

## **“I’m Happy the Way Things Are Now”**

Daughterhood and Change in Yasujirō Ozu’s *Late Spring* (1949) and *Tokyo Twilight* (1957)

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Master’s Thesis  
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The career of Japanese director Yasujirō Ozu (1903–1963) is best remembered for family dramas dealing with personal stories of his contemporary times. This study focuses on the role of daughterhood, and how social change is represented through it in Ozu’s post-war films. Applying close reading as the research method, *Late Spring* (1949) and *Tokyo Twilight* (1957) have been chosen as case studies of Ozu’s post-war films.

While family is a central theme in his works, research on gender in Ozu’s films is scarce and lacks feminist approaches. The aim of the study is to widen the horizons in Ozu research by drawing attention to gender discourses prevalent in the films. Beyond film studies, attention to the role of daughterhood has not been widely studied in humanist fields. Thus, this study establishes a definition of daughterhood in *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight* based on Judith Butler’s theory of gender as performance, Stuart Hall’s constructionist approach to representation and studies of Japanese family relations and expectations.

Close reading of *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight* indicate discourses of daughterhood that connect it to the cultural and historical moment of post-war Japan. While there are differences between the films, together they help define daughterhood that is part of social change as a fluid identity that ties together past, present and the future, as well as contradicting presentations of gender. By implementing feminist research approach to Ozu’s films, this study highlights the potential of new perspectives and alternative readings in the field.

**Keywords:** Yasujirō Ozu, feminism, film studies, gender studies, gender roles, close reading, Japanese studies, post-structuralism

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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction and Research Questions

Japanese director Yasujirō Ozu (1903–1963) is often perceived as one of the great masters of cinema as his impressive career spanned through the silent era to colour films while he developed a recognisable auteur style. Since 1992 his globally best known film, *Tokyo Story* (*Tōkyō monogatari*, 1953), has been in the top five of the once a decade poll “The 100 Greatest Films of All Time” by *Sight and Sound* (BFI n.d., 2021a, 2021b, 2021c) and in high praise, the famous film critic Roger Ebert even states that “to love movies without loving Ozu is an impossibility” (Ebert 1993). A personal admiration of Ozu’s storytelling attracted me to focus on his work in this study, and the research topic I am about to introduce was drawn from my wider interest in feminist discourse in film studies.

Despite Ozu being best known for his films with stories of family relationships and marriage, his work has not often been studied with focus on gender. Taking into account how many of Ozu’s films feature central female characters, it is surprising how little there has been written about these women taking active roles, living up to and defying expectations in a changing society. Some of the exceptions of scholarship covering femininity include works by Alastair Phillips (2003, 2007, 2018), Shigehiko Hasumi (2018) and Adam Mars-Jones (2011). Phillips’ research covers Ozu’s films from the perspectives of both feminine (Phillips 2003) and masculine roles (Phillips 2007) in historical and social context, as well as how social change and space relate to gender (Phillips 2018). Both Hasumi and Mars-Jones take interest in specific female characters in their writing. Hasumi’s (2018) article “Ozu’s Angry Women” focuses on subtle gestures of female characters as evidence of anger. Film critic Mars-Jones (2011, 18) concentrates on *Late Spring* (*Banshun*, 1949) with “the position of a single woman in a rapidly changing society” as the central subject of his book *Noriko Smiling*.

Jinhee Choi (2018, 1) highlights that Western scholarship on Ozu mainly focuses on his style, trying to define his aesthetic, identify its origins and whether it can be found in his “Japaneseness.” For example, Donald Richie (1974, xiii) has written about Ozu’s “real Japanese flavor” and described him as “the most Japanese” of directors. Opposing these notions, Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell highlight how prior scholarship connects Ozu to Orientalist tendencies – but as noted by Peter Lehman, they do not actually use the term themselves (Bordwell and Thompson 1976, 41–73; Lehman 1987, 6).

Mars-Jones (2011, 9) summarises the problem of such approaches to be simplifying the nationality into “a state with single dimension.” He finds that Richie’s work on Ozu tend to treat the films as mystical objects (Mars-Jones 2011, 7), and Lehman (1987, 7) agrees by characterising Richie’ and Paul Schrader’s work on Ozu with a sense of “mysterious otherness” of Japanese culture. Indeed, Paul Schrader’s (1988) writing on transcendental capacities of cinema covers Ozu as a key example and argues spirituality as a part of Ozu’s aesthetic. Furthermore, the director’s sensibility is commonly linked to the concept of *mono no aware* of Zen Buddhism, explained by Mars-Jones as an “epiphany of beauty which is also a revelation of loss” (Mars-Jones 2011, 14). In his critique of mystification of Ozu’s work, Mars-Jones (2011, 15) marks that as “pieces of cinema” Ozu’s films cannot be turned into “purely religious experience.” Lehman (1987, 12) further notes possible distortion of Japanese films by vague “knowledge” (in quotation marks in the original article as well) of the culture demonstrated by Western authors.

Where Richie’s mystification of Ozu’s filmography and allusion to essential “Japaneseness” can be seen as reductive, it is notable how his films about family and the passage of time are deeply rooted in the cultural context of the moment of their release. Choi (2018, 3) describes how the “everydayness” of Ozu’s cinema is not just aesthetic but historical, and the changes happening in the society are portrayed through the everyday life. Similarly, Alastair Phillips (2003, 155) situates Ozu’s post-war contemporary dramas with engagement with change, and especially how it influenced gendered social relationships and cultural milieu.

As most of the audiences were middle-class, Shochiku studios that Ozu worked for became focused on films that were class-conscious without political implications, dealing with daily lives and problems of the middle-classes (Komatsu 1996, 415). However, Mitsuyo Wada-Marciano (2008, 49) argues that the *shoshimin eiga* (middle-class film) can exhibit a variety of ideologies and discourses. Indeed, according to Choi (2018, 3) changes regarding social roles like class and gender are a part of Ozu’s “representation of the everyday.” Regarding gender and femininity, Phillips notes the mass female audiences of the time in Japan (Phillips 2003, 156) as he discusses the stardom of female stars, most notably Setsuko Hara, and distinctive feminine spaces in Ozu’s post-war films (Phillips 2003, 159). Kristin Thompson (1988, 321) challenges the view that Ozu’s films portray conservative values by arguing that *Late Spring* presents new ideals of family and marriage.

These key findings and interpretations in prior research invite me to continue to exploration of the shifting social dynamics in Ozu's post-war works with a close focus on gender, the family, and the daughters often central in his narratives. Gender in Ozu's films is a topic I have been able to explore in my earlier studies as well, and parts of my analysis draw from a course assignment written in King's College London as an undergraduate student (Ahderinne 2018). While that assignment focused on fathers rather than daughters, it influenced the direction my thesis would take. I recognise that to gain a deeper understanding, the cultural and historical contexts should be neither simplified nor mystified. Drawing from cross-disciplinary sources on Japanese society and history, I will highlight how the films represent and transform the depicted family dynamics.

Due to Ozu's work being impressive in number and many of his films including daughters, I have limited this thesis to cover two of his films as research material. Both chosen films fall into the post-war era after Japan's loss in World War II, and within Ozu's filmography exemplify his later developed and recognised style. In addition, one of Ozu's most frequent collaborators on screen, Setsuko Hara, plays a daughter in both films, helping to highlight the similarities and differences in characterisations of the daughters in these two films.

The films in question are *Late Spring* (1949) and *Tokyo Twilight* (*Tōkyō boshoku*, 1957). As part of the so-called "Noriko trilogy" – including perhaps the best known of Ozu's work, *Tokyo Story* – *Late Spring* is the more researched film out of the two, while *Tokyo Twilight* directly addresses questions about what it means to be a good daughter. The questions raised for my exploration of gender and family relationships include the following:

- How is daughterhood represented in Ozu's *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*? What do formal elements tell about the role that the daughters occupy?
- How do the narrative and formal patterns of the films frame the socio-political and cultural context of post-war Japan? Is change purely personal within the family unit, or can it be interpreted as a comment on the wider society?

My hypothesis is that these films illustrate daughterhood as a role that simultaneously poses expectations of family responsibility, but on the other hand allows for freedom that differs from the role of a wife or a mother.

Due to my elementary Japanese language proficiency, I am limited to source material either written or translated into the languages I am fluent in. This unfortunately leaves out a lot of

Japanese language sources, or forces me to rely on secondary sources by authors who have translated parts of the original work. For example, Donald Richie (1974) uses a wide array of Japanese sources in his seminal work. However, according to Peter Lehman (1987, 13), Western film critics have “tended to be dismissive of the Japanese criticism” regarding Ozu’s work. Thus, most of the research material available to me is Western in origin.

To balance the disproportion of Japanese and Western research, I aim to answer my research questions with a throughout understanding of the social and historical context. Woojeong Joo (2017, 2) argues that the “Japaneseness” of Ozu should not be situated in his formal elements but rather in the context of Japan’s modern history and social consciousness. Among the sources on Japanese society and history, I include work by native researchers which I hope helps me to stay away from over-simplifications as I myself am only an observer of the Japanese contemporary society. With its feminist approach, this thesis aims to enrich the array of research on Ozu with new perspectives. Continuing in the footsteps of earlier discussions on gender in Ozu’s filmography, I hope to see more feminist discussion in this research field in the future.

## **1.2 Theoretical Framework**

In its simplest definition, feminism is the belief of equality of men and women (Lengermann and Niebrugge 2010, 223) or as famously phrased by Marie Shear “the radical notion that women are people” (Shear 1986, 6). However, to illustrate the complexity of the concept, sociolinguist Deborah Cameron (2018, 2) categorises three separate meanings for feminism, that can overlap together: feminism can be discussed as an idea, a collective political project or an intellectual framework.

To gap the differences, cultural researcher Maggie Humm (1997, 5) argues that variants of feminist theory tend to agree on the following key assumptions: that gender is a social construction that disadvantages women in comparison to men; the social order works in that favour, resulting in “patriarchy”; and to achieve a non-sexist society, women’s knowledge is needed. For example, feminist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1949, 25) describes a society where gender is on a binary between men and women, with masculinity seen as the default while femininity is the exception.

However, the binary basis of gender has been challenged in more recent times. As noted by Humm (1997, 5), gender is usually understood as a social construction. Thus it does not



necessarily relate to one's biological sex, which in itself is not as simple matter as perceived. For example, biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling (2012, 16–26) describes the complexities of development of biological sex that can lead to intersexual development, where one's sex characteristics do not conform to the understanding of male/female binary.

Largely interdisciplinary, feminist theory travels across conventional discipline divides, such as philosophy, anthropology, history and the arts (Humm 1997, 5). In Humm's (1997, 3) words, "feminism has no single vision, although it is a visionary way of seeing." The feminist vision of this study draws from post-structural feminist theory via Judith Butler's work on gender performativity. To describe post-structuralism, literary theorist Robert Young (1982, 5) phrases that it acknowledges "the movement, the lability, and the instability of meaning and representation in the play of signifier." Post-structural theory notes ambivalence of belief and knowledge, emphasises how construction of knowledge relates to power relations in society (Harcourt 2007, 21) and rejects an idea of universal meanings of structures (Harcourt 2007, 17). Thus, as we come back to Butler's framework later, the feminist potential of post-structuralism becomes clear.

In the field of film studies, feminist film theory is "a mode of theoretical speculation" that focuses on gender by utilising diverse methods. The early sociological approach to feminist film critique is known either as the images of women approach or reflection theory. According to it, film text reflects social reality in support of patriarchal ideology, distorting the real lives of women. The main focus was mainstream Hollywood cinema. (Hollinger 2012, 8.) With a similar approach, Laura Mulvey's influential 1975 essay "Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Cinema" uses psychoanalysis and concepts of pleasure and gender to frame gendered representations in cinema. According to Mulvey, pre-existing patterns of society are a part of pleasures of watching a film, which psychoanalysis can reveal. (Mulvey 1975, 6.)

In her essay, Mulvey describes her use of psychoanalytic theory as a "political weapon" that can highlight the influence of patriarchal society in film and how the unconscious of patriarchal society is at play in structuring cinema. (Mulvey 1975, 6.) Mulvey centres her writing on mainstream Hollywood cinema and cinema influenced by it, stating that alternative cinema could be an exception from the patriarchal mode; but its possibility to exist is defined by the juxtaposition to the dominant mode (Mulvey 1975, 7–8). In the context of cinema, Mulvey (1975, 8) defines modes of pleasure in looking through psychoanalytic concepts of Freud and Jacques Lacan. She (1975, 11) states that within the patriarchal society, the

pleasure in looking is situated on a binary with male as active and female as passive; and thus in the narrative and formal conventions, female subject holds an impact of “to-be-looked-at-ness.” Mulvey (1975, 12) poses that narrative strategies lead the spectator to align with an active protagonist, who usually is male.

Mulvey’s theory is in close affinity to Jean-Louis Baudry’s apparatus theory. According to Baudry (1974, 40) the camera captures the “objective reality”, which is then mutated by the technical processes of filmmaking – but once a finished film is displayed in front of a spectator, the movement of objective reality is restored through the process of transformation. Cinema becomes an “ideological machine” (Baudry 1974, 44); the apparatus obliges the spectator “to see what it sees” (Baudry 1974, 45). Similarly, Mulvey’s theory of visual pleasure in mainstream cinema discusses a passive spectator within the society’s dominant ideology.

However, Karen Hollinger notes elements of dualism within the field of feminist film studies. On the other hand there is “the critique of mainstream cinema and the advocacy of an alternate or counter-cinema.” Opposing the study of “distorted representation” of women, there are studies of how mainstream cinema can deconstruct itself by portraying tensions and contradictions in patriarchy. (Hollinger 2012, 7.) Similar to the latter approach, Ozu’s films are part of the mainstream and can be interpreted to include those tensions and contradictions in their representation of women.

In simple summary by Stuart Hall (1997, 16), representation means “the production of meaning through language.” According to him, as production of meaning representation allows us to refer to entities of our surroundings, people, and fictional objects (Hall 1997, 16). While Hall uses the term “language,” he distances it from the sphere of spoken or written language: it can refer to anything that functions as a sign to carry meaning. As examples, he lists images, gestures, fashion and music. (Hall 1997, 18–19.) Thus, meanings of gender roles can be produced through the language of cinema, generating representations.

Of the term representation, Judith Butler writes:

On the one hand, *representation* serves as the operative term within a political process that seeks to extend visibility and legitimacy to women as political subjects; on the other hand, representation is the normative function of a language which is said either

to reveal or to distort what is assumed to be true about the category of women. (Butler 1990, 1.)

The difficulty arises as subject of feminism – the category of women – is produced and kept by the structural powers that feminism is poised against. Two things are simultaneously true: that women’s stories are often either misrepresented or not represented at all, and that the very “category of women” is not a single, stable entity (Butler 1990, 1–2).

As in the framework explained by Butler subjectivity is produced in a process, Hall’s constructionist approach to representation describes another process. According to Hall meaning is constructed by representational systems of concepts and signs (1997, 25); and then those signs have to be interpreted (Hall 1997, 19). Interpretations and the relationship between the signifier and the signified relate to cultural codes, but most importantly are not permanently fixed. Following Ferdinand de Saussure’s arguments in semiotics, Hall takes into account the historic changes that shape the different ways of thinking about the world. “All meanings are produced within history and culture” – and so they keep on changing, from between cultural contexts and historical periods. (Hall 1997, 32.)

Compared to the apparatus theory and its passive spectator mentioned before (Baudry 1974), the constructionist approach to representation makes the perceiver of the message an active participant in the process. Hall (1997, 33) states that the “reader is as important as the writer in the production of meaning” as every signifier has to be meaningfully interpreted. To describe the process, Hall uses the term encoding for production of a message and decoding to refer to the “translation” conducted of the message by an individual (Hall 1973, 1–2).

Originally, Hall (1973) posed the idea of encoding and decoding in the context of television discourse. Regarding the televised material, he states:

The 'object' of production practices and structures in television is the production of a message: that is, a sign-vehicle, or rather sign-vehicles of a specific kind organized, like any other form of communication or language, through the operation of codes, within the syntagmatic chains of a discourse. (Hall 1973, 1–2.)

This notion of production practices and structures neatly lends itself to discussion of cinema, while the specific practices may differ. To put it quite simply, film is literally organised into codes by editing, so that the connection between unrelated moments can be made. The conventions and practices guide the process of encoding the message.

Thus, encoding and decoding are a two-way process: the code used by the structure formats a “message,” and the “message” via decoding becomes part of the structure (Hall 1973, 3). For the connotative quality of visual signs, they are also interconnected with semantic structures of culture (Hall 1973, 10). Here we again see the relevance of the context and relevance of interpretation; connotative signs are open, and relate to ideologies, culture and history (Hall 1973, 13).

Complimentary to the concept non-permanently fixed meanings proposed by Hall, Butler (1988, 519) recognises that gender is not a stable identity but rather one “instituted through a stylized repetition of acts.” Thus, Humm (1997, 166) concludes that “gender can only be understood inside discourse and therefore gender identity is made up of different signifying practices”; the codes of masculinity and femininity need to be established to understand identity.

Existing within culturally specific discourses, the gendered body acts and produces interpretations within the limits of existing conventions (Butler 1988, 526). The performance also has its audience in a social sphere, thus making the performance a continuous process as it mirrors feedback from the audience. The repetitions are needed to make the constructed identity to believe in its own constructed identity, and thus the actor becomes part of the audience themselves (Butler 1988, 520).

In Butler’s framework, the person’s continuity or coherence is not a stable feature but socially instituted and maintained norm of cultural intelligibility (Butler 1990, 17). However, for Butler the body is not a “passive receptor of social norms but a signifying, performing system of meanings” (Humm 1997, 61). As the gender identity is based on “repetition of acts through time,” the patterns of repetition can be also broken or subverted, thus making it possible to transform gender identity (Butler 1988, 520).

Therefore, connecting encoding and decoding with the theory of gender of as performance, the various acts that constitute to gender identity in structured, social sphere can be examined as a semiotic process. Within the field of film studies, Hall’s framework offers a model that calls for the recognition of the production conventions of the specific medium. Thus the exploration of gendered meanings can be expanded beyond the bodily acts of a person to also encase the operations of cinematic and narrative codes.

### 1.3 Methodology

To answer my research questions, I will conduct close readings on *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*. According to Barry Brummett (2010, 4) close reading is the practice of a “mindful, disciplined reading of an object” with the aim to understand its deeper meanings. Derived from literary studies, close reading considers six different contexts categorised by David Greenham (2019, 7): semantic (meanings of individual words), syntactic (meanings the combination of words makes), thematic, iterative (ways rhetorics and patterns change meaning), generic (how the type of work affects our approach to its meaning) and adversarial (the historical, political and theoretical contexts that form meanings). Brummett (2010, 9) sees all objects that generate meaning as text; similarly, number of early semiotic film theorists viewed film as a language (for example Lindsay 1915; Balázs 1924).

