conscientious mother on a male medical student's admonition. Patterned story of this maternal transformation is suggested by its unanimous title crowned with Haha-Mother like *Haha Tsukiyo-Mother Moonlit Night*. To describe the mother's featured look Tadao Sato appropriately focuses her reproachful gaze (1987: 38). I would also add to his note that this commercially propagandized signature of the cursed mother we were accommodated with on film theater posters and magazine pages incurred a vicious cycle of assumption that the Japanese mother was ineradicably structured into the sadistic patriarchy that demanded her to trade her own subjectivity and stability with those of her children.

An epoch making jump in her filmography from the good mother icon thus consolidated for many postwar years Mimasu registers through her distinguished stage performance in *Gametsui Yatsu* [*A Female Miser*] (1959.60) written and produced by Kazuo Kikuta. The Geijutsu Festival Award and Teatoron Award were bestowed on her for the extraordinary artistic control she had over the challenging characterization of a greedy and malignant aged woman “Oshika-basan.” Reviewers showered the highest applaud on this staging. In its film version made by Tôhô (1960), we meet a most phallic type of mother icon who could almost choke her equally greedy son to death, fighting for money she hid in a pitcher underground. The makeup of artificially fixed beastly teeth, painted daunting brows, and widely open, watchful, and shrewd eyes makes Mrs. Hyde-Oshika alert and alive on the screen. But Oshika-basan’s substitute mother identity is no less appealing as demonstrated in her absolute trust in a retarded girl living together as her maid. This semi mother-daughter paradigm, that sublimates almost to celestial innocence and mutual faith, betrays a paradox of blood-tied maternal love, which the conventional *hahamono* texts were obsessed with. With reviewers Mimasu’s husband Matsutaro Kawaguchi shared the highest admiration of her perfect performance in *Gametsui Yatsu*, that totally repainted her Jekyll images. In his book written as a homage to his wife he notes that her preceding performances seemed artificial against the art “true to her heart” (Kawaguchi 39).

In commemoration of these award winnings, she was invited to filming *Musume. Tsuma. Haha* [*Daughter Wife Mother*] (1960) with director Mikio Naruse. In this film Mimasu personifies the widowed mother of five grown up children, to whom she proclaims that mother’s happiness lies in her children’s happiness. The mother has spent a fairly cozy and stable life with her eldest son until he goes

bankrupt. Eventually the common problem of who is to care for an aging widowed mother is addressed as a family agenda here, by juxtaposing her with the other widowed mother who is repelled by her “yome-san” (daughter-in-law) for her annoying attachment to her only son. The ideology of maternal happiness addressed within the matriarchy normally invokes serious social arguments. Yet, presented with smiling look and soft, husky voice of Mimasu, that were familiarized to viewers across a decade as much as those of their own relatives and neighboring “oba-sans,” even the problematic phrasing of who's going to take care of an aged mother rings somehow a contradictory sweet fantasy into their mind. Even momentarily Mimasu's familiarized persona of good non-phallic mother seems to pull a sting out of the grave women's and social issues that fall on the aging mother character and that might be falling on her spectators in no time anyway. Thus, it is to be noted that Mimasu's stereotyped role in this film could hardly be expected to switch with the opposing role played by Ms. Haruko Sugimura. The latter resisting mother unabashedly speaks out her daily dissatisfactions to her son and in-law and even acts out her aversion to the intimacy of the son's family.

The project of this filmmaking itself, planned particularly after the staging and the shooting of *Gametsui Yatsu*, exemplifies an instance of male protection of Mimasu's long built self-effacing good mother icon against the poisonous imaging of Mimasu that could be transferred from “Oshika-basan.” The mother's choice of her life in an institution for the aged in *Musume, Tsuma, Haha* is suggested to the viewer in her secret correspondence with the second home-to-be. One could also assume that the representation of the dual mother images in this film brings out an ambivalence rooted in the construct of Japanese psyche, namely affection and aversion toward the

devoted motherhood. It is clear that even Mimasu's artistic breakthrough is commercially calculated and used to pull her back to the path she had paved through the years of her career. In no doubt the identity of the mother of four children in Mimasu's private life that the media communicate either straight to us or through her words on air and on journals is also intricately fabricated in the most commonly traded package of Mimasu's persona as "the Japanese mother." The interplay of the mediated subject of the star with the filmic representation projected on the other resultantly creates another complex image, a sort of an indistinguishably merged faces of a coin named Mimasu "the Japanese mother." In the remainder of the paper more attention will be paid to clarifying how the coinage was processed and how one can hardly distinguish its two faces.

Many of the postwar audience members and fans of her work rarely know that Mimasu on the prewar stage was an excellent comedian and prompted a whirl of laughter paired with renowned Roppa Furukawa and other male comedians (*Daiei Fan* 1950: 14). A remnant of her comedic stage experiences is most clearly traced in *Haha Tsubaki* [*Mother Camellia*] (1950), I think, where Roppa also appears as her stage pal. The comedian single mother's comforting big smile, witty fast talk, and exaggerated gestures demonstrated in this postwar film somehow oppose Mimasu's distressed look much appropriated on posters and sign boards of most of her *hahamono* films. Some oversea spectators of Japanese women's films who would complain of a lack of laughter might find one in some of Mimasu's postwar works. In 1935 she followed Roppa who quit Warai no Okoku to join Tôhō Gekijo and activated many comedy stage performances with him, during which time she met another man who occasioned a literally dramatic change in her private and public self.

The upheaval of Aiko Mimasu's life as a woman was promised when she was brought to the attention of a Naoki Award winning writer Matsutaro Kawaguchi, who had been energetically writing scripts for *shinpa* dramas and originated the most popular maternal melodrama *Aizen Katsura* (1938). When both fell in love, Kawaguchi had already been married. But Mimasu had her first son with Kawaguchi in 1936, two more in 1945 and 1951, and one daughter in 1950. In 1951 Kawaguchi finally divorced his wife and left his family. The comedic roles disappeared and she geared to melodramas after her lover Kawaguchi obtained an executive's position at Daiei in 1947. Mimasu, after a blank of four years (1943-47), also contracted with the filming company and in the next year she made a debut in *Yamaneko Reijo* as an ignorant phallic geisha mother, who promptly gives up her ego to insure a happy ending of her young daughter's life. The hit film facilitated in the Japanese film historiography a significant drive to set fire on Daiei's *hahamono* boom (*KineJun* 1986: 13). It is to be noted that Daiei president Masao Nagata kept giving tremendous credit for the company's box office success to the *hahamono* boom, while many reviewers and city audiences gradually turned away from slight variants on the recycled story. Rather than punished by the media, Mimasu's patience as a single mother of small children seems to have been commended. Some reported that it serves as a resource to sophisticate her own performance: "Mimasu is a popular star who charms the audience over the middle-age" (*Daiei Fan Jun*. 1950: 14). Mimasu's case proves that illegitimate single motherhood does not necessarily incur the social negation of her problematic identity, if she has enough resilience to endure and resist it. Mimasu's strength also lies in her alliance with an extremely talented and popular script-writer Kawaguchi who was as influential around theaters and movies as an able project

planner. He was in a position to suggest such a script to his colleagues that could parade Mimasu's charms and mask her flaws. The media, awed by this partisan, named it as the Kawaguchi Family, which maintained its dominance upon producers, directors, actors, and actresses over three decades.

Mimasu must have nonetheless suffered a single mother's dilemma, for Kawaguchi did not divorce his wife for thirteen years. Yet, it is highly possible that she nevertheless enjoyed the subjective life off-screen through her male-supported occupational and financial seability, considering Japan had the worst postwar unemployment for female workers in 1950. A mere 30 percent of women could get a job in the late 1950s and their average wage amounted only to one ninth of American women workers' (Ito 105). The wealth Mimasu immersed herself in, both publicly and privately, was certainly an exceptional privilege. A minor example of this is their first stay in Hawaii "in 1953 when plane tickets were available only to those few with American connections" (Kawaguchi 10).