In Brummett’s words, “the close-reading critic reveals meanings that are shared but not universally and also meanings that are known but not articulated” (Brummett 2010, 15–16). In similar manner, film scholar David Bordwell (1989, 2) draws a difference between the terms of comprehension and interpretation; to comprehend is to understand apparent, direct meanings, but interpretation reveals less obvious, hidden meanings. The aim of using close reading as the method of this study is indeed to reveal interpretations, that have been mostly disregarded in earlier Ozu research.

Where the principles of literary close reading can be applied into close reading of audiovisual works as well, it is important to note the specific aspects of film as a medium. For example, V.F. Perkins (1972, 40) argues that as a film cannot exist outside its apparatus, so its technological base has to be fully recognised. Framing of a subject in a cinematic image assumes a certain point of view that defines it beyond the literal meaning of the subject as films *represent* reality in their images (Corrigan and White 2015, 123). Every shot is constructed of countless choices that can be difficult to separate from the final image in the film. Each of these choices – such as composition, camera movement, dialogue, and editing – act as a textual cue that then becomes the basis of the interpretation (Bordwell 1989, 3). Perkins explains style to be formed by a “pattern of decisions”, in the light of existing alternatives (Perkins 1972, 56). Thus, understanding the formal elements of cinema is needed to conduct close reading of how specific choices affect the messages a film produces.

The spectator, or reader, has a central role in the act of comprehending or interpreting an object, as Bordwell (1989, 2–3) notes. Bordwell sees interpretation as construction of

meaning out of various textual cues: it is a psychological and social activity, similar to other cognitive processes (Bordwell 1989, 3). As well as the individual position of the person doing the close reading, the historical and the textual contexts affect how we read certain texts (Brummett 2010, 9–10).

Bordwell (1989, 8–9) separates four types of meanings that can be interpreted in a film: referential meaning that builds the fictional world or diegesis of the film, explicit conceptual meanings that the film “speaks directly” to the viewer, for example statements in dialogue, implicit meanings such as “indirect” themes drawn from the cues, and symptomatic meanings that are assumed to be involuntary expressions in the film. For example, symptomatic meanings can be related to political and ideological processes (Bordwell 1989, 9). However, according to Perkins different meanings form a significant relationship between each other, which creates the meaning meaning (Perkins 1972, 118). For example, referential meanings about the diegesis of the milieu can become implicit meanings, in synthesis of the elements of a scene, as I will explore further in my analysis. Furthermore, according to Perkins there is no differentiation between content and form of a film but it is a synthesis of meaning (Perkins 1972, 133). Similarly, Brummett (2010, 46) argues that form is “the pattern the message follows.”

According to Hannu Salmi (1993, 143), the practice of breaking down a narrative structure into sequences is effective in close reading, as analysing every detail in a shot by shot manner is not necessary and each unique case determines how closely details in a scene should be analysed. Audie Bock finds that Ozu’s films to follow a sequence structure on general. Usually a long establishing shot is followed by a medium shot with the characters, a close-up exchange is filmed as “the A-B-A-B angle reverse-angle type for intimate dialogue”, which is followed by a medium shot and a long shot to close the sequence. (Bock 1978, 82–83.) Thus, breaking the films into sequences compliments the structure of the films themselves.

For my analysis I have chosen to focus on four sequences that I find to frame daughterhood in varying social contexts. Three of the sequences are from *Late Spring* and one from *Tokyo Twilight*. In the case of the former, camera movement is central in two of the chosen sequences (Appendix: Sequence 1 and Sequence 3), and thus analysing them both highlights the different narrative functions of the movement. The final chosen sequence (Appendix: Sequence 2) of *Late Spring* highlights the household as a both social and lived-in space, as for example Alastair Phillips (2018) has discussed the relation of social spaces, gender and social

change in prior research. On the other hand, daughterhood is more explicitly part of the narrative of *Tokyo Twilight*, as various mentions of family and daughters in dialogue imply. The sequence chosen from it (Appendix: Sequence 4) ties together different themes of daughterhood found throughout the film.

Beyond these sequences, a number of additional relevant sequences could be picked from both of the films, but for the scope of this study I decided to moderate the number of sequences down to four, even if it leads to an imbalance between chosen sequences from the films (three to one). However, as *Tokyo Twilight* contextualises daughterhood in multitude of ways, with the sequence chosen a satisfying analysis of these different themes could be reached. Furthermore, as there is more research on *Late Spring*, the analysis of these sequences can be supported by preceding research and findings of scholars. The aim of choosing these sequences is to achieve a balanced yet versatile reading, through which connections between the interpretations of the films can be found.

The multitude of expression within film often requires more than one viewing, as the messages emitted through film are so complex (Salmi 1993, 145). To tackle this complexity, I find the collection of empirical data valuable to support the process of close reading. For example, patterns in image duration or camera movement may be difficult to note without carefully collecting the elements of interest into tangible, comparable data.

The format of sequence analysis I have conducted breaks down four different elements of a cinematic image: scale, camera angle and level, camera movement and the approximate temporal duration of each shot. These are not the only attributes of the shot but together they frame what is presented to the spectator in front of the camera, and other aspects such as *misé-en-scène* and depth of field are more challenging to define in simple terms.

By focusing the sequence analysis on central cinematic elements, the mode of close reading in this study distances itself from the literary tradition. To process patterns with more ease, I also describe the action in every shot of the sequence. Following Laura Mulvey's work covered earlier, the genders of the characters are mentioned in the description of action to help note who the active characters are and what gender they appear to represent on the male/female binary.

To access the information from each shot, I have formatted my findings of each sequence breakdown into a table as illustrated below. This way the data remains comparable and

accessible. Each sequence breakdown is included in the appendix; the example illustrated here corresponds to the shots from Appendix 1. but is not fully in chronological order to highlight a variety of the ways of signifying the categories.

Shot	Scale	Angle	Action	Movement	Duration
1	LS	Eye Level	Strong waves hitting the sandy beach, with calm music accompanying the shot.	-	14 sec
2	XLS	Eye Level	Establishing shot of the seashore. A rhythmical, happy music starts and plays through the scene.	Dolly left	6 sec
3	MCU	Slight Low	Noriko (F) smiling and bicycling, camera in an angle on her side on the left. Her eyes are fixed in front of her and the wind blowing her hair in movement.	Tracking	6 sec
4	MCU	Slight Low	Mirror image of Hattori (M), camera placed on the right side of him. He is bicycling like Noriko.	Tracking	6 sec
7	MCU	Slight Low	As shot 4, but Hattori turns to have a look at the right side, outside the frame (at Noriko) and smiles wider. He turns to look directly in front of him again, smiling wide.	Tracking	4 sec
8	MCU	Slight Low	Noriko looks back and smiles, and turns to head directly in front of her. She strokes her hair with her left hand, smiling widely throughout.	Tracking	8 sec
9	XLS-LS	Approx. Waist Level	Similar to shot 5, mirrored; Hattori and Noriko are cycling straight towards the camera from distance. The camera moves further away, but the cycling speed is faster and they get closer to the camera.	Dolly out	10 sec

#### The terms used in the model of sequence breakdown:

**Shot:** Chronological number of each shot in the sequence.

**Scale:** Camera distance from the subject, from closest to furthest as defined by Corrigan and White (2015, 109–111); XCU = extreme close-up, CU = close-up, MCU = medium close-up, MS = medium shot, MLS = medium long shot, LS = long shot, XLS = extreme long shot. If the camera moves, the scale might change during the shot (as in shot 9).

**Angle:** Camera angle or level when there is no angle; ie. low angle, high angle and eye level, waist. In addition to the usual camera levels, “Tatami” refers to a low level typical to Ozu (more on p. 29).

**Action:** A short description of the action (by the characters and/or within the *misé-en-scène*). The presumed binary gender of each active character follows their name in parentheses (F)/(M).

**Movement:** Definition of camera movements such as dolly left/right, pan down and tracking. In these sequences, the movement in each shot is either singular or the camera remains completely still (-).

**Duration:** The approximate temporal length of each shot.

It is important to note that the findings from the sequences are not fully objective; for example, to define the different shot scales in an exact matter would call for collection of examples covering different scenarios to calculate exact spatial measurements and averages. Usually the scale is defined in relation to human figure in the frame and overall it is relative, as noted by Corrigan and White (2015, 111). The level and angle of the camera are also challenging to notice without the full knowledge of the spatial reality of the setting. In these sequences, the camera angles tend to be slight, so especial care is needed to notice the differences.



New technologies have been introduced to contemporary film studies to attain more objective information; for example, a digital tool called Cinematics can be used to collect information of temporal length of each shot (Seppälä 2017, 46–47). However, I have decided to not use such tools as the nature of my study does not require exact information. While I pursue accuracy to the best of my ability, the sequence breakdown acts as a tool to develop the analysis that cannot escape subjectivity of the spectator.

Furthermore, the manual act of breaking down a sequence – or decoding it, to borrow Hall’s term – requires heightened attention to detail and multiple viewings, which helps notice aspects easily left unseen. Rather than analysing the data itself, this model of sequence breakdown introduces the formal aspects in a way that encourages attention to detail. It is a tool that directs and refines the method of close reading.

#### **1.4 Ozu Yasujirō: Life and Career**

Yasujirō Ozu was born in Tokyo on 12<sup>th</sup> of December, 1903. His family lived in Tokyo until the children moved to Matsuzaka near Nagoya with their mother while the father remained in Tokyo for his work. (Richie 1974, 193.) Matsuzaka was the ancestral home of the father, who was a fertilizer merchant, and the children were to be educated there. The family lived there between 1913 to 1923. (Bock 1978, 72.) During this time Ozu rarely saw his father, but stayed close with his mother through his life. He never married himself. (Richie 1974, 193.)

In his sixty years of life, Ozu directed 53 films in total (Bordwell 1996, 420), out of which 31 are preserved; for many of the lost films scripts and other records remain due to the habit of Ozu and screenwriter Kogo Noda to keep a diary (Bock 1978, 72).

Ozu found his interest for cinema in middle school. He watched almost solely saw foreign films, which he went to see in cinemas in Tsu and Nagoya – without permission. When he was supposed to be taking an entrance examination for Kobe Higher Commercial School, he was instead at the movies watching Rex Ingram’s *Prisoner of Zenda* (1922). (Bock 1978, 73.) In school, he had a reputation for mischief such as drinking and writing a love letter to another boy, which resulted in him getting expelled from the school dormitory (Bock 1978, 72). He never had further education than middle school (Richie 1974, 194), failing all his high school entrance examinations; he was more interested in cinema, modern literature and his own enjoyment (ibid., 197).

Ozu was 20 years old when his father decided that the family should live together in Tokyo once more. Ozu's uncle was aware of his interest in cinema and introduced him to the manager of Shochiku Motion Picture Company, Teihiro Tsutsumi. Ozu's first role in the Tokyo studios was as an assistant cameraman; manual labour moving the heavy cameras around, while learning more about filmmaking. His father disapproved of his choice of employment at first and did not want to let his son pursue it, but the supportive uncle was able to talk Ozu's father around. (Richie 1974, 198.) In 1924 Ozu was called for a one-year army reserve training, as he had registered in the reserves to avoid the draft. However, he spent his time in the hospital, pretending to be ill as he revealed to his friends who visited. (Noda 1964; quoted in Richie 1974, 199.)

Originally, Ozu had not been very keen to pursue directing. In a 1958 interview, he said: "As an assistant I could drink all I wanted and spend my time talking. As a director I'd have to stay up all night working on continuity. Still, my friends told me to go ahead and give it a try." (Ozu 1958; quoted in Richie 1974, 199.) In 1926 Ozu asked if he could become an assistant to one of the studio's directors known for nonsensical comedies and running gags, Tadamoto Okubo (Richie 1974, 200); a year later, his own directorial debut *The Sword of Penitence* (*Zange no yaiba*, 1927) was released. This was also when Ozu met Kogo Noda who wrote the script for his first film (Richie 1977, 202), and with whom he wrote many of his films in the upcoming years, including *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*.

Ozu's first film was a period drama (*jidaigeki*) which was considered the lowest category of Shochiku's productions. It was typical for newcomers to start from the bottom and build their way up, but Ozu had also presented an idea for a period film when asked. (Richie 1974, 202.) However, as *The Sword of Penitence* received praise from cinema magazines and Ozu wanted to stay in Tokyo when the *jidaigeki* division was moved to Kyoto, he was allowed to move up to work on movies about contemporary life known as *gendai geki*. (Richie 1974, 203.)

The categorisation of Japanese film genres under the two major genres, *jidaigeki* and *gendai geki*, highlights the historical consciousness through connecting the genres with a "historical sense of a national perspective" (Wada-Marciano 2008, 44). At the time, genres were a way to create distinctions between studios. Shochiku produced *josei eiga* (women's film), and the emphasis became even clearer in the post-war era with their family melodramas (Wada-Marciano 2008, 44). As most of the audiences at the time were middle-class, Shochiku

studio's movies dealt with the daily lives and problems of the middle-classes (Komatsu 1996, 415). Ozu's post-war family dramas gained popularity especially among female audiences (Phillips 2003, 155). Thus, it is important to remember how the studio system influenced the themes their directors were to explore. Ozu was a commercial director so his films were made to make profit, while later in his career he gained more control so that he could only direct the films he wanted to (Richie 1974, 208).

Ozu's early filmography included films with light topics such as college comedies *Days of Youth* (*Wakahi hi*, 1929), *I Graduated, But...* (*Daigaku wa deta keredo*, 1929) and *I Flunked, But...* (*Rakudai wa shita keredo*, 1930). Influenced by American comedies of Charlie Chaplin and Harold Lloyd, Ozu created films that "combined physical humour with social observation" (Bordwell 1996, 420). Richie (1974, 206) claims that some critics saw "the emergence of Ozu style" in *I Graduated, But...* as the director moved from nonsensical comedy to more mature social comedy.

Furthermore, according to Richie most of the ingredients of Ozu's later, best known work can be seen in the comedy *A Straightforward Boy* (*Tokkan kozo*, 1929); he started to be more interested in characters than comedic elements, and the popular genre of home drama became his main subject. Little by little, he started to limit his technical elements which resulted in the development of his simple style for the everyday stories. (Richie 1974, 208.) Along a closer look at his family dramas, the stylistic elements known to be Ozu's signature style will be explored in detail in the next chapter.

During the Sino-Japanese war, Ozu was called in July 1937 to serve in China. After two years of service, he was able to return to Japan to continue his work. (Richie 1974, 226.) The first film he directed after his return, *The Brothers and Sisters of the Toda Family* (*Toda-ke no kyodai*, 1941) became his first hit at the box-office and won the first prize at film magazine *Kinema Jumbo's* yearly ranking. At the time the government was pushing family films— that had always been Ozu's subject – which also helped him get a long term contract with the studio. (Richie 1974, 228.)

When Ozu's father had passed away in 1934, he was living at home with his parents. After that, he stayed with his mother as the head of the family. (Richie 1974, 219.) Ozu's mother died while he was writing the script for his last released film, *An Autumn Afternoon* (*Samma no aji*, 1962) in February 1962. The following winter he himself got ill with cancer, but

believed that he would get better. (Noda 1964; quoted in Richie 1974, 250–251.) Yasujirō Ozu passed away on his sixtieth birthday on 12<sup>th</sup> of December, 1963 (Richie 1974, 252).

### 1.5 Introduction to *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*

Like the majority of Ozu's filmography, *Late Spring* depicts a story that focuses on the family. Released September 19, 1949 (Richie 1974, 234), the film is part of the so-called Noriko trilogy in which Setsuko Hara stars in each film as a character named Noriko.

Based on Hirotsu Kazuo's novel *Father and Daughter* (*Chichi to musume*), the film follows an elderly father (Ryū Chishū) and his daughter Noriko (Hara Setsuko). Father Somiya is worried about Noriko not yet having married, yet Noriko is more concerned with taking care of her widowed father. The father – a university professor – assumes that Noriko likes his assistant and the two of them seem to enjoy spending time together, but it turns out that the assistant Hattori (Usami Jun) is engaged to another young woman.

Reluctant to marry under the pressure from her father and aunt Masa (Sugimura Haruko), Noriko finally agrees to a traditional arranged marriage – but only when her father leads her to believe that he is planning to remarry himself, which Noriko does not agree on. Here, as in many other of Ozu's films, the growing gap between the generations during a period of change under the American occupation becomes a central theme. Noriko enjoys both freedom and has gendered responsibilities as a single woman.

*Tokyo Twilight* – released April 30, 1957 (Richie 1974, 241) – on the other hand portrays a less traditional family. Yet again Ryū plays a single father, but this time the reasons are different; his wife has run away after falling in love with another man. The father has been left to take care of the three children: a son who passed away in the war, and daughters Akiko (Arima Ineko) and Takako (Hara again, but notably not as a character called “Noriko” as in the Noriko trilogy). Disappointed in her own marriage, Takako returns to her father and younger sister's home with her young daughter Michiko. University student Akiko has a relationship with a fellow student Kenji (Taura Masami) and while trying to find him to tell about her unwanted pregnancy, she runs into a mah-jong parlour where their mutual friends frequent. Kenji recommends Akiko to have an abortion, and she goes through the procedure without telling her family.

The hostess of the parlour Kisako (Yamada Isuzu), also known by the nickname Kikko, is familiar with Akiko and her family. Once Akiko tells her sister about the curious incident,

Takako realises that the woman is their mother whom they have not seen in years. As Akiko was too young to remember their mother, Takako visits Kikko to ask her to not tell Akiko about being their mother, as it would only cause pain to her little sister. However, Akiko hears about the visit and figures out the truth. After confronting Kikko in anger, Akiko meets Kenji by chance in a noodle shop, and the two of them have an argument. Hastily, she leaves, and a loud noise is heard from outside: she is hit by a train at an intersection.

As Akiko lies in the hospital, her father and sister sit by her bedside telling her she will not die. Afterwards, Takako visits their mother once again to inform that Akiko has died. In the end of the film, Kikko leaves Tokyo and Takako decides to return to her husband so Michiko would not have to grow up without both parents, as Akiko did. In the final scene, Mr. Sugiyama is at home preparing to leave for work with the help of a maid. While getting ready, he finds Michiko's toy that brings a smile to his face, and then he leaves the house.

## 2 Ozu's Family Drama in the Context of Post-war Japan

### 2.1 The Japanese Family Ideology – *ie*

According to a sociologist of Japanese society and economy, Ron Dore (1958, 91), not many cultures are as aware of their family system as Japan is. Where family and kinship are universal, the specific contexts of the Japanese family especially in the post-war period, need to be considered to gain a fuller understanding of the family relations in *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*. The Japanese term for family, *ie* refers to both the family and the home they live in; it is commonly translated as the household. During the Meiji era (1852–1912), the concept became the basis of the Japanese family system in which citizens were registered under the male head of the household. Based on Confucian values of piety, the family members had their obligations, and the male head was in charge of the family property and had rights and responsibilities over rest of the family. (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 1.)

The *ie* family system originated from political gains. The Meiji era was marked by rapid and carefully measured advancements, as the government aimed for Japan to grow stronger in the globalising world. Unequal treaties with Western powers led to Japan itself Westernising; students were sent abroad and the military, education and infrastructure developed following Western example. The wish to learn from the West was based on the hope to compete with it, and Japan's expansion into an imperial power began with the Korean war in 1894–1895 (Konttinen 2011, 114–115). In 1889 Japan formed its first constitution (Konttinen 2011, 115) and under it, established the legal family system.