Added to these social and mental privileges, empowerment for Mimasu's benefits was presumably attainable to her from a film-viewing process. Whether intended by the producer or not, the actress should be able to appeal to the media industry's propagandizing skills of signaling message which were luckily appropriated at the time of Daiei's peak of success from the late forties through the fifties. It is assumed that some of the narratives in the Daiei *hahamono* films involuntarily operated an effective defence mechanism of Mimasu's single motherhood otherwise liable to provoke scandals and criticism. Some well-informed viewers of *Haha Tsubaki*, for instance, might have received the between-the-lines message generating from an impersonated comedian's identity of a single career mother, once a lover of a married celebrity. Through

the stubborn resistance, even when she realizes the politician's wife is dead, to the politician's offer of marriage after many years of distancing, the single comedian-mother is evidently acting out and speaking out Mimasu's displaced apologetic feelings toward Kawaguchi's family she broke. Since the persona is informed of the legal wife's death, there is no convincing excuse left for her to turn down his proposal, given the prospect that he wishes to include her into family with her daughter she had left with him. Film critic Murakami rightfully points out “the distance between its motif and the audience in *Haha Tsubaki*” (55).

The narrative of a self-punishing single and solitary mother receding from a prospect of family reunion, across a few shifts of scenario from her dubbed real-sized story, when played by no other actresses but Mimasu, is more impactful as a psychodrama for Mimasu, Kawaguchi, and spectator than as a mere film. The effect of patience, suffering, excuses, and apologies she displays before the camera eye is not solely contained within the filmic narrative. These feelings might also be duplicated in the persona's own dramatic reality that the viewers have learned through the media, rendering some supportive feelings to repair its damage and remodel her public portrait as a filmmaker. This tragic figure has a potential to make her words and behaviors plausible for the real Mimasu's own benefit, which reflects Kawaguchi's also. The viewer sees she earns such a vantage point as to petition for a generous acceptance of what is normally gossiped: winning a married celebrity's love and having his children, one after another. A darker image otherwise accompanying an illegitimate wife in such circumstance is plausibly dissipated owing to this distinctive incorporation of reality and image Mimasu has been consolidating on and off screen. And this fortunate fusion was able to quickly and extensively spread with

Daiei's strong ratio of contracts with nation-wide theaters, that in the latter 1949 recorded the top twenty percent of 2119 theaters in total it shared with four other filming companies (Tanaka 315).

This intriguing interplay of the two sides of Mimasu's mother icon widely mediated through her persona in the *hahamono* films is suspected to be still at work across a span of three decades in 1978, when the collapse of the Kawaguchi Family started from within. Her children's arrest was reported with unusual heat by the media. Mimasu as aged as in her late sixties reportedly appeared in court to petition the indemnity of her second son for drug use and two other children involved for minor guilt. To fantasize an incredible court spectacle of Mimasu standing up in protection of her child, the parallel sequences that starred her once in maternal melodramas are possibly what viewers inadvertently pick up in their treasured memory.

The disaster that fell on the Kawaguchi Family in 1978 naturally drew the eyes and ears of those hungry for gossips and prompted an unsurmountable backlash against the mother and her persona long accumulated through her cinematic achievements. Many newspapers put the family's scandal as the top feature story and detailed the court scene where Mimasu was summoned as a witness at the second trial of her second eldest son for his drug abuse. Mimasu was reported there to have said "I brought into life this stupid child." If one of the ordinary homemaker mothers had said this phrase, readers might have taken it in without a second thought. It was an accepted maternal stance in the social convention those days as today that a mother was solely to be blamed and punished for her child's faults. When Mimasu was reported to have spoken these words in the witness box, it immediately invoked among the consuming public the self-blame and commodified pathetic appearance of her persona

familiarized within the *hahamono* films.

The source of the media's relentless counterattack on the merged images of cinema and reality can be traced, I contend, in *Haha Tôdai* [*Mother's Lighthouse*] (1949) and *Haha Yamabiko* [*Mother's Echo*] (1952). At the court ruling of her child's guilt, both films depict the mother archetype's fusion with her child in the private realm that is readily translated into the public. Such translation is unlikely to happen in the film version of *Mildred Pierce* (1945). In both Japanese films the mother sticks her neck out on her beloved child's behalf. A mother is summoned by the police in *Haha Tôdai* to claim her eldest daughter in custody. *Haha Yamabiko* pictures a more pathetic mother who runs around bowing to any mother in sight and apologizing for the shipwreck involving her daughter's students on a school excursion. Mother seems to reason that her daughter should take grave responsibility for the marine accident. No other films than *Haha* [*Mother*] (1958) could be the better target of the media's attack, for Mimasu and her eldest son Hiroshi Kawaguchi carry on the personal intimacy of mother-son relationship here. The apologetic bowing, shedding of tears, and even the desperate acting out of the desire to substitute herself for the abused son receiving blows from the *yakuza* members in *Haha* still help calling in the symbiotic relation between Mimasu's persona and the label of a devastatingly self-sacrificial "Japanese mother."

The cynicism created by the media's vivid reportings of the miserable mother Mimasu beseeching an allowance for circumstance with a handkerchief in hand primarily lies in the unavoidable confusion of the rare circumstance in reality and the persona. The confusion that is inevitable to the gaze of her icon might well be embedded with the confusion inside herself, too. Namely, Mimasu's subjectivity is assumed to be unconsciously conditioned by the many

years of her enacting mother's role, that will involuntarily shape some of her own facial expressions, diction, postures, and behaviors. This hypothetical phantom's visit to the mother in the actual courtroom *mise-en-scène*, I assume, causes a risk of amplifying the cynicism on the side of the perceptive other's gaze, starting out a vicious cycle of mutual distrust between the troubled mother and the media-viewer. The amplified cynicism is paradoxically able to enforce a split in her persona and reality. In the worst case, Mimasu might hardly find an easy way back to her subjectivity from a journey of balancing the two within her healthy identity.

The disparity of the friendly balance between the brand name of “the Japanese mother” and her reality as a good mother of four children shows its varied patterns in the other's gaze as exemplified in a series of report on weekly trade journals *Shukanishi*. *Shukan Heibon* June 8 and *Sunday Mainichi* June 18 of 1978 feature the collapse of the intellectual Kawaguchi Family with the arrest of their son. The title “The Japanese mother who failed in child raising” in *Shukan Shincho* June 22 1978 would sound no less painful to Mimasu. The report made by *Hochi Shinbun* Sep.12 1978 is particularly noteworthy. What is predominant over other papers of the same date of September 12, 1978 is the lamenting note: “How sad mother is, and how strong she is; she supports her crumbling body with the pathetic praying of her son's rehabilitation,” (*Nikkan Supotsu*) or “She is the exact copy of a mother in agony we often meet at *shinpa* tragedy” (*Supo Nichi*).

From these relatively compassionate tones *Hochi* keeps an aloof stance in the following comment: “The sight of the former tearjerking mother reenacting the women's weepies in the real world is nothing but a sheer irony.” It also identifies the court scene with a story of the ungrateful son and with the additional cruel disclosure of

Mimasu's ignorance of the vocabulary the prosecutor used in his remonstrating remark about the thirty-year-old son's drug abuse. The phrase the Hochi's reporter chooses to describe Mimasu in the courtroom, "the cinematographic mother icon actualized," beautifully and burlesquely conforms to the phrase her husband Kawaguchi himself once chose. In a caption of her photograph put far back in 1952 on *Shukan Asahi* titled "A talk about my wife" Kawaguchi Matsutarô used the exact expression(31). Before the camera eye Mimasu posed with smile, happily surrounded by all four beautiful children. By the same phrasing her husband implied the high estimation of his partner, while the Hochi reporter implies grave cynicism and blame he presumably meant to target either on the negligent or excessive maternal care.