The family system is important as it explains modes of relatedness beyond the immediate family, such as national loyalty and employment (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 1). Under the expanded *ie* logic, the filial piety for one's family was connected the family to the nation and the emperor, making the emperor the an equivalent to a father to the citizens (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 4). The connection between the family and the empire was included in the Civil Code of 1898 (Fujimura-Fanselow 1991, 346). The emperor's line was seen as the senior line of the Japanese people, from which other families branched (Edwards 1989, 102). These notions strengthened the idea of Japan as a connected nation with shared heritage and mutual goals, which would later influence and justify the imperial objectives of the government.

In reality practices embedded during the Meiji era were not widespread during the feudal era. Patrilineal inheritance was common in the Samurai classes (6–10% of the population) while

the general population did not follow the custom. For example, in the countryside and among merchants in western regions of Japan, matrilineal inheritance and inheritance by the last born child were practiced. Rather than trusting that one's own son would turn out well, it was deemed easier to select a suitable groom for a daughter for continuation of the family line. (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 3.)

The Meiji period sought for productive modernization, and so families were reorganised and defined roles for wives and husbands developed. The society was quickly urbanising and the economy industrialising; relocation and reorientation required reinventing of the community, which led to reshaping domestic spaces. The home became grounds for moral meaning and new social division. The male breadwinner would earn the income for the family, while the idea of a happy family also required following rituals such as family dinners and conversations. (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 4–5.) The husband would operate in the public sphere of the society, while the wife was in charge of the domestic space and the children.

Western notions of family influenced the new ideals of a modern family (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 4), but Japanese familialism had its features differentiating it from both Western and other Confucian family systems. It was adaptive as family members not related by blood, such as daughters and sons-in-law and adopted children, could become part of the inner family and even the head of the household. (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 3.) Furthermore, the *ie* is a multigenerational, linear concept that includes the family members that have passed away as well as the ones to be born in the future (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 1).

In 1947, the Civil Code was revisited and the family system formally discontinued, but its normative “force in family affairs and social relations” remained (Ronald and Alexy 2011, 1). However, as noted by anthropologist Bruce White (2011, 25), the realities of families in most cultures are more diverse than simplified types of families defined by the state – and Japan is not an exception.

## **2.2 Good Wife, Wise Mother**

Among the family ideologies in place during Meiji period (1852–1912), the concept of a “good wife, wise mother” (*ryōsai kenbo*) emerged. The term alluded to the ideal role of women as taking care of the domestic affairs at home, as well as nurturing the children. This image of womanhood was prevalent in girls' education and the mass media, championed by

the Ministry of Education officials from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the end of World War II. (Uno 1993, 294.)

While *ryōsai kenbo* was a part of the state ideology and constituted to the discourse on women, it did not conform with the experiences of the majority of women in Japan (Uno 1993, 294). In reality, during the Meiji period only the wives of civil servants and high status company employees were able to stay at home full time as their husbands' earned enough to support the household with a single income (Ochiai 1997, 33). Alternative views of womanhood were shared by feminists and leftists, and after World War II the connection to imperial Japan made the ideal less favourable. However, the official drive for this image of womanhood meant that it was not forgotten and continued to affect the society and policies. (Uno 1993, 294.) In effect the view of mothers as the only caring parental figure has persisted until contemporary times (Niwa 1993, 70; Mathews 2003, 109).

Family sociologist and historian Emiko Ochiai (1997, 31) traces the emergence of middle-class housewives to the Taisho period (1912–1926) and years of economic growth after World War I. Incomes were steadily growing, and in the early years of the Showa period (1926–1989) the income level of a single income household was more attainable to professions such as teachers, office workers and factory workers (Ochiai 1997, 33). In reaction to infrastructural and financial growth, office workers became the “new middle class” with a new lifestyle:

They moved to the residential suburbs which were being developed on the outskirts of large cities, and from there the husbands commuted to their downtown offices on the newly built streetcar lines. With this separation of workplace and home, and thus the public and private realms, wives of this class took on the title of the cloistered “okusan” [wife], who had looked after the domestic affairs in her husband's absence. (Ochiai 1997, 32.)

In the Taisho period middle-classes hired domestic workers, as without a maid a housewife could not keep up with the work required to maintain the home. There was more housework required: kimonos and futon covers were made at home and had to be taken apart for throughout cleaning and drying, fuel needed preparing for baths and food preserving. Furthermore, new concepts of hygiene and the growing levels of comfort expected led to higher standards to be met. (Ochiai 1997, 33.)



By the 1960s, domestic help and maids had almost disappeared from the middle-class households. New electric appliances were introduced, making the domestic work of a housewife easier in the absence of domestic work. However, the standards that were raised to reflect the input of at least two people – the housewife and the maid – did not lower once the custom of employing domestic work had disappeared. All of the domestic work was designated to the wife (Ochiai 1997, 34), as well as the expectation to nurture the offspring.

As both the head of the domestic affairs and as a parent, then, the wife had to fulfil the roles of not just herself but of the absent father and the domestic worker. In wider feminist context, Cameron (2018, 49–50) notes how the questioning the gendered division of caring for a family and recognition of it as work is a central feminist perspective. Thus, it is clear that the state-defined ideal of “good wife, wise mother” is drawn from a patriarchal family ideology.

### **2.3 Recurring Elements of Ozu’s Family Drama: Style, Cast and Characters**

According to Richie, Ozu “had but one major subject, the Japanese family, and but one major theme, its dissolution” (Richie 1974, 1). With settings in contemporary everyday life, Shochiku studio sought relevance to mostly female, lower-middle class audiences (Bordwell 1988, 33); according to Hiroshi Komatsu (Komatsu 1996, 415), the studio’s films with focus on everyday life were class-conscious without political implications. Audie Bock illustrates the themes of Ozu’s films as follows:

...the struggles of self-definition, of individual freedom, of disappointed expectations, of the impossibility of communication, of separation and loss brought about by the inevitable passages of marriage and death. (Bock 1978, 71)

On the other hand, Bordwell (1988, 36) notes that family was not always the centre of Ozu’s films but even as so, relationships between his characters tend to refer to family relations. Thus, the presence of family is constant, referring back to the hegemonic family ideology. Still, according to Bordwell (1988, 38), the pre-war period Ozu films did not re-establish the patriarchal norm.

When family is the focus of Ozu’s films, the majority of the characters are situated within the family structure; they are parents and children, aunts and cousins. Even beyond the immediate family, the characters exist in a space of familiarity; Bock (1978, 78) describes it as an enclosed circle, where everyone seems to already know everyone else who appears within the narrative. For example, in *Late Spring* Noriko runs into her father’s friend and as noted by

Bock (1978, 78), even the bartender at a bar her father frequents has known her since childhood. In *Tokyo Twilight* a noodle shop owner knows his customers well enough for Akiko to be able to ask about her boyfriend's whereabouts from him.

The sense of familiarity is heightened by the limited roster of character types (Richie 1977, 15), and the same actors are seen in similar roles and archetypes. One of Ozu's most consistent collaborators was Chishū Ryū, who had been cast in most of his films. According to Ryū himself, he had appeared in all of Ozu's films except of *Beauty's Sorrow* (*Bijin aishu*, 1931) and *What Did the Lady Forget?* (*Shukujo wa nani o wasuretaka*, 1937). His first major role in Ozu's filmography was in the college comedy *I Flunked, But...* (*Rakudai wa Shita Keredo*, 1930) at age 24, but in the post-war era he was best known for his central father figures. (Richie 1977, 209.) This is the position he fills in both *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*, as the widowed father of Noriko in the former and the stern father of Takako and Akiko in the latter.

Bock describes the recurring type of a father often played by Chishū Ryū as “usually gruff, kindly and introverted,” and typically inclined towards alcohol, mah-jong, theatre, literature and nature. For employment, they most often work in an office but according to Bock, they are not deeply invested in their profession. While they are kind, their “shortcomings usually consist in a failure to observe the feelings of their children.” (Bock 1978, 78.)

Where the relationships between the father and children may not always be exactly harmonious due to the misunderstanding over what the children – daughters, in the films in question – want or feel, the father is portrayed as well-intentioned. In the beginning of *Late Spring*, Mr. Somiya seems to not have given thought to Noriko marrying; it is concern for her happiness that makes him agree to the plans of her marriage. This is evident from his words to Noriko once her wedding is approaching, as he frames Noriko's marriage as natural continuation to his own life drawing to an end:

I'm 56 years old. My life is nearing its end. But your life as a couple is just beginning. You're starting a new life, one that you and Satake must build together. One in which I play no part. That's the order of human life and history.

In Ozu's earlier films, the relationship between a father and his children have been more negatively framed. Richie (1974, 194) draws a connection to Ozu's own childhood and childhood without the presence of a father; in *I Was Born, But...* (*Otona no miru ehon* –

*Umarete wa mita keredo*, 1932) and *Passing Fancy (Dekigokoro)*, 1933) the sons resist their father. In later films, according to Richie the role of the father is idealized (ibid.); though in my opinion this view is a simplified generalisation of family relationships, as my discussion on *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight* will reveal. Nonetheless, it is apparent that Ryū's father figure is one of compassion, if not sometimes of misunderstanding and pushing their children to what he thinks is beneficial to them.

Like Ryū, Setsuko Hara is among the most notable faces in Ozu's cast. Hara appeared in total of six of Ozu's films, including his three perhaps most famous films known as Noriko trilogy – *Late Spring* (1949), *Early Summer (Bakushū)*, 1951) and *Tokyo Story* (1953) – in each of which Hara stars as a character named Noriko. According to Bordwell (1988, 12) Hara became the archetypal woman in Ozu's filmography. Praising Hara, Ozu himself said:

Every Japanese actor can play the role of a soldier and every Japanese actress can play the role of a prostitute to some extent. However, it is rare to find an actress who can play the role of *a daughter from a good family*. (emphasis mine; Thomson 2014)

Thus, it seems that the role of a daughter was important in the eyes of the director himself. In both *Tokyo Twilight* and *Late Spring*, Setsuko Hara reprises roles as the daughter of Ryū's father figures.

Alongside Ryū and Hara, a gossiping, matchmaking aunt played by Haruko Sugimura appears in both films studied here. Ozu's common use of regular collaborating actors throughout his career amplifies the sense of family beyond singular film; just like the characters within the narrative are familiar to each other, the audience can expect familiarity in characteristics from the previously known faces.

In many of Ozu's films repeating narrative patterns can also be recognised. Simply put, Richie (1974, 218) describes a narrative situations familiar from multiple Ozu films: "Parent and child live together; one or the other is attracted toward someone outside; there is a marriage; the one left behind must learn to live alone." A number of Ozu's post-war films fall under this narrative, including *Late Spring*, *Early Summer*, and *Late Autumn (Akibiyori)*, 1960).

Arguably, *Tokyo Twilight* shares similarities with this narrative structure, although the connection is not as streamlined. Akiko's struggle ends up in a tragic death, which replaces the marriage as the reason for leaving. Her older sister is already married but comes back

home to their father, but the death of her sister makes her reconsider and return to her husband, marking another daughter's departure from the childhood home. The connection between marriage and death as a narrative tool signifying leaving one's family can be also seen in *Tokyo Story*, in which it is the parents who leave their youngest daughter to visit their other children, and in the end the mother's death is what separates her from the daughter who loyally waited and looked after the family home. Discussing the Noriko trilogy, Bock (1978, 84) also notes the similarities of the plots while *Late Spring* and *Early Summer* resolve around marriages and *Tokyo Story*'s main event is death: according to her, both death and marriage are part of the "same natural cycle", as the films portray normal people attempting to evaluate and cope with the "inevitable separations and disappointments of life."

Richie (1974, 218) notes, that these repeating situations could be called archetypal. For example, according to Bock (1978, 84) the plots of the Noriko trilogy (*Late Spring*, *Early Summer* and *Tokyo Story*) could be contained just in a couple of sentences. In fact, Richie (1974, 207) claims that Ozu was not just bored by a plot, but "actively disliked it."

In regards to style, Ozu sought simplicity while developing overarching principles into a recognisable style. Through his career, he used less and less camera movement, finally ceasing of any by his colour film era (Bordwell 1996, 421). Although interested in American films, rather than following the continuity editing or 180-degree rule of Hollywood cinema, Ozu's organisation of space covers 360-degrees: eyelines and character orientation would be used to structure editing and camera placement, but often the shots are connected by visual cues and the characters look in the same direction, crossing the line of the 180-degree rule (Bordwell 2018, 23). Thus, often the frames generate a continuity via visual cues and matches rather than spatial continuity audiences are used to. Furthermore, Ozu could distort his spaces by splitting establishing shots into more than one, as Bordwell illustrates:

The result was a suite of changing spaces that could be unified by shape, texture, light, or analogy. These transitional sequences substitute for fades and dissolves, turning ordinary locales into something at once evocative and rigorous. (Bordwell 2018, 24.)

As Ozu commonly used singular shots of the milieu unrelated to the narrative in his sequences, Noël Burch coined them as "pillow shots." The term is borrowed from the "pillow-words" of classical Japanese poetry, while Burch emphasises that the connection is loose. According to him, they "suspend the diegetic flow" by using a variety of strategies and thus, the relationships they produce are diverse. (Burch 1979, 160.) Before the formation of

Burch's term, Bock (1978, 83) described these shots as "emotional rest-stops" reminding of mundane continuity and human transiency, as they are outside of the characters' points of views. However, as Ozu on general did not follow continuity editing, the point of view is often not an aspect his shots follow in any case. Thus, as Burch noted, giving single meaning to these shots is not productive as their functions vary.

In addition to pillow shots, low camera height was a recognisable aspect of Ozu's style. According to Riche (1974, 105), the camera height would be equivalent to the point of view of a person sitting on the tatami mat of a classical Japanese room. However, as observed by Bock (1978, 83) the level of the camera is actually usually lower than the eye-level of a person sitting down, at about 40 cm in a medium shot. As a spectator measurements are impossible to estimate reliably, but in most cases Bock's assessment appears to be close to reality. The low camera height was prevalent throughout Ozu's career (Bordwell 1996, 421).

According to Bordwell (2018, 24), these formal elements and structuring of Ozu's "cinematic narration" leads the spectator "to awaken [their] attention – to the possibilities of cinema, but also to the shapes and surfaces of the world as they change." The cinematic space then, is more transformative (ibid.) compared to conventions of continuity editing. In Bordwell's (ibid.) words, Ozu's films posit their stories in "a realm at once stable and ceaselessly shifting." Where similarities between stylistic choices and patterns appear in Ozu's filmography, Bordwell and Thompson (1976, 44) note that each film has its own formal system.

## **2.4 Societal and Cinematic Changes After World War II**

Post-war Japan was occupied by the Allied powers, in effect by the United States of America from 1945 to 1952. The USA shaped Japan into a democratic nation with a new constitution put in effect in 1947, while the symbolic status of the Emperor was conserved. (Konttinen 2011, 120.) The USA ruled through Japan's own government and supported the economic development of the nation, so the period of occupation as distressing to the common public as feared. The economic development was motivated by acting against the political left, and the economy of Japan was on a quick rise during the occupation. (Konttinen 2011, 123.) The transformation of economy and rising standards of living affected changes in society.

Due to the structural transformation of the economy, the earlier dominance of farmers and small business owners was replaced by that of the company employees known as “salarymen” (Ochiai 1997, 16). Bordwell describes the ideal role of the salaryman:

...the salaryman became the new role model for contemporary Japanese worker. Enjoying regular hours, lifetime employment, and guaranteed advancement, the salaryman represented the “bright new life” of booming Japan. (Bordwell 1988, 35.)

Through industrialisation and Westernisation, the role of salaryman presented a model of life that was attainable enough while simultaneously modern enough to be regarded as aspirational (Bordwell 1988, 35). As noted earlier, the growing middle-class saw shifts in the gender dynamics in families (Ochiai 1997, 32); earlier, farming and owning companies was more common and women worked alongside their families, but the wives of salarymen generally became full-time housewives (Ochiai 1997, 16).

Thus, a trend of women moving from the workforce to domestic life can be recognised. Rather than beginning to take part in the workforce after the war, women were more oriented to domestic life (Ochiai 1997, 10). Comparing women born in the late 1920s and those born in the late 1940s, the former worked all their lives but the younger generation stayed in home (Ochiai 1997, 15). Significant was that the majority of women started to stay at home (Ochiai 1997, 34); according to Ochiai (1997, 35) being a housewife became “so strongly normative that it was practically synonymous with womanhood.”

Ozu’s post-war work gained popularity especially among female audiences (Phillips 2003, 155). Archetypical social images were recognisable to the audience, and through domestic conflict and social change were explored through the pictures of middle-class families (Bordwell 1988, 38). Thus Ozu’s focus on middle-class subjects reflected the growth of the middle classes and the changes in usual lifestyles.

In the 1930s most of the characters in Ozu’s filmography were lower-middle class, ordinary people: poverty and class differences are apparent in their lives (Bock 1978, 75). In the post-war era Ozu’s reign became the middle-class family: he chose it as his domain as a stable subject that would allow him to refine his technique (Bordwell 1988, 38). According to Bock (1978, 75) the problems faced by the characters remained the same even when there was a transition from lower-middle classes. She claims that the characters portrayed by Ozu are first

and foremost ordinary: “there are no heroes and no villains, no great successes and no abject failures – everyone is ordinary” (Bock 1978, 78).

According to Woojeong Joo (2017, 142) a “sense of changing present” was shared in the collective conscious of Japanese people and their everyday lives in the post-war years; along the changing present, the memory of the pre-war era and war itself remained. In Ozu’s post-war works the juxtaposition between the past and the changing present is often embodied as spatial disintegration and gender relations (Joo 2017, 142). In Joo’s (2017, 149–150) view Ozu recognised and approved of the changes produced by the post-war era; change is always accepted in the end. In his films, older generations of the past observe the change and cannot oppose it, while characters of younger generations seek to stay in the present (Joo 2017, 150).

Some contemporary critics commented on Ozu’s departure from lower classes and the lack of political content (Bock 1978, 75; Wada-Marciano 2008, 50), but the post-war Japanese melodrama can be interpreted to articulate the “disparity between Japanese modernity and the act of modernization” (Wada-Marciano 2008, 50) and so read as social criticism of the contemporary moment. According to Richie (1974, 206) Ozu’s social criticism was never harsh: rather, he filmed things “as they were” and remained neutral. Thus, the socio-political conditions of the contemporary society frame the films while remaining open to interpretation.

### 3 Focus on Daughterhood

#### 3.1 Noriko, Akiko, Takako and Conceptualisation of Daughterhood

While developing my thesis, I faced a realisation of daughterhood rarely being the subject of research, and that it lacks widespread contextualisation in cultural studies. In feminist discourse, motherhood is usually discussed as the central role reserved for women. However, according to author, feminist activist and researcher in women's studies Judith Arcana (formerly known by the surname Pildes), "of all the roles women are required to fill in this society, daughterhood is universal." She explains that every woman is born as another's daughter; even if the mother would not be present a woman is raised as a daughter in the society; if she becomes a mother, she still remains a daughter. (Pildes 1978, 1.) Furthermore, Arcana claims that "the role of a daughter is simply woman." To be a good daughter, one must hold up to the presents standards for women. Aspects such as class, region and race influence family-specific variations, but the society these expectations stem from is patriarchal. (Pildes 1978, 3.)

While Arcana is notes culturally specific standards for women – and thus daughters – she herself is American, and her research on the role of the daughter relies on interviews with 120 women about their experiences with their mothers (Pildes 1978, 11). Thus, everything proposed by Arcana based on the interviews cannot transferred from a different time period and continent to another without further consideration. However, as her article "Mothers and Daughters: Understanding the Roles" (1978) highlights the role of daughterhood, it offers a general framework and reference point that can be used as a framework to define daughterhood. Similarities between the findings of Arcana and family dynamics in this context can be established, with the acknowledgement that for more exhaustive comparison, culturally specific research on the role of daughterhood should be conducted.

In Arcana's framework the relationship between mothers and daughters and interconnectivity between those roles is what makes one a daughter. Arcana notes that in childhood mothers are usually the main point of socialisation. By observing their mothers, daughters adopt the role of a mother while growing up, as pretending to be a grown woman is often favoured with positive feedback from adults. (Pildes 1978, 3.) This view connects to Butler's concept of gender as performance, and the instability of gender identity; both daughterhood and motherhood are learned in a dynamic process defined by cultural constructs. The echoes of



the “good wife, wise mother” concept support the application of this view in Japanese context.

However, in both films analysed in this study, the relationship between parents and daughters is reserved for a father (played by Chishū Ryū in both films) instead of a mother. The three daughters – the Sugiyama sisters Akiko and Takako in *Tokyo Twilight*, and Noriko Somiya in *Late Spring* – all share an absence of a mother. Noriko’s mother has passed away and the mother of the Sugiyamas’ has left them when they were children. Being in varying stages in their lives, this missing of a female parental figure manifests in different ways in their lives.

In each of these instances, Ozu’s familiar themes are present: the passing of time and shift between generations, as each of the women transition in their societal roles through familial changes. Thus, the subject of daughterhood is constructed in the context of the family, which we have found is in itself dependant on number of social constructs.

In *Late Spring*, Noriko’s struggle to accept marriage is the central conflict of the drama. She is 27 years old, and her aunt Masa takes the most active part in finding her a husband – before it is too late in her “late spring.” At 27 years old, Noriko is considerably older than the 1950 average age for first marriage at 23,6 years old (Jee 2021, 86). Her wish to look after her father and not leave him alone paints a picture of a dutiful daughter, who sacrifices her own happiness for her father’s well-being. However, she claims self-centred reasons for her wish to not marry. Before her wedding in the end of the film, the father and daughter take a trip to Kyoto together, and when discussing the upcoming change Noriko tells her father:

I... I just want to be with you, like this. I don’t want to go anywhere. I’m happy being with you like this. I’m happy just as I am. Marriage couldn’t make me any happier.  
I’m happy the way things are now.

Similarly, the other two namesakes played by Hara in Ozu’s films share resistance to marriage. In *Early Summer*, Noriko does not approve of the matches suggested by her family but against their wishes, marries a widow who already has a child from his previous marriage. In *Tokyo Story*, Hara portrays a widow of a son of the story’s central elderly couple. The parents reassure her of their wish for her happiness, so that she would remarry after their son’s death during the war.

In *Late Spring*, Noriko lives with her father, who is a university professor. It is mentioned that she worked during the war, and her health has not been as good since – which worries her

father, though apart from one conversation, there are no apparent hints to her lesser health. Noriko thus holds a sense of independence, for her past work outside of the household and the variety of spaces she now occupies.

*Tokyo Twilight* also portrays a single father, whose daughters Akiko and Takako have grown without a mother. A brother who died in the war is also mentioned. Akiko studies English shorthand at university whereas Takako is married and has a young daughter of her own. Their father treats his two remaining children quite differently; the younger, Akiko, is still treated as a child, whereas the older Takako, more like an equal. The father asks the older daughter's opinion in the ways to treat and raise the younger sister. The relationship between the children is still sisterly, even if Takako shares parental sentiments towards Akiko: the older sibling is willing to keep police questioning of Akiko a secret from their father.

Where Akiko has a pre-marital pregnancy and an abortion, thus showing deviance against the traditional family values. While Akiko dresses in modern clothing and acts against their father's wishes, Takako is seen in kimonos and is more compliant. Even so, Takako has her quieter way of resistance as she moves back to her childhood home from her husband, taking their daughter with her. In doing so, Takako reconciles her role as a daughter in her father's household. Takako seems more obedient as she shows respect to her father, but when the father suggests her to return home to her husband, she does not comply. Only in the end of the film, she makes her own mind about returning to her husband. Thus, the two sisters are after all more similar than they seem: they defy their roles in different ways.

Where these characters have their similarities and differences, it is interesting to note the common thread of their names; each daughter – even Takako's young daughter Michiko – has a name ending with *ko*, meaning “child.” As Bock (1978, 78) notes, Ozu's repetitive character types can also be observed by repetition of names; for example, the surname Sugiyama appears in four of his films, first name Akiko in six and Noriko in four. Furthermore, Bock (ibid.) draws a connection between Norikos in different films, describing the Noriko characters as “traditional daughter.” Even though the name pattern with the suffix *ko* are commonplace, the uniformity of the names in these instances highlights – yet again – Ozu's central theme of family, as well as situates these women into a role of a child and a daughter.

### 3.2 “A Daughter from a Good Family”

As quoted earlier, Ozu praised his star Setsuko Hara for being able to play a “daughter from a good family” (Thomson 2014); but what exactly does a good family mean in the context of these films? As noted, Ozu’s post-war films mostly focused on stories of comfortably middle-class households, as is the case in *Tokyo Twilight* and *Late Spring*. In both films, the male head of the family is respected by those around him. Scenes from Mr. Sugimura’s place of work show him in managerial position, and Mr. Somiya is seen working on his academic research with his assistant Hattori.

“Good family” is also referenced in *Tokyo Twilight* within the diegesis by a gynaecologist when Akiko has an abortion. According to the gynaecologist, it is rare for girls from “good families” to be her patients, and her questions reveal an assumption of Akiko not being from such. Good can thus allude to socially acceptable behaviour and decisions; and from the outside, both the Somiya and Sugiyama family follow social norms. With a closer look, however, some raptures to the clean surface can be noticed; in addition to Akiko’s pregnancy, the mother of the family has left her children, and in *Late Spring* the good-natured Noriko is defiant against marriage while she is almost beyond the age to marry in the first place.

Beyond class and status, the positive qualities that “good” can refer to include the notion of being well; and to be well, especially in context of family relations and parenthood, one needs to be cared for. As discussed earlier, the care of the children has been strongly assigned to mothers in Japanese public discourse and mass media. Interestingly in these two films, the dominant parental figure is male. Rather than substituting the biological mother with another mother figure, the fathers in these stories takes up the role of a single parent – at times doubting his own abilities of raising daughters by himself, but still showing care for his children

Anthropologist Gordon Mathews (2003, 109) describes how social expectations create a gender divide of what one holds as their purpose or “what makes life worth living”: in Japan men are expected to be devoted to their work, women to their families, as discussed before. According to Masako Ishii-Kuntz (2002, 198), a specialist in family sociology and gender studies, alternate masculine identities have started to emerge in Japan only in more recent times. The ideal hegemonic masculine identity in Japan is closely connected to the “salaryman” identity of a breadwinner for the family (Ishii-Kuntz 2003, 199). Interviews conducted by Mathews (2003, 114) reveal that some men view their commitment to their

work and financial position as a commitment to their family, but the requirements of Japanese culture of work leads them to be emotionally cut off from their wives and children (Mathews 2003, 111).

The competitiveness of the workforce also frames the hegemonic masculinity, thus “true” masculinity is related to “competence and control over self and others, including women and children” (Ishii-Kuntz 2003, 199). But looking at Mr. Somiya and his family, a pattern contradictory to the masculine hegemony of control emerges. Both Noriko and his sister look after him, as is detectable through the little caring gestures the women perform for him. For example, they tidy up his outfits and pick his clothes off the floor. However, Mr. Somiya does not hold authority over them. When his sister finds a wallet, she goes against his suggestion to return it (and a conversation between the two reminds of this later), and Noriko needs to discuss the marriage proposal she receives with her confidant Aya (Yumeji Tsukioka) instead of her father before agreeing to it.

Similarly, habits of caring distance Mr. Somiya from the stereotypical father figure. Based on comparative studies between Japan and other countries, Japanese fathers spend significantly less time with their children than the others. Another difference found is that most of the time Japanese fathers spend with their children constitutes of play rather than routine physical care. (Ishii-Kuntz 2003, 199.) In contrast Mr. Somiya can be seen taking care of his adult daughter multiple times. He prepares Noriko a bath in ideal temperature and asks if she has eaten (Mars-Jones 2011, 89); when Noriko has a guest, he brings them tea unprompted.

In *Tokyo Twilight*, the meaning of a good family is framed through the fates of its offspring. The film is explicit about Akiko’s pregnancy and premarital sex, but the view remains sympathetic. She is shown to be active in resolving her situation, as she looks for Kenji for the first half of the film. Only after he refuses to take responsibility for the pregnancy and marry her, Akiko is driven to abort the pregnancy. She could not become an unmarried mother, and as a daughter whose mother left her family, her concern is with her family’s reputation. With the pregnancy, she has no option but to carry the burden of responsibility alone by herself. The sequence of the abortion (Appendix 5) reveals resistance to the abortion itself, as well as regulation between daughters from good families and other women via sexuality.

The waiting room at the gynaecologist’s clinic is framed so that Akiko is not visible at first. Women in the hallway are quiet, minding their own business and Akiko sits in the middle,

behind the woman closest to the camera (Figure A). One of the women has her eyes closed as another reads a magazine. On the foreground, the woman is dressed in Western style clothing and smokes a cigarette, with a thick smoke cloud covering her face. With the smoke, her presence is the most prevalent, creating movement into the otherwise still *misé-en-scène*.



**Figure A.** Screenshot by the author. Source: *Tokyo Twilight* (1957) Japan: Shochiku. In *The Ozu Collection: Three Melodramas* [DVD] (2012) London: BFI.

When Akiko is called in, she emerges from behind the smoking woman. Everyone in the hallway looks at the gynaecologist as she asks who is next but Akiko stands up only after the woman points at her. Her stillness and the fact that that she is not even visible before slowly reacting to the call implies that she is not eager to go through step in and go through with the abortion. With a scarf over her head, Akiko's face is not seen until she takes the scarf off at the door, but at that point she is already so far off the camera, that one cannot see her facial expression clearly in the moment.

During the appointment, Akiko is quiet, gives short answers to questions and has her eyes lowered. In the beginning of the sequence, another young woman can be seen leaving an appointment, and the difference between her open and cheery communication makes Akiko's withdrawn mannerism even more clear. During their conversation, the gynaecologist asks Akiko where her bar is, as unlicensed sexual services had been offered at clubs, cafés and bars (Garon 1993, 727–728). Then, the woman makes an assumption that Akiko is not from a “good family”, as she phrases, and Akiko says nothing to claim otherwise.

Prostitution is referenced in the film a number of times, so it is unlikely that these references would be coincidental as *Tokyo Twilight* came out a year after the Anti-Prostitution Law was passed in Japan (Garon 1993, 711). Later in the film, a patron of the mah-jong parlour owned by the mother of the Sugiyama sisters even reads out loud the words “the law against prostitution” from a newspaper. While the themes of Ozu’s films often explore the continuity and passing of time, the presence of current events of the time roots the story its historical moment. According to Choi (2018, 3), the everydayness of Ozu’s films registers social changes under the historical conditions of their time. With these allusions to current affairs, the relationship to the contemporary moment becomes explicit. These references to prostitution might seem rather vague and unconnected, but they also act as a reminder of an earlier instance where Akiko’s reasons for being at a bar so late were questioned by a police officer. Waiting for Kenji, Akiko sees other unknown women leave the bar with men who pick them up. As Akiko does not offer the police her reasons for staying out so late, she is taken into police custody. While left unsaid, the suspect that Akiko might be a prostitute hangs over the scene, and is repeated by the gynaecologist in a different context.

Akiko is mostly concerned about whether she has to go to a hospital and wants to have the procedure done the same day. The gynaecologist communicates in a straightforward manner, and Akiko enters a separated space at the back of the room. The woman has to step back outside for a moment to close the curtains properly. The young girl has made her decision and figuratively, the way is closed behind her.

### **3.3 Daughters as Mothers**

In both films discussed here, the mothers of the main female characters are absent. The details of the timeline of Noriko’s mother’s death are not explicitly stated, but she seems to be used to the state of things and living with her father. In *Tokyo Twilight*, however, the absence of the mother of the two adult sisters is more central, as it is referred to throughout the film. Even in their adulthood, the mother that has abandoned them holds prominence in their views of motherhood. According to Arcana,

For a mother not to mother, in the traditional way – for whatever reason – is still perceived as a crime against nature, if not against society, and the punishment, of course, is that the daughter, in her own pain and loss, returns no love to her unnatural mother. (Pildes 1978, 4.)

The resentment toward their mother pictured by the Sugiyama sisters is exhibited in number of scenes. When Takako hears of their mother living nearby, she visits her – but not for a reunion, but the opposite. She urges the absent mother to stay away, to not tell Akiko who she is. Here, the older sister takes the role of a mother to protect her sister from the reminder of the abandonment. In interviews conducted by Arcana (1978, 4), she has found that the incompetence or absence of a mother prompts for reversal roles of the daughter and the mother. The reversal is forced, and the daughters feel strong resentment for it. Oftentimes, the lack of the maternal care led them to take up the role of a mother not just for themselves, but for their mothers, fathers and siblings too (Pildes 1978, 4).

Of course, Takako's role of motherhood is deepened and changing due to her own daughter Michiko. Usually in Ozu's films the children are young boys (Bock 1978, 78), but Michiko breaks that pattern. For example, in *Late Spring* there is Noriko's cousin (Hohi Aoki) whom she playfully teases. Michiko is a toddler, so in the context of gender performance and identity, her identity and sense of self is yet to develop; she is in the beginning of repetition, still in the state of being rather than performing. Furthermore, the recognition of the shortcomings in the role of her own mother prompts Takako to reconsider her choices as a mother; the process of defining her own motherhood and daughterhood is thus intertwined between her mother, herself, her daughter and to an extent Akiko, to whom she has performed the role of a mother in absence of one.

Visually, the strongest indication of the dynamic relations between these daughters and mothers in formation of an identity of a mother, and in continuation the formation of Michiko's identity as a daughter, appears when Takako hears of her mother for the first time in years. As in *Late Spring*, the sister of Mr. Sugiyama is played by Haruko Sugimura, and again she is matchmaking. While presenting the Sugiyamas with options for a groom for Akiko, she tells that she has seen the mother. Takako focuses first on the pictures of the pictures of the potential grooms, but when she hears of her mother, she is visually startled and suddenly raises her head.

Framed in a medium shot (Figure B), Takako's attention is in the pictures she holds in her hands positioned in the lower right corner of the shot. The depth of field leaves the background not in focus, and the shoji screens and clean lines of the architecture blends into the blurry nature outside, leaving it unclear what exactly there is outside of the house itself. Michiko is seen in her standing aid, facing the same direction as Takako does. While the

adults are seated on the tatami, the toddler's aid reminds of her developmental state and process of learning her culture and household customs while growing up. As Michiko's figure is in line with that of Takako, she is situated behind the papers Takako is looking at, drawing attention to her as Takako's eyes are fixed in them. When Takako hears her mother's name, however, she quickly looks up; and at the same time, Michiko mirrors her action. This little moment reminds of Takako's own role as a mother and her grief of being a motherless daughter, as she visually mirrors her own daughter. She is the mother she never had herself to her own daughter, here doubled in motion.



**Figure B.** Screenshot by the author. Source: *Tokyo Twilight* (1957) Japan: Shochiku. In *The Ozu Collection: Three Melodramas* [DVD] (2012) London: BFI.

The way Ozu's children act in most films is over-emphasised and theatrical, setting them apart from the adults. Michiko on the other hand is a toddler played by a child who cannot be directed the same way as an older child could be – Michiko acts differently from the adults for the impossibility of acting at so young age. Her lack of performance gives her presence, further highlighted by her belonging to the household also signified by the dominance of her toys when she is not seen. Of course, it is also due to practical production reasons; a young child would not be able to get through long days of filming, so their attendance on the set has to be regulated carefully. Thus, alternate choices have to be made to fulfil the narrative needs regarding the child character, be it by the use of dummies and tactical framing, or careful choice of scenes.



In relation to constructing gender and femininity, the significance of motherhood cannot be undermined. For example, the presumption of heterosexuality as “natural” acts as a cultural construct inciting reproduction, and thus is a force to maintain the given culture (Butler 1988, 524). Even women who do not have children are expected to learn maternal behaviours (Pildes 1978, 1) and so to perform maternal behaviour is to perform femininity. It is not only Takako who encompasses maternal behaviour with a child of her own, but her younger sister and Noriko in *Late Spring* as well.

For Akiko, her abortion and the abandonment by her mother are closely tied together. When Akiko faces her mother for the first time, Kikko has heard the rumours of the young woman’s pregnancy. As Kikko asks if the gossip is true, Akiko raises her voice in a burst of anger: she says that she will never have a child, and a moment later that she would never leave her child like her mother did. Having only learned the truth about her mother’s reason for leaving, Akiko doubts her parentage: if Kikko fell in love with another man, maybe she is not her father’s daughter. This logic would leave her without a familial role – she is not a mother because of the abortion, not a wife or a fiancée (or even a girlfriend due to Kenji’s indifference), not a sister to Takako, a daughter to Mr. Sugiyama or absent Kikko whom she resents.

Where Michiko mirrors her mother, in dialogue Akiko mirrors an unborn child. After returning home from the police station she was taken to having been out late at night, Akiko tells her older sister that she wishes she had never been born. This moment appears before the abortion itself in the film, but she had already borrowed the money for the procedure, implying that her mind was set.

The difference between the relationships to motherhood between the sisters is emphasised, as the sequence of the abortion at the gynaecologist’s clinic cuts directly to Takako’s daughter Michiko at home, playing on the floor. Where Akiko decided not to have her child Takako raises her head up from her sewing and baby-talks at Michiko with a smile on her face. The contrast is clear, alluding to the possibility of joys of motherhood against the grief of losing the potential of becoming a good mother, as Akiko sees her past to imply.

As the door can be heard opening, there is no usual greeting and Takako gets up to see who has arrived. As she rushes to the door, she kicks a toy on the floor that rolls over. As Takako glimpses back at it, a sound effect from the toy emphasises Michiko’s presence in the life of

the Sugiyama's. While the young child is not often actually visible in the shots, the toys scattered around the apartment remind of her in scenes where she is not seen.