Who could predict the narratives of *Haha Tsubaki* (1950) and *Haha Yamabiko* (1952) would face their own reflections, twenty some odd years later, in Mimasu's unavoidable involvement with the unfriendly camera's eye, evidencing another fusion of image and reality? A 1978 snapshot of Mimasu in the papers and weekly journals reporting on the trial might not be taken in, at first sight, as something odd or unexpected, since her photo image there makes unmistakably the exact double in these films. The misery of a mother loaded with her child's crime is conveyed by the identical gray hairs, embarrassed looks, and the classical kimono styles all familiarized on the screen. It is equally doubly loaded with the media's voyeuristic curiosity accompanied by mesmerizing flashes, impudent questions, and impatient microphones pressing upon the drooping mother's look.

What is more at stake than the media's voyeuristic approach to the stereotyped mother-role Mimasu reenacts in the actual family mishap may be its identification firmly established with its own

depiction within *Haha Tsubaki* and *Haha Yamabiko*. Both narratives commonly reveal the implication of the media's bold intervention with the mother's subjectivity at risk, obviously depicting it with either antipathy or ridicule. In the blow *Hochi Shinbun* inflicts on the implied merging of Mimasu's persona and reality as mentioned earlier, one cannot help sensing a tinge of retaliation suggested for the strikingly negative representation of the media in the above two narratives. The media, that was visualized there, facilitates a signifier of powerful intervention with the individual's peace and privacy through warning of its huge mass control. Thus the media that was once screened as a scapegoat of remarkable motherhood inadvertently reveals its ambiguous positioning between voyeuristic spectator and its own screened image, unsure to sustain the vocational discipline of fairness and distance with the fictionalized self-image.

As the number of the films and the stage performances gives evidence, Mimasu devoted her life to vocation rather than mothering her children. Being a popular actress was one of the top money-making jobs and top self-actualizing occupations for Japanese women of her time. She obtained both sparkling stardom and a renowned scenario writer's wifely seat...and four beautiful children. Some audience, intoxicated with her miserable look on screen and sharing tears with her icon, couldn't fully accept the tears she cried into her handkerchief while she pleaded with a judge for the indemnity of her son. Reality is reality, not a fiction. The indemnity she pleads is for her own son, a man of reality, not for a fictitious character. And a fatal line drawn between the two should not be tested outside fantasy. The reporter in topic seems to address this distinction to the Kawaguchi as well as to the society.

Conclusion

Mother is consistently a mother no matter where she is, on film, stage, or at home; father used to be unlikely before the seventies. She can never take off her maternal identity like her outfit. Kaplan finishes her book on motherhood with a heavy note that mother wouldn't be liberated from "discursive constraints and burdens" before she is regarded to constitute 'mother' only when interacting with her child (219). Woman is doomed then to survive her labeled identity of the mother; actress Mimasu's actualized court petition certainly adds a meaningful dimension to this premise. Interestingly her husband Kawaguchi lent invaluable hands in creating and immobilizing such an icon with his professional advices and many other great insights. Mimasu, who retired once from screen as a mother of two children, made a comeback in 1947 observing Kawaguchi's strong urge. Therefore, he doesn't sound right when he writes in his memoir that Mimasu's performances were all forged ones before she has hit the right chord playing Oshika-basan. The paired occupational bonding was as tight as their family tie to build an icon of an exceptional Japanese actress for the long years of committment to career and for the family construct named the Kawaguchi Family.

But a mishap that attacked her a few years before she ended her career aggravated her doubled maternal role, one in film and the other at home. The fatal blow also came from the media responding to her tragedy, possibly in vengeance of its negative filmic imaging shown in *Haha Tsubaki*; camera flashes are burnt to bribe money from the unmarried couple, the precise doubles of Mimasu and Kawaguchi victimized by the media. Outside the live court house Mimasu with undyed gray hair and in kimono was surrounded by many microphones and cameras thrust to her face. For the first

instant, the readers of weekly journals reporting about her attending the son's trial can hardly tell this photo from one of her filmed shots. Eventually we see a phantam, to play a joke of transference in an unexpectedly tricky way, visit Aiko Mimasu, "the only *hahamono* actress who achieved a successful career at such young age of the thirties"(Kawaguchi 13). Very truly the phantam possesses the fated media-viewer alike.

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