At the entrance, the exchange of the sisters is filmed in shot-reverse-shots. While Akiko's face appears emotionless, Takako is visibly worried as Akiko is pale and behaves strangely. The younger sister explains that she has a headache, and has to seek support from the wall and faintly sits down on the floor. As Takako rushes off to prepare a bed for her sister, Akiko stays on the hallway floor. The camera cuts to beside Akiko, on her right, and the baby's babbling catches her attention. She slowly turns to look at Michiko, earlier focused at her play but now getting up. Akiko just stares at the girl and as in a following shot, the child walks closer to her direction with her eyes fixed at the camera. Suddenly, Akiko faces down and starts to cry burying her face in her hands. Thus, the presence of the child is what prompts her reaction – it is losing her child that causes her distress, rather than the shame.

Takako prepares a bed for her sister and looks after her, and in doing so her double role in the Sugiyama household is yet again signified; the older sister has taken up the role of a mother in absence of one. As Choi (2018, 86) observes, while Takako prepares the bed for Akiko, a baby doll is visible in the frame: toys are prevalent throughout the film, signifying Michiko's presence in the home, but according to Choi in this instance the baby doll has the potential to connote to Akiko's abortion. Michiko's mirroring of Takako concentrates her role of motherhood, but in this instance Michiko and her toys imply the impossibility of Akiko's motherhood as experienced by the younger sister.

When Akiko is taken into police custody earlier in the film, Takako is the one who picks her up as a next of kin. As she arrives to the station in a traditional kimono outfit, her presence contrasts Akiko's western clothing. She appears more mature and assumes responsibility for the sister, while calling her Aki-chan and treating her kindly. The suffix *chan* is often used for children, but also referring their close relationship (Mogi 2002, 16); combination of a nickname and *chan* highlights the warm relationship between the sisters and Takako's care.

### **3.4 Marriage and/or Love**

According to anthropologist Eunsook Jee (2021, 86) with a focus on singlehood and family relations in Japan and South Korea, Japan was a “universal marriage society” until the 1970s, as “almost all people got married at least once during their lives, and those who did not were often not treated as adults.” The dominance of marriage has continued to more recent decades.

As found in 2005 survey, 90% of single women aged 18–34 want to marry and just 7.1% do not wish to marry at all. The results also reveal that the most common reason for having marriage as a goal is the wish to start a family and raise children. (Nakano 2011, 132.)

The normalisation of marriage aligns with heteronormativity; as recently as June 2023, the ban of same-sex marriage in Japan was ruled as constitutional (Lies 2023). According to Butler (1988, 524) marriage as a heterosexual system serves in interest of reproduction to guarantee the continuity of kinship systems and cultures, so it confines marriage in gendered modes. In their conceptualisation, the institution of compulsory and naturalised heterosexuality bases its regulation on gender in a binary, differentiating male/female and maintaining that divide through practices of heterosexual desire (Butler 1990, 22–23).

This conception of gender presupposes not only a causal relation among sex, gender, and desire, but suggests as well that desire reflects or expresses gender and that gender reflects or expresses desire. (Butler 1990, 22.)

The presupposed relation between sex, gender and desire as well as their connected expression in Butler’s theory is part of the social conception. They note how conventions within cultures regulate and reproduce bonds of kinship through taboos and punishments (Butler 1988, 524). In *Late Spring*, for example, the taboo of passing the age for marriage is expressed as a worry of Noriko’s family members. According to Jee (2017, 90), the role of the parent was to guarantee that their daughter married, for the sake of her own future.

The naturalisation of gendered terms is both a requirement and a product of institutional heterosexuality, and limit the possibilities within oppositional, binary gender terms (Butler 1990, 22). Thus, we can see how social expectations of marriage regulate the genders in different ways. A woman can be too old to marry, but the suspected marriage plans of Mr. Somiya are not opposed by Noriko for his age (56 years old), but the apparent “impurity” that can be seen to conceal her own worries and feelings of jealousy.

In both *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight* present elements that destabilise the normative marriage. In Noriko’ and Akiko’s resistance, the mother abandoning her children to be with another man, Takako leaving her husband and staying at her family home for his drinking, and Noriko’s close friend Aya, who is a divorcee and a working woman. Even Noriko’s father Mr. Somiya exhibits views that leave space for more modern notions of marriage. According to Thompson (1988, 321), the father “reinforces Noriko’s ideal of love in marriage” by

encouraging her to “work at forming a good marriage” to find happiness. And indeed, when he approaches the topic of marriage with Noriko, he first suggests his assistant Hattori as a potential husband – because they seem to enjoy each other’s company. Instead of phrasing marriage as a duty, Mr. Somiya is concerned the happiness of his daughter (Thompson 1988, 321).

The view in Japan is that when a woman marries, her responsibility shifts to her husband’s family: to caring for him, his parents, and the offspring later in line. Thus, a woman cannot both marry and take care of her own parents. (Nakano 2011, 142.) Noriko’s resistance is based on this impossibility – choosing between her father and marriage, a family of her own. It is the finality of marriage (the connection between death and marriage) that takes her away from her father and the life as she has known it. In Thompson’s (1988, 321) view, “Noriko clings to the notion that happiness and duty come through serving her *ie*, that is, through taking care of her father.” On the other hand, Bock (1978, 78) sees that the reason that the daughters in Ozu’s filmography resist marriage is because through marriage, they would “transition to responsible adulthood.”

However, she has an alternative example in her life. Her close friend and confidant Aya is a divorcee, who playfully redefines the notion of finality in marriage. Visiting Noriko, she is first met with Mr. Somiya alone at home, and chats with him before Noriko arrives home. The father treats Aya with familiarity, calling her Aya-chan: the context of a missed school reunion reveals that Noriko and Aya are friends from school, and as expressed earlier, the suffix communicates both affection and referral to a child. Mr. Somiya tells Aya that he has “been hearing good things” about her, which Aya seems to be slightly surprised of. They discuss Aya’s work and skills, and when the conversation turns to Aya’s ex-husband, Mr. Somiya posits his questions in a direct tone – while he keeps brushing his moustache, in monotonous movement and not shaken by Aya’s at times passionate answers.

When Noriko announced her arrival (Appendix: Sequence 2), Aya rapidly gets up from the tatami, and complains that her legs have gone numb (later in the movie we see that her own apartment is decorated in Western style, without tatami seating – a subtle reminder of her not sharing the traditional customs of Somiya household). The interaction between the women is lively, as Noriko immediately takes Aya’s hand and rocks it while they discuss. The childlike excitement positions Noriko again in the role of a daughter.

Upstairs the two sit to discuss the school reunion and gossip Noriko had missed. Instead of traditional seating, the furniture in Noriko's room is more western in style. Before sitting down, the touch between the women is highlighted. They hold hands while walking, keep doing so while standing up for a moment. As noted, the way of touching is playful, casual.

Through their conversation, it is revealed that most of their classmates have married and some even have multiple children; Noriko portrays curiosity, and the exchange between the friends is notably speedy. Framed in reverse medium close-ups, each shot lasts for only a couple of seconds compared to the lengthier establishing shots. The difference in shot length is so significant in relation to most sequences of the movie that play out in a slower pace. Thus, the interaction is clearly set apart from other relationships in the film, and is play-like in itself; especially when at a point Aya reveals that she made up some of the gossip she shares of their classmates, and both of the women laugh.

However, a bit later, in this same, rapid fashion Aya urges that Noriko should marry. Noriko's curiosity toward her old classmates and their current families is replaced with even shorter simple, short answers of disagreement. Claiming she will never marry, Noriko finally gets up and the camera position changes from the ones seen earlier, to the opposite side of the room revealing the other side of the space. The act of getting up is a strong one: she grabs the handles of her chair in a sudden movement without a warning. She moves further from Aya after repeated refusals and then, perhaps jokingly, says that as Aya is a divorcee she will not listen to her advice. After Noriko has returned to her seat, she swiftly changes the topic of the conversation, tempting Aya with food. In these acts, at least a hint of annoyance can be interpreted, and the change of framing reflects a difference in the mood.

Aya does not mind Noriko's rejection of her advice, but contends that she should be listened to. In fact, it is exactly Aya who Noriko later turns to when considering marrying. Aya's approach to marriage is modern: she assures Noriko that rather than staying in an unhappy marriage, she can divorce. With this advice, Aya highlights the agency of a married woman, which goes against the view of control as part of defining feature of Japanese masculinity (Ishii-Kuntz 2003, 199).

According to Jee (2021, 92), unmarried women in the post-war era based another model of femininity in their economic independence by resisting husband-dependent femininity. Aya takes pride in her career – when Mr. Somiya calls her a “typist”, she quickly corrects with the official term and admits that she does not need to worry about money. She also expresses

anger at her former husband, highlighting the dissolving of the bond. However, Aya is not opposed to marrying again, as long as she finds a good match.

Thus, the friendship and interaction between Noriko and Aya give marriage alternative meanings, at least leaning out of the institutional heterosexual order in its reversal of gender roles and independence-dependence dichotomy. The quick cuts between the peers are reminiscent of the way dynamic quality of the process of identity formation in Butler's view. Furthermore, the presentation of the specific relationship of female friendship alludes to the temporary notion of identity, as seeing Noriko in different social situations and spaces reveals small changes in her act, when looked at closely.

## 4 Close Reading *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*

### 4.1 Domestic and Public Spaces

As discussed earlier, the post-war era was marked by a clearer gendered split between the household and the public, as women were more likely to stay home looking after domestic affairs at home while the men worked. This chapter takes a closer look at how social relationships at home and in public spaces are framed, and how the familial roles function in these social spaces.

*Late Spring* opens with a sequence, in which Noriko takes part in a traditional tea ceremony. Similarly to Aya's visit and chatter of classmates, the ceremony attended by women frames a feminine space – furthermore, a space signifying tradition. Where *Late Spring* starts with women drinking tea, the first sequence of *Tokyo Twilight* portrays men drinking sake. Dressed in a suit, Mr. Sugiyama enters a bar, an izakaya type Japanese establishment where he is known by the woman behind the bar. Her familiarity with the food she is serving would suggest that she is the owner of the place, but this an assumption not confirmed. At first, the casual conversation between her and Mr. Sugiyama does not seem to reveal much. Nonetheless, information of his status and family emerge from the chit-chat. Mentions of strangers not relevant to the narrative almost cover those facts, and the reactions of Mr. Sugiyama only make sense once names relate to known characters in the story.

Among strangers is also another man at the bar, who joins Mr. Sugiyama in drinking. Side-by-side, the two men mirror each other's movements; contrasting Mr. Sugiyama's smart suit in his leather jacket, the younger man pours a drink for him, establishing a hierarchical relationship between the strangers (Figure C). In this composition, the stranger's outfit dominates the screen; on the right side, he is in clearer focus than Mr. Sugiyama, the light hits his leather jacket to frame it and his hat is big – perhaps stylish in its time, but the proportions are almost comically big.

A decorative picture of a woman wearing a kimono can be seen on the wall. The male-dominated aesthetics of the sequence are broken with this figure; and on the other hand, a picture of a woman is a passive presence, alluding to the quality of to-be-looked-at-ness theorized by Mulvey (1975, 12). However, in the background the picture is not in focus, thus not calling for attention. In fact, if one follows the communication between the characters, it

is easy to miss completely – as I originally did too. Instead the large size of the hat the other man wears is what draws the eyes.



**Figure C.** Screenshot by the author. Source: *Tokyo Twilight* (1957) Japan: Shochiku. In *The Ozu Collection: Three Melodramas* [DVD] (2012) London: BFI.

The picture on the wall can possibly remind of the masculinity of the place as it is in clear contrast to the men dressed in dark – and through the conversation, it is apparent that the bar usually frequented by men who come in after work. On the other hand, it is the female staff member who drives the seemingly random conversation further in relation to the narrative. She tells Mr. Sugiyama that someone called Numata has left his hat there while being quite drunk. Mr. Sugiyama asks if he visits often, but their relationship is not revealed at this point; later the audience is able to connect Numata to the Sugiyamas as Tamako’s husband. Rather than taking the hat of his son-in-law, Mr. Sugiyama says that Numata will come back for it later: he holds Numata responsible for a drunken moment of forgetfulness.

The way the two men interact with each other reflects a number of concepts discussed earlier. Notably, the rituals of the exchange remind of gender as performance, and meanings constructed in social process. As the man in the hat follows Mr. Sugiyama’s lead in orders, and mirrors his movement, he performs the role of a salaryman. The qualities Mr. Sugiyama represents are part of hegemonic masculinity, thus aspirational. Via replicating his actions, this man can identify with those perceived qualities.



After this encounter coded by masculine expression, Mr. Sugiyama returns home where Takako welcomes him home and helps him change into traditional clothing worn at home. Mars-Jones (2011, 89) notes of *Late Spring*, that the domestic chores present an interwoven routine. Similarly, in this scene Takako and her father take part in an undisturbed routine. The ease both of them partake, with familiarity, makes it seem like an everyday occurrence; but actually, Takako is visiting at her family home unexpectedly. Within this context, she takes up her role of a mother-daughter as defined in Chapter 3 as she looks after her father, asking if he has eaten.

The way daughters tend to their fathers proposes the importance of looking after a parent. Jee (2021, 87) claims that “in the lives of unmarried women, caring for parents has long been almost as important as working and aging.” She sees heterosexual unions (marriage), gendered divide of labour and patriarchy as reasons for especially unmarried daughters to be drawn into caring for their parents. Thus, “they are not free from the bonds of family relationships,” and so the femininity of these daughters is comprised by the existing gender order. (Jee 2021, 87–88.) This notion reminds of the close connection between daughterhood and femininity itself: a daughter is bound by the expectations for women (Pildes 1978, 3).

As mentioned before, the view in Japan is that once a woman marries, her husband’s family becomes her priority and she will not be able to look after her own parents (Nakano 2011, 142). However, Takako’s departure from the marital home marks her return to her father. The belief is that daughters love for their own parent is natural and the care gratitude-based as it reflects the care received as a child (Jee 2021, 90). The return home marks a return to a personal past and different responsibilities; though Michiko reminds that caring for the father is indeed a mark from the past, and in the present moment the reflection of the past is not perfect.

The negotiation of changing familial roles is most apparent when Akiko is called to a police station, and Takako picks her up. Takako’s kimono outfit and face mask signify tradition and responsibility opposite her young, modern sister, still on the verge of adulthood as a student. In this setting, Takako is able to act as the adult guardian, but with the goal of sisterly care – her attempt is to guard the sister from their father’s discipline. This posits Takako on Akiko’s side, as a sister. However, when the father has found out about what has happened, she can occupy her mature role again, telling Akiko what to do and pleading the father for kinder treatment. According to Choi, the loss of parental authority in nuclear families is one

theme explored in Ozu's films (Choi 2018, 3): the opposition of the older daughter and the secrets of the younger cause friction in the parental authority. The respect Mr. Sugiyama is treated with at his workplace does not carry home.

On the other hand, Phillips (2018) notes how in *Late Spring* the feminine space in the home is highlighted: Noriko's modern living space is upstairs, above the traditional space below. The idea of family privacy had developed in the Taisho period (1912–1926) and affected the architecture (Ochiai 1997, 33); being 27 years old, Noriko would have been born during that period. For the adult daughter, the upstairs marks privacy, as her father enters this domain carefully. When Aya is visiting (Appendix: Sequence 2), Mr. Somiya serves the women tea in tableware that looks Western in style. As Mr. Somiya wears a Japanese yukata, there is a sense of displacement in the Western space. He forgets to bring sugar and spoons, and Phillips (2003, 159) even claims that the forgetfulness is because of the lack of comfortability and familiarity in this modern, feminised environment. This is however not the only possible reading for the reasons of displacement, so I would rather focus on what can be stated from the scene as the sense of displacement itself can be found in multiple details. Indirectly, Noriko asks her father to leave as she tells him to leave the sugar and spoons be – to leave from the space for feminine friendship, and the father retires to sleep while the young women stay up.

Furthermore, in this sequence Noriko and Aya can be seen transcending the stairs, but Mr. Somiya is only seen to arrive, with the fixed camera staying on the women after he has left. In the end of the sequence, Noriko returns downstairs to the kitchen and back up again; this time the domestic behaviour is not linked to caring for the father, but connotes pleasure for herself and her friend. According to Phillips (2018), Noriko's occupation of more than one space signals narrative emphasis on transition and change. Indeed, by walking up and down the stairs, she moves with ease between the two spheres with different sensibilities.

As noted in Chapter 3, Mr. Somiya's care for her daughter also complicates the role of a caring daughter and the tendency for lack of paternal caregiving in Japanese society. In *Late Spring*, the household becomes a stage for simultaneous chores, as the father and daughter move between shots and rooms: Mars-Jones (2011, 89) refers to this mode of co-living as "softly interlocking routines." The repetitions reveal a ritualistic pattern: for example, when the door opens, an announcement of arrival is expected. Hall (1973, 10) refers to ritual conventions shifting the focus of the ritual (performance) from one domain to another, for

example from personal or emotional to social or cognitive. The domain of these chores is domestic and practical, but as rituals they become social and signify the relationship.

Through the dynamics in place in different social and physical spaces, differences of feminine and masculine behaviour and expectations arise. In the public, Mr. Sugiyama's role as a salaryman is heightened, but in the home his daughters undermine his authority. On the other hand, the routine co-habiting of Mr. Somiya and Noriko is marked by mutual care and ritual. The separation within the home of the gender and generation divide of upstairs-downstairs further highlights Noriko's modern feminine subjectivity, and less authoritarian role of her father. Still, the expectation of a daughter to take care of a parent remains strong.

## 4.2 Character Mobility

Linda C. Ehrlich (1997, 54) notes how Ozu's filmography is commonly characterised by a sense of stillness, repetition of patterns and particular shooting style, but less often by "the powerful pull of movement" that she sees in his films. Focusing on *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*, this sense of movement connects to the daughters of the stories, and is found through characters moving between spaces, transportation and camera movement. According to Ehrlich (1997, 54) the movement in Ozu's work is "both internal and external, leading toward and away." Starting with character mobility, I will examine how aspects of movement relate to the representations of gender and daughterhood.

Similarly to Ehrlich's emphasis on travel in *Tokyo Story*, Phillips (2018) notes how Noriko in *Late Spring* is "pictured with a certain amount of mobility on trains, in street scenes, and in coffee shops." For example, early in the film Noriko and her father travel to Tokyo by train. Transportation can be seen as a passage of Noriko's societal freedoms as a single, modern woman. For example, she travels to Tokyo to shop and spend time in an *izakaya* bar with a male family friend, or cycles with her father's assistant by the seaside and sits with him in a café. The function of these spaces exceeds practical, as many of these spaces are settings of leisure.

According to Sheldon Garon, a specialist of contemporary Japanese history, cafés and dance halls had represented "modernisms, individualism, and Western-style romantic relations between the sexes" in social consciousness from the 1910s to the 1930s. Illegitimate prostitution was practiced in them, but even if waitresses did not double as sex workers, the casual "mingling" with men their age "seemingly offended a society that believed in arranged

marriages and patriarchal authority. (Garon 1993, 727.) The Home Ministry instilled moral campaigns with the police between 1928 and 1930, and from 1934 through the war (Garon 1993, 728). Thus, Noriko' and Hattori's meeting in a café creates an allusion to the earlier social beliefs. As Hattori invites Noriko to a concert, and the two chat together with ease, the use of word "mingling" seems appropriate in this instance as well.

According to Phillips,

The conflict between the national tradition of the family unit and individual female desire became overtly played out in a prominently feminised cinematic space that recognized both the continuity of established gender patterns and evolving experiences of domestic frustration, containment and social exclusion. (Phillips 2018)

Rather than remaining in the established, gendered spaces, both Noriko and Akiko resent the containment. Akiko is often seen outside of the household, either with her friends or looking for Kenji from places he frequents. The instance of her being called to the police station when she is just sitting by herself in a bar makes a strong point of institutional regulation. Phillips (2018) links the resistance of spatial social norms by a young, female generation to the new subjectivities brought upon by post-war democracy.

According to Thompson and Bordwell, Ozu's use of space is not only motivated by narrative. Some sequences might include images related to it, but not part of the continuity paradigm, ordered in the logic of stylistic elements. (Bordwell and Thompson 1976, 53.) For example, the sequence of Akiko's abortion begins with a view of a train station. The signs mark the area where the clinic is, although narratively there is no significance; the geography of the story is mostly not explicit. However, according to Phillips (2018) the trains and stations appearing in Ozu's post-war films do not connote to only the infrastructural changes, but to new modes of movement and relationships between spaces and people. Thus, Akiko's independence is emphasised. She is making a decision for herself, and to reach her figurative destination, she has also travelled and resolved the problem of money by herself, even as the gynaecologist doubts her.

According to Ehrlich (1997, 55) in the United States the tendency is to associate travel with a "sense of hope" and the "new frontier", but in Japan travel is often related to a sense of separation instead. Of the common presence of trains in Ozu's films Phillips (2018) also draws an interpretation of a "two-way nature of modernity through the duality of departure

and arrival”, that the travel implies. In Ehrlich’s (Ehrlich 1997, 72) words, “travel is made up of arrivals and destinations; one never remains in either state for long.” Beyond travel per se, departures and arrivals are also marked in the space of a household, as the family members greet and bid farewell to each other to announce their presence. Thus, the mobility of travel shares tendencies with the everyday mobility that the characters present.

Following the findings of Phillips (2018), the mobility of Noriko and Akiko signals their independence and freedom before the expectations of marriage and domestic role of a wife. With this freedom, time can be spent in the company of other young people outside of the home, including young men, as Noriko’s outings with Hattori and Akiko spending time with friends and her history with Kenji imply. The departure from home marks resistance to the expectations reserved for the daughters.

### 4.3 Freedom and Camera Movement

Through the previous chapters, a sense of freedom can be mapped based on character movement and negotiation of spaces beyond gendered social norms. In the case of *Late Spring*, freedom of movement can be further emphasised by camera movement. The amount of camera movement in the movie is significant, as in Ozu’s late filmography, he used less and less camera movement. *Tokyo Twilight*, for instance, does not have any. Thus the following analysis concentrates on just the former, and how the camera movement connects to Noriko’s agency, independence and freedom.

According to Robin Wood, the function of camera movement varies in different films in the director’s filmography (Wood 1998, 117). Indeed, as Bordwell and Thompson (1976, 44) note, each Ozu film works on its own formal system and thus generalisations should be avoided, even when some stylistic principles are apparent in a wider context of his filmography.

It is also important to note that the function of the camera movement also ranges within a singular film. Robin Wood connects the camera movement in *Late Spring* to the freedom Noriko experiences. In Wood’s words, the camera movement stresses the “freedom of movement which is both physical and spiritual.” (Wood 1998, 117–118.) As noted earlier, Noriko’s physical freedom is also referred to by her mobility in diverse spaces.

Even when Noriko is not present, the camera movement in the film relates to Noriko’s emotions in Wood’s view. The final instance of camera movement in the film in a scene,

where Mr. Somiya discusses Noriko's potential marriage with aunt Masa in a park. In Wood's interpretation, this scene shows how "Noriko's marriage is finalized by her elders." (Wood 1998, 118.) However, the conversation between the siblings is not about their decision, but about how Noriko will decide. Thus, while Wood sees the scene as a moment "where the trap closes" on marriage (Wood 1998, 118), the camera movement can be read as alluding to Noriko's agency of the matter and the changes the marriage itself will lead to.

As an example of sequence with aspects of freedom, early in the film Noriko takes a cycling trip with Mr. Somiya's assistant Hattori (Sequence 1). As Wood (1998, 118) puts it, the "exceptional freedom" of the camera movement is characterised by number of tracking shots and a pan, the latter especially rare to Ozu. Furthermore, the rhythmical, joyful music adds to the sense of freedom and speed, as well as Hara's wide smile and wind in her hair in intercut close-ups. Where the camera movement seems to flow freely, the editing has a rhythmic tempo with many of the shots being of equivalent length as well as mirroring each other. Bicycles as a mode of transport highlight speed as well, as the camera movement follows their pace.

In addition to the editing and camera movement, the milieu establishes an open space further highlighting the boundlessness and feeling of liberty. The subtle low angles in medium close-ups of both Noriko and Hattori give prominence to the open sky in bright daylight. When the two sit down by the seaside, the skyline and the sea blend together, so that the frame remains open while the characters sit still. The only objects that form straight lines in the frame are signs and an electrical pole. Both can be seen as a sign of the quick modernisation Japan went through in the post-war period as even in a seemingly empty area, electricity and advertisement is needed.

Especially a large Coca-Cola sign on the foreground of one of the shots catches the eye, reminding of the US occupation. Even as the two cyclists pass beyond the end of the frame, the camera stays on the sign. Westernisation is linked with modernisation and also ties together to Noriko's freedom; her Western style outfit and trousers make cycling easier for her. Hattori's white shirt and sweater signal the activity taking place during free time. When we have seen him earlier at work with Noriko's father professor Somiya, he was wearing a suit.

The characters do not speak much during the scene, but by placing them side by side and in many mirrored shots, they are portrayed as a tightly knitted unity. The scene appears early in

the film and is the first time Hattori and Noriko are seen interacting one-on-one; by this time, the spectator is not aware of the type of their relationship yet apart from knowing how they are acquainted and that they are friendly with each other.

Noriko's bright smiles at Hattori and her stroking her hair after he addresses her makes the interaction feel flirtatious. As one shot only reveals their bikes parked on the sand, after the smiles and looks on the ride, it would be easy to see the shot as suggestive – the spectator does not know much about the relationship apart from them clearly enjoying each other's company, so they could be even more intimate beyond the frame.

However, we see them walking and sitting down next, still side by side. When the two of them sit down on the beach, the shots become quite short – the conversation appears effortless and easy. Based on the scene, it would be easy to assume romantic chemistry between the two. Their discussing seems to be a follow-up from earlier conversation, as it seems to begin out of the blue. Their wording is vague, but their laughter and quickly moving conversations suggests that they understand each other – so to speak, as they had a language of their own. Both Hattori and Noriko are relaxed based on their body languages, and Hattori leans even closer to Noriko as they keep on talking.

As Hattori is the assistant of Noriko's father, the meeting taking place outside of the household allows them to distance the familial relation. When Hattori is first seen in the film, he is working with Mr. Somiya in their home, and in this context Noriko would be the daughter of his employer. The cycling through an empty landscape emphasises distance, and with that they are able to occupy a space with less of social regulations.

As a single, non-married woman, Noriko's daughterhood is her main role in society. As the famous phrase describing a woman's role in a family – “a good wife, wise mother” – alludes, as an unmarried woman Noriko is able to spend time leisurely with men without a wife's responsibilities. Compared to her arranged marriage further down the film, the interaction with Hattori is seen as fun and joyful. Once Noriko's father shares his approval and assumption that Noriko and Hattori might want to marry each other, it is revealed that Hattori is already engaged to another woman. After marriage had been brought up, the joy that can be experienced in this scene fades away in the relationship between the two young people.

Together with openness of the space and character mobility, in this sequence the camera movement emphasises Noriko's freedom and lack of social expectations. The interactions

between Noriko and Hattori hint at romantic interest, but as the story progresses, the impossibility of a relationship is revealed. As Noriko experiences happiness and content in her role as a daughter, the sequence can be interpreted as a pursuit of freedom rather than pursuit of love.

#### 4.4 Anger and Separation

While the findings of this study relate daughterhood to both following and rejecting social roles, Choi (2018, 3) characterises the loss of parental authority as one of the themes in Ozu's films. In *Late Spring* and *Tokyo Twilight*, the daughters bend the authority of their fathers in number of instances. As noted by Shigehiko Hasumi (2004), female characters in Ozu's films are often described as "models of feminine virtue." In *Late Spring*, a sequence of Noriko's expression of anger challenges this position and highlights the growing difference between her and her father.

Hasumi's article draws attention to overlooked instances in different Ozu films, in which women portray anger through physical reactions. He notes a number of scenes in which small gestures of removing a towel or a neckerchief signals anger in relation to the conversation at hand. In *Tokyo Twilight*, for example, Akiko abruptly removes her neckerchief when she is faced with her mother whom she so clearly rejects. Where such act could be random, capturing it so explicitly would support its significance. (Hasumi 2004.)

Bringing attention to specific ways in which anger can manifest within the social dynamics in the films opens up for a wider exploration of anger. The potential of anger is to be a driving force; and as such, it relates to the agency of these characters. The moment from *Tokyo Twilight* Hasumi describes relates specifically to the rejection felt by a daughter abandoned by her mother, and so negative emotions by the female characters are clearly present in the narrative.

However, the actions on the screen are not the only way to connote anger, but the formal elements in relation to the performance. For example, my earlier analysis of Noriko and Aya's conversation highlighted the connection between quick cuts in conversation, the sudden movement of Noriko and switching of camera positioning to break the pattern established.

In *Late Spring*, Noriko and her father enjoy a play of traditional Noh theatre. While in the audience, Noriko recognises the woman that her father is supposedly going to marry, and her focus on the play drifts: she looks at the direction of the woman rather than the play, and



lowers her face. After this scene the sequence transitions outside of the theatre, as Mr. Somiya and Noriko are walking together side by side (Appendix: Sequence 3). This is the first time there is camera movement in a scene in which the father is present.

The twelve-shot scene includes four tracking shots in total. First, the camera tracks the two first from the behind. Even without seeing their faces, it is apparent that Noriko is closed off, as her head is low and she is holding her bag in front of her with both of her hands. In comparison, Mr. Somiya heads directly in front of him, and having a cane in his right hand and suitcase in the left, his chest is open. As the camera position shifts to the other side of the pair, in front of them, their faces are revealed. Noriko does not share Mr. Somiya's cheerful expression or respond to his happy chatter of the play. Suddenly, Noriko stops and tells her father that she has to go somewhere.

As Noriko stops, Mr. Somiya continues to take a couple of steps before realising that Noriko is not by his side anymore. A short shot-reverse-shot conversation follows, after which Noriko takes her leave and runs to the opposite side of the road away from the pavement. Notably on the other side her steps cause the pebbles of the road to hit each other, and so her steps are accompanied by the constant sound of the movement. The difference between the surfaces of the road and the sidewalk highlight the lack of logic of leaving the sidewalk to continue walking in the same direction. One would assume that the sidewalk would be more comfortable to walk on, so Noriko could have left her father behind by walking faster in front of him. The distance between the two, however, is more clear, and Noriko's urgency is framed to create as much distance between them as possible. The tracking continues, as both Noriko and her father resume their journey.

With the camera in front of Mr. Somiya, he is framed in the middle of the frame and the camera tracking keeps at a steady pace. Contrary to the continuous framing, Noriko on the other side of the road paces fast while the camera movement stays at similar pace to the shots of her father. With the mismatch of the speeds between Noriko and the camera, she approaches the end of the framed space: if the duration of the shot was longer, she would walk beyond the visible field (Figure E).

Compared to the freedom of open space in the bicycle sequence with Hattori, here the edges of the frames are dominated by dark trees and branches. They give the shots a tight frame, and the darkness of the milieu also contrasts Noriko's light clothing. When talking together on the pavement, Noriko's figure is elevated from the dark fence behind her on the other side of the

road. Meanwhile, the father's outfit is dark and the tree branches frame him in multiple camera positions. As the parent and the child continue walking on different sides of the same road, a medium shot (Figure D) of the father and a long shot of Noriko reveal an incorrect eye-line match. Where within the frame Mr. Somiya's eyes are directed to where in the next long shot Noriko is roughly positioned at (Figure E), his eyes actually face straight forward in front of him. The connection is achieved by the low camera angle, that leads him to face the upper left corner of the frame.



**Figure D.** Screenshot by the author. Source: *Late Spring* (1957) Japan: Shochiku. In *The Ozu Collection: Late Spring (Dual Format Edition)* [DVD] (2010) London: BFI.



**Figure E.** Screenshot by the author. Source: *Late Spring* (1957) Japan: Shochiku. In *The Ozu Collection: Late Spring (Dual Format Edition)* [DVD] (2010) London: BFI.

The prominence of continuity editing would easily lead the spectator to assume that the view of Noriko would be a match to Mr. Somiya's point of view, but in relation to physical space, these shots do not make spatial sense as point-of-view shots. By breaking the rules of classical continuity editing, an emphasis of the growing distance between the Somiyas is heightened. Even so, these shots are clearly linked together by the visual cues of composition within the frame instead of spatial continuity, like was common for editing in Ozu's films.

The contradictions between the speed of the camera movement and characters further highlight the differences between Mr. Somiya and Noriko. Again, Noriko's movement can be read to confirm her freedom, but the connection of Noriko's and the camera's movement lead close to a departure of the frame, as she would exit the realm of the film. Mr. Somiya is unable to keep up with her, as he lags behind with the support of his cane. In the final shot of the sequence the camera is in a similar position as in the beginning, without movement. The father walks alone and from behind, we cannot see his expression anymore while Noriko keeps on getting further and further away.

The sequence ties together Noriko's emotions, framing and camera movement, while it also presents the loneliness of the father in the face of looming change. The physical distance between the two is created by the otherwise loyal daughter, who here does not hide her

disappointment in the father. By almost exiting the frame, Noriko reminds of her upcoming departure from her father's life and changing of their personal lives.

## 5 Conclusion

As I set out to conceptualise the representation of daughterhood in these films, my hypothesis was that *Tokyo Twilight* and *Late Spring* frame the role through familial responsibility, but also freedom beyond the role of a wife and a mother. Where in the beginning of this project I wondered what the role that the daughters occupy is like, my analysis reveals that instead of a role with a single definition, daughterhood occupies multiple roles that are negotiated in different social contexts.

Different aspects of daughterhood emerge: the centrality of the mother-daughter relationship, strong connection to the present moment and change, gendered properties of domestic and public spaces, marriage as an expectation, gendered regulations and resistance to them. On the other hand, the position of a daughter compared to that of a married woman gives a young woman a chance to resist the restrictive norms of marriage, while in the post-war era the position of an unmarried daughter still is dependant of patriarchal familial piety. Similar to my findings, in Barbara Sato's (2003, 2) words the women in Ozu's films are "almost bewildering" as they juxtapose "the old and the new, Western and Japanese, rational and emotional, independent and self-effacing." Through the historic specificity and everydayness of the films, the representation of daughterhood is tied to the changes of the society and changing feminine subjectivities.

Basing my theoretical framework on Judith Butler's theory of gender as performance and social constructivism in semiotics suggested by Stuart Hall, I was able to find a pattern of culturally and historically specific negotiations of identity. Positioned in a moment of change in the post-war era, the figure of a daughter encompasses the surrounding changes, in the familial context and wider society. As Joo (2017, 150) argues, Ozu's attitude toward the present is active and thus, an active process of interpretation was needed, with informed relation to the cultural and historic present portrayed in the movies.

Through the characters of Noriko, Akiko and Takako, the centrality of feminine expectations in the role of a daughter is revealed. The structures of a family uphold the standards that the daughters need to comply to be good women, and these standards are based on patriarchy that the normative social order requires one to follow. Within the Japanese context, the concept of *ie* as an ideology regulating family relations in the interest of the state subject daughterhood in repressive manner.

However, the fluidity of meanings in both Hall' and Butler's theories opens up for alternative interpretations in analysis. The identities of these characters are in no way stable as their roles change between social situations and spaces, and so they are active rather than passive partakers in the social norms and their formation. Transformation then, becomes the key. The method of close reading as mode of analysis further deepens the decoding of the interpretations, drawing attention to the details in cinematic practice that make meaning. Of formal elements most prominently camera movement, *misé-en-scène* and composition (camera distance and placement of characters/objects) highlight the sense of diversity and change in the role.

Ozu's films continue to fascinate audiences across cultures and times. Mars-Jones (2011, 3) describes *Late Spring* as "an old film, or a film that has been new for a long time." In my personal opinion this poetic description rings true: however many times I see the film, or other films from Ozu's filmography, I find something new and am captured by the refined cinematic expression.

In the context of a Master's thesis, this quality poses a positive problem. My chosen topic could be expanded a lot further, and I have been forced to make choices to limit my material to keep the research in the scope of this study. From my original idea of focusing on the Noriko trilogy I had to cut down to two films, and even between them I had to leave out sequences that I wished to include in my analysis. Just focusing on either *Late Spring* or *Tokyo Twilight* would have offered me enough material to form a satisfactory hypothesis and conclusion for this study.

However, I found it important to be able to compare different films from the same time period, and I am content with the choice of films and the connections I have been able to draw from the different presentations of daughterhood. The somewhat surprising centrality of the theme of motherhood in *Tokyo Twilight* helped concentrate the conceptualisation of daughterhood further within the social constructivist framework, and formal decisions in *Late Spring* strongly connote the flux of daughterhood within cinematic context.

The more I studied this subject, the more surprised I was that daughterhood itself has not yet been focused on in Ozu studies as its thematic relevance and potential clarified throughout the process. To me, the interest in family relations is indeed in their connection to gender relations, and as Ozu's films explore those dynamics, the female experience in them has always appeared vocal in my opinion. Even beyond film studies, daughterhood seems to lack

of academic interest and I would be interested to learn more of the roles of daughterhood and how specific cultural contexts regulate it.

With the limited scope of this thesis, it remains an overview of the ways to read change in daughterhood in two of Ozu's post-war films. Themes such as kinship, marriage and care in the context of daughterhood would deserve their own focused studies, and the development of Ozu's daughter characters piques my interest after learning more of those of the post-war era. As I finish my research, I have an even stronger sense that I have been able to only scratch the surface of an overlooked field with a lot of potential. Thus, the conclusion also acts as a signpost to possible directions in the field, and perhaps my own return to it in the future.

Finally, I would like to reflect my own position as a daughter for a moment. While my identity is formed in a culture and historic moment distinct from that of Akiko, Tamako and Noriko, through this study I had a chance to critically evaluate my own daughterhood and what it personally means to me to be a daughter. As of now, I may not have definite answers to that question, but I am well aware that without my mother, I would not be able to tackle the topic of daughterhood with curiosity and confidence.

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## Filmography

### 5.1 Research Material

*Late Spring (Banshun, 1949)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: Yamamoto, Takeshi. Screenplay: Noda, Kogo and Ozu, Yasujirō, based on Hirotsu, Kazuo *Chichi to Musume*. Director of Photography: Atsuta, Yuharu. Editor: Hamamura, Yoshiyasu. Cast: Ryū, Chishū; Hara, Setsuko; Tsukioka, Yumeji; Sugimura, Haruko and Usami, Jun et al. [DVD] *The Ozu Collection: Late Spring (Dual Edition)* (2010) London: BFI. Aspect Ratio: 1.33:1, original. Sound: Dolby Digital mono audio. Language: Japanese with English subtitles.

*Tokyo Twilight (Tōkyō boshoku, 1957)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: Yamanouchi, Shizuo. Screenplay: Noda, Kogo and Ozu, Yasujirō. Director of Photography: Atsuta, Yuharu. Editor: Hamamura, Yoshiyasu. Cast: Ryū, Chishū; Hara, Setsuko; Arima, Ineko; Yamada, Isuzu; Sugimura, Haruko and Taura, Masami et al. [DVD] *The Ozu Collection: Three Melodramas* (2012) London: BFI. Aspect Ratio: 1.33:1, original. Sound: Dolby Digital mono audio. Language: Japanese with English subtitles.

### 5.2 Full Filmography

*The Prisoner of Zenda* (1922) United States: Metro Pictures. Director: Ingram, Rex. Producer: Ingram, Rex. Screenplay: O'Hara, Mary, based on Rice, Edward E. and Hope, Anthony *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894). Director of Photography: Seitz, John. Editor: Whytock, Grant. Cast: Stone, Lewis; Terry, Alice and Edeson, Robert et al.

*The Sword of Penitence (Zange no yaiba, 1927)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō and Saito, Torajiro. Producer: unknown. Screenplay: Noda, Kogo. Director of Photography: Aoki, Isamu. Editor: unknown. Cast: Azuma, Sabur; Ogawa, Kunimatsu; Atsumi, Eiko and Choko, Iida et al.

*Days of Youth (Wakahi hi, 1929)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: unknown. Screenplay: Fushimi, Akira. Director of Photography and Editor: Mohara, Hideo. Cast: Yuki, Ichiro; Saito, Tatsuo; Choko, Iida; Ryū, Chishū et al.

*I Graduated, But... (Daigaku wa deta keredo, 1929)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: Screenplay: Aramaki, Yoshio, story by Shimizu, Hiromi. Director

of Photography: Mohara, Hideo. Editor: unknown. Cast: Takeda, Minoru; Tanaka, Kinyo and Suzuki, Utako et al.

*A Straightforward Boy (Tokkan kozō, 1929)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō.

Producer: unknown. Screenplay: Ikeda, Tadao. Director of Photography: Nomura, Ko. Editor: unknown. Cast: Saito, Tatsuo; Aoki, Tomio and Sakamoto, Takeshi.

*I Flunked, But... (Rakudai wa shita keredo, 1930)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō.

Producer: unknown. Screenplay: Fushimi, Akira, story by Ozu, Yasujirō. Director of Photography and Editor: Mohara, Hideo. Cast: Saito, Tatsuo; Futaba, Kaoru; Aoki, Tomio; Tanaka, Kinyo and Ryū, Chishū et al.

*I Was Born, But... (Otona no miru ehon – Umarete wa mita keredo, 1932)* Japan: Shochiku.

Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: unknown. Screenplay: Fushimi, Akira. Director of Photography and Editor: Mohara, Hideo. Cast: Saito, Tatsuo; Yoshikawa, Mitsuko; Sugawara, Hideo and Tokkan Kozō (aka Aoki, Tomio).

*Passing Fancy (Dekigokoro, 1933)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer:

unknown. Screenplay: Ikeda, Tadao. Director of Photography: Sugimoto, Shojiro. Editor: Ishikawa, Kazuo. Cast: Sakamoto, Takeshi; Choko, Iida; Tokkan Kozō (Aoki, Tomio) and Ryū, Chishū et al.

*What Did the Lady Forget? (Shukujo wa nani o wasuretaka, 1937)* Japan: Shochiku. Director:

Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: unknown. Screenplay: Fushimi, Akira. Director of Photography: Mohara, Hideo and Atsuta, Yuharu. Editor: Hara, Kenkichi. Cast: Kurishima, Sumiko; Saito, Tatsuo; Kuwano, Kayoko; Choko, Iida and Tokkan Kozō (Aoki, Tomio) et al.

*The Brothers and Sisters of the Toda Family (Toda-ke no kyodai, 1941)* Japan: Shochiku.

Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: unknown. Screenplay: Ikeda, Tadao and Ozu, Yasujirō. Director of Photography: Atsuta, Yuharu. Cast: Fujino, Hideo; Katsuragi, Ayako; Yoshikawa, Mitsuko; Saito, Tatsuo; Choko, Iida and Ryū, Chishū et al.

*Early Summer (Bakushū, 1951)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer:

Yamamoto, Takeshi. Screenplay: Noda, Kogo and Ozu, Yasujirō. Director of Photography: Atsuta, Yuharu. Editor: Hamamura, Yoshiyasu. Cast: Hara, Setsuko; Ryū, Chishū; Sugimura, Haruko et al.

*Tokyo Story (Tōkyō monogatari, 1953)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer:

Yamamoto, Takeshi. Screenplay: Noda, Kogo and Ozu, Yasujirō. Director of Photography: Atsuta, Yuharu. Editor: Hamamura, Yoshiyasu. Cast: Ryū, Chishū; Hara, Setsuko; Higashiyama, Chieko; Sugimura, Haruko; Kagawa, Kyoko et al.

*Late Autumn (Akibiyori, 1960)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: Yamanouchi, Shizuo. Screenplay: Noda, Kogo and Ozu, Yasujirō, based on a novel by Satomi, Ton. Director of Photography: Atsuta, Yuharu. Editor: Hamamura, Yoshiyasu. Cast: Hara, Setsuko; Tsukasa, Yoko; Okada, Mariko and Ryū, Chishū et al.

*An Autumn Afternoon (Samma no aji, 1962)* Japan: Shochiku. Director: Ozu, Yasujirō. Producer: Yamanouchi, Shizuo. Screenplay: Noda, Kogo and Ozu, Yasujirō. Director of Photography: Atsuta, Yuharu. Editor: Hamamura, Yoshiyasu. Cast: Ryū, Chishū; Iwashita, Shima; Sata, Keiji and Okada, Mariko et al.

## Appendix

### Sequence 1: Noriko and Hattori on a bike ride (*Late Spring 00:20:00*)

Shot	Scale	Angle	Action	Movement	Duration
1	LS	Eye Level	Strong waves hitting the sandy beach, with calm music accompanying the shot.	-	14 sec
2	XLS	Eye Level	Establishing shot of the seashore. A rhythmical, happy music starts and plays through the scene.	Dolly left	6 sec
3	MCU	Slight Low	Noriko (F) smiling and bicycling, camera in an angle on her side on the left. Her eyes are fixed in front of her and the wind blowing her hair in movement.	Tracking	6 sec
4	MCU	Slight Low	Mirror image of Hattori (M), camera placed on the right side of him. He is bicycling like Noriko.	Tracking	6 sec
5	LS - XLS	Approx. Waist Level	Noriko and Hattori are bicycling side by side and the camera follows them from behind. The pace of the dolly is slower than their speed, so they get further from the camera.	Dolly in	12 sec
6	MCU	Slight Low	As shot 3; Noriko smiles widely.	Tracking	4 sec
7	MCU	Slight Low	As shot 4, but Hattori turns to have a look at the right side, outside the frame (at Noriko) and smiles wider. He turns to look directly in front of him again, smiling wide.	Tracking	4 sec
8	MCU	Slight Low	Noriko looks back and smiles, and turns to head directly in front of her. She strokes her hair with her left hand, smiling widely throughout.	Tracking	8 sec
9	XLS-LS	Approx. Waist Level	Similar to shot 5, mirrored; Hattori and Noriko are cycling straight towards the camera from distance. The camera moves further away, but the cycling speed is faster and they get closer to the camera.	Dolly out	10 sec
10	XLS	Eye Level	Hattori and Noriko keep cycling, now seen from the side of the road.	Pan to right	8 sec
11	MCU	Slight Low	Similar to shot 3. Noriko passes an electric pole and wires that can be seen behind her head.	Tracking	5 sec
12	MCU	Slight Low	Similar to shot 4. Hattori turns towards Noriko to ask if she is tired while he keeps on cycling.	Tracking	4 sec
13	MCU	Slight Low	Noriko gestures no and glimpses at Hattori as she tells that she is fine. After she heads in front of her again, she strokes her hair with her right hand.	Tracking	7 sec



14	LS-XLS	Eye Level	Camera placed on the left side of the road, seemingly close to the sand on the beach. Noriko and Hattori keep on cycling towards the left of the frame, seen almost only as silhouettes. The signs are in English.	-	10 sec
15	XLS	Eye Level	There is a big Coca-Cola sign on the foreground of the picture. The camera is on the right side of the road, it aligning towards the bottom right corner of the shot. Hattori and Noriko pass out of frame but there is no cut for a while, just showing the sign. Music approaches finale after they have disappeared from sight.	-	11 sec
16	LS	Slight Low	The music transforms into a calmer melody and only the bikes can be seen parked on the sand with the ground going up a little.	-	11 sec
17	XLS	Eye Level	The bikes are on the right side of the frame on the foreground of the image. Behind, Noriko and Hattori are walking towards the edge of a grassy bank without rush, in middle of the frame. Hattori sits down and Noriko follows.	-	15 sec
18	MFS	Eye Level	Cut to Noriko finishing sitting down. She turns towards Hattori and asks which type he thinks she is. Hattori turns to her as he answers.	-	8 sec
19	MCU	Eye Level	In a close up, Noriko challenges Hattori's assumption, smiling very widely.	-	3 sec
20	MCU	Eye Level	Hattori reacts to her comment, without adding anything, smiling as well.	-	2 sec
21	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko explains herself and simultaneously turns to look in front of her (at the sea) and giggles.	-	6 sec
22	MFS	Eye Level	The camera is set behind them like in shot 18, Hattori continues the chatter and leans back. He uses his right hand so him leaning back brings him closer to Noriko. When Noriko looks at him, he fixes his posture again.	-	12 sec
23	MCU	Eye Level	Hattori replies Noriko's question.	-	4 sec
24	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko reacts and laughs, turning to look at the sea again. She starts getting up.	-	4 sec
25	XLS	Eye Level	Camera placement like in shot 17, cut to Noriko getting up. Hattori follows and both adjust themselves for a moment before continuing walking towards the water, approaching the edge of the bank.	-	13 sec

**Sequence 2: Aya visiting Noriko at home (Late Spring 00:37:01)**

Shot	Scale	Angle	Action	Movement	Duration
1	MS	Tatami	Aya (F) and Mr. Somiya (M) sit on pillows by a low table in the Somiya household living space.	-	13 sec
2	MLS	Tatami	Noriko (F) arrives from the back of the space and takes Aya's hand. Mr. Somiya sits in the left corner of the frame	-	26 sec
3	MLS	Tatami	The camera is positioned in a hallway, revealing the first steps of stairs in the middle of the frame. Noriko and Aya come into the hallway from a doorway on the left side, and take a turn to left. Noriko leads the way and they are still holding hands. She pushes Aya playfully into the stairs, and gleefully follows.	-	5 sec
4	MLS	Tatami	The two get upstairs and starts to chat while still standing up. Noriko is on the left while Aya is to her right, with a table and chairs between them and the camera.	-	25 sec
5	MCU	Eye Level	Aya talking, framed in the middle of the frame and facing directly towards the camera (pointed slightly on the left side of the lens)	-	8 sec
6	MCU	Eye Level	Reverse shot of Noriko's reaction similarly framed. A series of quick cuts follows throughout the dialogue, each shot corresponding to a short sentence or a reaction.	-	2 sec
7	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	4 sec
8	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply.	-	1 sec
9	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	2 sec
10	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply.	-	1 sec
11	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	1 sec
12	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply.	-	2 sec
13	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	2 sec
14	MLS	Tatami	Framing as shot 4. Mr. Somiya (M) brings in tea for the women	-	31 sec
15	MCU	Eye Level	Aya answering Noriko's question, framed as earlier.	-	6 sec
16	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply.	-	3 sec
17	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	2 sec
18	MLS	Tatami	Framing as shot 4 and 14; Aya gets up to lean over the table to whisper in Noriko's ear.	-	10 sec
19	MCU	Eye Level	Aya framed as earlier. She notes that Noriko is the only one (of their class) not married.	-	3 sec

20	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply.	-	1 sec
21	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply. Throughout the dialogue she tells Noriko to hurry (to get married).	-	2 sec
22	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply. She contends that she will not marry.	-	2 sec
23	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	2 sec
24	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply.	-	1 sec
25	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	1 sec
26	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply.	-	3 sec
27	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	3 sec
28	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply. She grabs the armrests of her chair to get up.	-	3 sec
29	MLS	Tatami	From opposite direction, end of Noriko's movement. She goes to open the window in the back of the shot, in the middle of the frame, and then returns to her seat now on the right side of the frame. While she walks, the two continue their discussion. Once she sits down, she asks if Aya wants some bread.	-	23 sec
30	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	2 sec
31	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko's reverse shot and reply.	-	1 sec
32	MCU	Eye Level	Aya's reverse shot and reply.	-	2 sec
33	MCU	Eye Level	Noriko says that she will eat by herself and gets up.	-	4 sec
34	MLS	Tatami	As shots 18 and 21; end of Noriko's movement, Aya tells she wants to eat after all. Chatter, Noriko leaves back the same way on the left side of the frame.	-	14
35	MLS	Tatami	Framed as shot 3; the camera is situated in the hallway downstairs, so that the stairs are on the left side of the frame. Noriko walks down the stairs and goes to kitchen in the end of the hallway, turns on the ceiling lamp and starts to prepare snacks. The clock starts to strike twelve. Moving carefully, she comes back to the hallway toward the camera and passes the stairs to pick up a jar of jam from a shelf near the door in the room on the where Noriko and Aya came from in shot 3. She goes back into the kitchen with the jar and continues to assemble a tray that is unseen behind the doorway until she carefully walks back to the stairs and walks back up. She turns off the light as she leaves the kitchen. The camera lingers for about 5 seconds once she disappears.	-	43 sec

### Sequence 3: Noriko and her father leaving the Noh theatre (*Late Spring*)

00:56:26)

Shot	Scale	Angle	Action	Movement	Duration
1	LS	High	Only branches of a tree with leaves moving in the wind. The music from the earlier Noh play is still heard, but after about 5 seconds, soundtrack music starts to blend in with it. The Noh music quiets down and dissolves when the shot is cut to the next.	-	20 sec
2	MLS	Low Level	From behind, Noriko (F) and Mr. Somiya (M) can be seen walking forward (Mr. Somiya on the left, Noriko on the right next to him). Mr. Somiya walks with a cane, holds a suitcase in his left hand and faces directly in front of him, while Noriko's head is tilted down and she appears to be holding her hands in front of her.	-	7 sec
3	MS	Slight High	From in front of them, the camera dollies backwards matching the walking pace. Noriko on the left, Mr. Somiya on the right. Noriko holds her bag in her hands in front of her, head low. Mr. Somiya attempts to chat, glancing at her but mostly heading straight.	Dolly (backwards)	15 sec
4	MLS	Low Level	Back to framing as in shot 2; Noriko slows down and stops, Mr. Somiya keeps on walking for a couple of steps until he turns around to look at Noriko. He blinks fast, and Noriko tells that she has to go somewhere.	-	8 sec
5	CU	Eye Level	Noriko's close-up. She's in middle of the frame, background dark and out of focus. Her body is on a slight angle towards the left of the screen, and her eyes fixed in the same direction.	-	2 sec
6	CU	Slight High	Reverse shot of Mr. Somiya. He's in the middle of the frame, but more can see behind him in the background: shapes of the fence and trees, as well as light sky covering about third of the screen on the right. His eyes are approximately match the eyeline of Noriko, directed at the right.	-	2 sec
7	CU	Eye Level	Reverse shot of Noriko. She starts to move out of the frame to the left.	-	1 sec
8	MLS	Low Level	Framed from behind as before. The movement from previous shot continues and Noriko runs to the right side of the frame, to walk on the right side of the road.		11 sec
9	MS	Slight High	Mr. Somiya framed from in front of him, walking forward.	Dolly (backwards)	7 sec
10	LS	Low Level	Noriko walks faster, the camera tracks her from the left side of the road where the pedestrian pavement is. The camera movement stays at a stable pace, but Noriko walks faster so that she approaches the end of the frame. She holds her purse in her right hand and lets her arms flow in movement. There is a	Tracking	9 sec

			sound of her low heels hitting the pebbles of the road.		
11	MS	Slight High	From behind, the father is tracked in the pace of his walking.	Dolly (forward)	7 sec
12	XLS	Low Level	Returning to similar position of the camera without movement as in shot 2, but the characters are further away. Mr. Somiya keeps his steady pace and Noriko, now on the right side of the frame, walks fast.	-	9 sec

### Sequence 4: Akiko's abortion (*Tokyo Twilight* 1:12:22)

Shot	Scale	Angle	Action	Movement	Duration
1	MS	Eye Level	An image of a sign outside translated in the English subtitles as "Kasahara Clinic, Gynaecologist." Train station in the background, two women (F2) walk the path behind the sign from left to right before cut.	-	8 sec
2	MCU	Eye Level	View from inside the clinic through doors with glass windows, the text on the door translated as "Kasahara Obstetrics Clinic." Same train station in the background.	-	5 sec
3	MLS	Waist Level	Women (F~4) waiting in the hallway on both sides of the hallway. A woman sitting closest to the camera on the right, dominates the space and smokes. Her figure takes almost two thirds of the frame.	-	7 sec
4	MLS	Waist Level	Within the gynaecologist's office, an unknown young woman (F) comes out of a separate space in the back of the room, buttoning her skirt and then putting a sweater on.	-	10 sec
5	MCU	Eye Level	Middle-aged gynaecologist (F) writes at her desk while telling the woman instructions. Reverse shot from the patient's direction.	-	7 sec
6	MS	Waist Level	The patient is getting ready to leave and asks for the price while gathering her purse.	-	3 sec
7	MCU	Eye Level	The gynaecologist answers and keeps on writing. Framing identical to shot 5.	-	3 sec
8	MLS	Waist Level	The patient moves towards the gynaecologist's desk on the foreground, pays, thanks and leaves the room through the door on the right side of the frame. The gynaecologist follows.	-	13 sec
9	MLS	Waist Level	Identical framing to shot 3. The patient moves to the hallway where others are waiting to get ready, and the gynaecologist stands in the doorway on the left back corner of the space. Everyone turns to her as she calls for the next patient, seemingly gesturing towards the smoking woman. Having been previously unseen, Akiko (F) emerges from beside her and follows into the room. She's wearing a scarf over her head and removes it while entering.	-	11 sec
10	MLS	Waist Level	Akiko walks after the gynaecologist and is asked to be seated. She sits close to the desk, in the middle of the frame.	-	17 sec
11	MS	Between Eye and Waist Level	The gynaecologist looks at a file and asks her if she has decided what to do.	-	5 sec
12	MCU	Eye Level	Reverse shot of Akiko, who first looks down and then towards the gynaecologist when giving her answer.	-	4 sec
13	MS	Between Eye and Waist Level	The gynaecologist puts the papers back on the desk and takes out a thermometer, shaking it.	-	5 sec

14	MS	Waist Level	Opposite view, from behind the gynaecologist. She keeps shaking the thermometer and hands it to Akiko, who has her head low, not facing the gynaecologist directly. Akiko takes the thermometer to measure her temperature and the gynaecologist takes her wrist for her pulse.	-	21 sec
15	MS	Between Eye and Waist Level	The gynaecologist chats with Akiko about the backgrounds of the patients, assuming Akiko works in a bar.	-	13 sec
16	MCU	Eye Level	Reverse shot of Akiko, asking if she needs to be hospitalised.	-	5 sec
17	MS	Between Eye and Waist Level	Reverse shot of the gynaecologist as earlier, answering Akiko's question. The gynaecologist reaches for the thermometer.	-	8 sec
18	MS	Waist Level	Camera situated behind the gynaecologist. Akiko gives the thermometer back.	-	19 sec
19	MS	Between Eye and Waist Level	The gynaecologist asks if Akiko wants to do it today.	-	3 sec
20	MCU	Eye Level	Akiko answers "yes, please."	-	3 sec
21	MS	Between Eye and Waist Level	The gynaecologist tells the price for the procedure.	-	7 sec
22	MCU	Eye Level	Akiko only says yes.	-	2 sec
23	MS	Between Eye and Waist Level	The gynaecologist questions her about the money.	-	7 sec
24	MCU	Eye Level	Akiko repeats yes, and starts getting the money out of her purse.	-	3 sec
25	MS	Between Eye and Waist Level	The gynaecologist agrees, and gets up.	-	5 sec
26	MLS	Waist Level	Most of the room is visible again. The gynaecologist gets up and gestures Akiko to follow her to the same space the previous patient walked out from earlier. The nurse who has been hanging laundry in the background for the whole time enters the space and a light can be seen turned on through a dimmed window. Akiko follows both of them through curtained doorway. The curtains are closed from within and the gynaecologist pops out for a moment to fix them. For a moment, the camera lingers in the empty room.	-	27 sec

## Suomenkielinen tiivistelmä

### ”Olen onnellinen, kun asiat ovat näin”: Tyttöryys ja muutos Yasujiro Ozun elokuvissa *Late Spring* (1949) ja *Tokyo Twilight* (1957)

Japanilaisen elokuvaohjaaja Yasujiro Ozun (1903–1963) pitkä ura tunnetaan parhaiten hänen perhedraamoistaan, joissa kuvataan jokapäiväistä elämää. Myös länsimaissa hyvin tunnetun ohjaajan parhaiten menestynyt elokuva *Tokyo Story* (*Tōkyō monogatari*, 1953) on esimerkiksi vuosikymmenten ajan noussut kärkeen *Sight and Sound* –elokuvalehden järjestämässä äänestyksessä kaikkien aikojen parhaista elokuvista (BFI; BFI 2021a, 2021b, 2021c).

Vaikka Ozun elokuvat useimmiten käsittelevät perhesuhteita, Ozu-tutkimus on harvemmin keskittynyt sukupuoleen. Jinhee Choi (2018, 1) toteaa länsimaisen tutkimuksen pääasiassa käsittelevän Ozun tyyliä ja sen määrittelyä, myös kansallisuuden kautta. Esimerkiksi Donald Richie (1974, xiii) on kirjoittanut Ozun elokuvien ”japanilaisesta mausta” ja kutsunut häntä ”kaikista japanilaisimmaksi ohjaajaksi.” Peter Lehman (1987, 14) kritisoi orientalista lähestymistapaa: hänen mukaansa tutkimuksen ei pitäisi unohtaa kulttuurista kontekstia eikä toisaalta tyytyä essentialismiin ja steroetyyppeihin. Ozun elokuvien keskittyminen nykyhetkeen tukee Lehmanin esittämää ajatusta. Choi (2018, 3) kuvaa elokuvien arkipäiväisyyden osoittavan yhteiskunnan muutoksia ja historiallista hetkeä, johon ne sijoittuvat.

Monissa Ozun elokuvissa on keskeisiä tyttähahmoja, mutta konseptina tyttöryys on jäänyt vähälle huomiolle Ozu-tutkimuksessa. Tämän tutkimuksen keskeinen tavoite on tunnistaa tapoja, joilla Ozun elokuvat representoivat tyttöryyttä. Mitä elokuvien tyylikeinot kertovat tyttären roolista näissä elokuvissa? Miten kulttuurinen ja historiallinen konteksti sodanjälkeisessä Japanissa vaikuttaa sosiaalisiin rooleihin? Ovatko muutokset perheen sisäisiä vai voiko niitä ymmärtää laajemmin yhteiskunnan kritiikkinä? Koska Ozun filmografia on laaja (yhteensä 53 elokuvaa) ja rikas perheteemaisilta elokuviltaan, tutkimusmateriaalina toimii kaksi toisen maailmansodan jälkeistä elokuvaa: *Late Spring* (*Banshun*, 1949) ja *Tokyo Twilight* (*Tōkyō boshoku*, 1957).

Juuri nämä kaksi elokuvaa valikoituivat materiaaliksi erojensa ja samankaltaisuuksiensa kautta. Julkaisuvuodet ovat läheiset ja molempien keskiössä nähdään nuoria aikuisia naisia, jotka elävät isänsä kanssa. Edellä mainitussa 27-vuotias Noriko (Setsuko Hara) elää leski-isänsä (Chishū Ryū) kanssa ja vastustaa ajatusta avioliitosta, koska ei halua jättää isäänsä



yksin. Lopulta Noriko suostuu menemään naimisiin vastahakoisuudestaan huolimatta. Jälkimmäisessä on kaksi siskosta, yliopisto-opiskelija Akiko (Arima Ineko) ja jo itse äidiksi tullut Takako (Setsuko Hara), joiden äiti on aikoinaan jättänyt aviomiehensä toisen miehen vuoksi ja samalla hylännyt lapsensa. Takako on avioliitossa, mutta palaa oman pienen tyttärensä kanssa isänsä (jälleen Ozun vakiokasvo Ryū) luo aviomiehen arvaamattomasta käytöksestä johtuen. Akiko saa taas tietää tulleensa raskaaksi, ja koska lapsen isä ei suostu auttamaan, päätyy tekemään abortin salaa perheeltään. Samaan aikaan äidin palaaminen lähistölle ja tämän tapaaminen vuosien jälkeen varjostaa siskosten elämää. Lopulta nuori Akiko saa surmansa juostessaan kiihdyksissään junan alle, viitaten teon luonteen olevan tahallinen.

Tämän tutkimuksen keskittyessä tyttäryyteen, sukupuolen merkitys roolin muodostumisessa nousee keskeiseksi. Teoreettinen viitekehys nojaa elokuvatutkimuksen feministiseen perinteeseen. Yksinkertaisimmillaan feminismi tarkoittaa sukupuolten välistä tasa-arvoa, mutta sitä voidaan käsitellä erilaisista näkökulmista käsittelijästä riippuen. Deborah Cameron (2018, 2) jakaa feminismin merkitykset kolmeen: se voi olla ajatus, kollektiivinen poliittinen projekti tai viitekehys ajatustyölle. Elokuvatutkimuksen kontekstissa Karen Hollinger (2012, 8) kuvaa feminististä teoriaa ”malliksi teoreettiselle spekulatiolle”, joka keskittyy sukupuoleen vaihtelevin metodein.

Varhainen feministinen elokuvakritiikki keskittyi amerikkalaiseen valtavirran elokuvaan ja siihen, miten elokuvat heijastavat naisen roolia patriarkalisessa yhteiskunnassa. Naisten kuvaus nähtiin usein vääristävän naisten todellisia kokemuksia, ja elokuvien representaation uskottiin osaltaan vaikuttavan siihen, miten naisia vallitsevassa ideologiassa kohdeltiin. Laura Mulveyn (1975) keskeinen teoria elokuvan miehisestä katseesta käyttää psykoanalyysia keinona analysoida elokuvan katsomisesta saatavaa mielihyvää sukupuolitetusta näkökulmasta. Hänen mukaansa valtavirran elokuvassa on selvä binäärinen jako miesten ja naisten aktiivisuuden välillä: mies on aktiivinen, naisen asema on olla passiivinen katseen kohde. Katselukokemuksesta saatava mielihyvä ei näin ollen pääse pakoan patriarkalista ideologiaa katsojan sukupuolesta huolimatta.

Nykykäsitys laajalti kumoo ajatuksen sukupuolen binäärisestä luonteesta, mutta se on vahvasti läsnä sukupuoli-identiteetin ja perhesuhteiden muodostumisessa. Maggie Hummin (1997, 5) mukaan feministisen teorian eri versiot yleensä kattavat käsityksen siitä, että sukupuoli rakentuu sosiaalisesti ja miehiin verrattuna naiset ovat huonommassa asemassa,

yhteiskuntajärjestelmä toimii asetelmaa ylläpitäen ja tasa-arvoisen yhteiskunnan saavuttamiseksi tarvitaan naisten näkökulmaa sekä tietoutta. Japanilaisessa kontekstissa patriarkaalinen perhejärjestelmä ja -ideologia *ie* on näkyvästi läsnä jopa tämän päivän yhteiskunnassa: mies on perheen pää ja vastuussa taloudesta, kun vaimon vastuulla on kodinhoito ja lasten kasvatus miehen pyhittäessä aikansa työnteolle.

Kysymys representaatiosta on feministisessä viitekehyksessä ongelmallinen, kuten Judith Butler huomioi. Samaan aikaan naisten tarinoita esitetään joko todellisuudesta vääristyneinä tai niitä ei esitetä ollenkaan, mutta samaan aikaan naiseus ei ole yksittäinen, vakaa kategoria. Poliittisessa mielessä naisten toimijuus on tärkeä feministinen tavoite, mutta Butlerin mukaan naiseus perustuu nimenomaan feminismiin vastustamiin rakenteisiin. (Butler 1990, 1–2.) Sukupuoli-identiteetti ei hänen mukaansa kuitenkaan ole vakaa ja pysyvä asia, vaan muodostuu tyylliteltyjen ja sukupuolitettujen tekojen toistoista. Hän kuvaa sukupuolta ”esiintymiseksi” ympäröivän kulttuurin rajoissa ja kontekstissa, yleisölle, johon myös esiintyjä itse lopulta kuuluu. Toistoja tarvitaan, jotta henkilölle muodostuu omasta sukupuoli-identiteetistä pysyvä käsitys. (Butler 1988, 519–526.)

Koska sukupuoli perustuu toistoihin, Butlerin (1988, 520) mukaan sitä on kuitenkin mahdollista horjuttaa. Sukupuolen muodostumisen prosessi on dynaaminen prosessi sosiaalisessa kanssakäymisessä. Semiotiikan piirissä Stuart Hallin (1997, 25) mukaan asioiden merkitykset rakentuvat merkkien ja käsitteiden representoivassa järjestelmässä. Kulttuurin koodit vaikuttavat tulkintoihin, mutta merkeistä seuraavat tulkinnat eivät ole pysyvästi määriteltyjä. Muun muassa historialliset muutokset vaikuttavat tapoihin tulkita maailmaa. (Hall 1997, 32.) Sen tähden historiallinen ja kulttuurinen konteksti on tärkeä tulkintoja tehdessä. Hallin näkemys dynaamisesta tulkinnan prosessista tukee myös Butlerin näkemystä sukupuolen vakiintumattomasta luonteesta.

Hallin esittämä ajatus merkitysten koodaamisesta ja koodin purkamisesta (*encoding/decoding*) kehittyi alun perin televisiotutkimuksen kontekstissa. Katsojille tuotettu materiaali seuraa tuotantokäytänteitä ja -konventioita, ja on siten ”koodattu” merkityksillä jotka rakentuvat olemassaolevista koodijärjestelmistä. Prosessi on kuitenkin kaksisuuntainen: kun koodi ”puretaan”, vastaanotettu viesti tulee osaksi merkitysten järjestelmää. (Hall 1973, 1–3.) Näin ollen Hallin kehittämä viitekehys sopii hyvin myös tutkielman lähiluvun menetelmään.

Lähiluku on peräisin alun perin kirjallisuuden tutkimuksesta, ja sen päämäärä on ymmärtää tekstin syvempiä merkityksiä. Varsinkin varhaisemmassa elokuvatutkimuksessa myös elokuvailmaisuus on ymmärretty tekstinä, mutta elokuvaa tutkiessa on huomioitava sen erityisyys mediana (Perkins 1972, 40). Lopputulokseen ovat johtaneet lukemattomat valinnat, kuten otosten rajaus ja kameran liike, leikkaus, dialogi, joiden pohjalta tulkinnat tehdään (Bordwell 1989, 3). Koska yksittäinenkin elokuvan ruutu on täynnä merkityksiä, kokonaisen elokuvan tarkka lähiluku on mahdotonta. Sen vuoksi Hannu Salmen (1993, 143) mukaan lähiluvussa hyödyllinen keino on jakaa elokuvan narratiivi jaksoihin: jokaisen yksityiskohtaan analyysi ei ole tarpeellista ja sen yksityiskohtaisuuden tarve tulee arvioida tapauskohtaisesti. Tässä tutkielmassa lähilukua tukevat myös kaaviot, jotka kuvaavat elokuvista temaattisesti valittujen jaksosten tiettyjä piirteitä: otoksen kuvakoko ja –kulma, ajallinen kesto ja kameran liike. Lisäksi kaaviossa on lyhyesti kirjoitettu auki kunkin otoksen tapahtumat, jotta yhteyttä otosten tyylikeinoihin on helpompi hahmottaa.

Sekä *Late Spring* että *Tokyo Twilight* paljastavat keskeisen tyttäryyden teeman lähiluvun kautta. Kuten huomioitu, naisen roolia tyttärenä on käsitelty melko vähän. Antropologiset tutkimukset kokemuksista tyttärenä auttavat löytämään tavan määritellä tyttäryys Butlerin viitekehyksessä. Judith Arcanan mukaan tyttäryys on naisen universaalein rooli, koska jokainen syntyy toisen naisen tyttärenä ja pysyy tyttärenä, vaikka tulisi itse äidiksi. Haastatteluissa Arcanalle paljastui, miten vahvasti sosiaalinen oppiminen linkittyy rooliin. Hyvän tyttären tulee noudattaa naisille asetettuja odotuksia, jotka saattavat vaihdella perhekohtaisesti, mutta pohjimmiltaan ovat patriarkaalisen yhteiskunnan tuotoksia. (Pildes 1978, 1–3.)

Tämän käsityksen mukaan äidin ja tyttären suhde on erityisen tärkeä, koska äiti on tyttärelle lähtökohtaisesti läheisin malli sukupuolta oppiessa. Yleinen oletus myös on, että äiti on päävastuussa lapsista huolehtimisessa. Japanissa oletus on edelleen erityisen vahva. Meiji-kaudella (1852–1912) valtio vaikutti tietoisesti ihanteeseen ”hyvästä vaimosta, viisaasta äidistä” yhteiskunnan kehittyessä. Naisen pitäessä huolta kodin ja lasten hoitoon, mies saattoi keskittyä työhön tuloksellisesti ja nainen taas piti huolta tulevien sukupolvien kasvattamisesta kunnan kansalaisiksi. (Uno 1993, 294.) Sodanjälkeinen Japani oli myös kehityksen ja talouskasvun aikaa. Liittoutuneet, käytännössä Yhdysvallat, miehittivät Japanin ja pyrki demokratian ja kapitalismin vahvistamiseen kommunismin pelossa (Konttinen 2011, 120). Muutokset toivat vapauksia, mutta talouskasvu myös uuden modernin keskiluokan. Miehistä

tuli palkkatyöläisiä (*salaryman*) kun taas pääosa naisista jäi kotiin, tehden kotirouvan roolista niin normatiivisen, että se linkittyi naisen rooliin ylipäätään (Ochiai 1997, 34–35).

Ozun elokuvat kuvaavat nykyhetkeä, joten muutokset näkyvät myös hänen elokuvissaan. Aiemmin hänen hahmojensa yhteiskuntaluokat vaihtelivat enemmän, mutta sodanjälkeiset elokuvat keskittyivät pääasiassa keskiluokkaan. Ozun elokuvat olivat suosittuja erityisesti naiskatsojien keskuudessa, joille kotiin sijoittuvat kohtaukset olivat tuttuja omasta elämästä. Näissä kahdessa elokuvassa kuitenkin tytär-päähenkilöiden äidit eivät ole läsnä lastensa kasvatuksessa. *Tokyo Twilight*'issa äidin hylkäys on keskeinen osa juonta, kun taas *Late Spring*'in Noriko on tyytyväinen leski-isänsä kanssa. Noriko kertoo olevansa onnellinen juuri niin kuin on vastustaessaan avioliittoon astumista ja elämänsä muuttumista. Molemmissa elokuvissa Chishū Ryūn esittämä isässä on samankaltaisuutta niin kuin muissakin Ozun elokuvissa, joissa Ryū tyypillisesti näyttelee isähahmoa. Audie Bock (Bock 1978, 78) luonnehtii Ozun elokuvien isiä introverteiksi ja hieman karkeiksi mutta kilteiksi, ja heidän epäonnistumisensa yleensä liittyvät vaikeuteen tunnistaa lastensa tunteita.

Äitien puuttuminen luo ristiriitaisuutta tyttären rooliin. Toisaalta äidin hylkääminen aiheuttaa katkeruutta ja edesauttaa tytärtä ottamaan kaksoisroolin äitinä, niin itsestään kuin perheestään huolehtien, kuten Arcanan haastattelut osoittavat (Pildes 1978, 4). Tyttäristään huolehtivat isät kuitenkin rikkovat hegemonista kuvaa vain perheen naisista huolehtijoina. Aikuiset tyttäret kyllä pitävät huolta isistään, kuten kotityöt ja isän auttaminen paljastavat, mutta huolenpito ei ole yksisuuntaista. Varsinkin *Late Springin* herra Somiya osoittaa huolta ja välittämistä tyttärtään kohtaan. Adam Mars-Jones (2011, 89) huomioi, miten kahden Somiyan liikkuminen kodin piirissä on kuin yhteen sulautunut rutiini.

Japanissa ajatellaan naisen mennessä naimisiin tämän vastuun siirtyvän aviomieheen ja aviomiehen perheeseen, joten nainen ei voi sekä mennä naimisiin, että pitää huolta omista ikääntyvistä vanhemmistaan (Nakano 2011, 142). 1970-luvulle asti Japani on ollut ”avioliittoyhteiskunta”, jossa lähes kaikki menevät naimisiin vähintään kerran elämässään ja avioliitto linkittyy käsitykseen kypsyydestä ja aikuisuudesta (Jee 2021, 86). Norikon naimattomuus ja avioliiton vastustus on *Late Springin* keskeinen konflikti. Hän ei haluaisi jättää isäänsä ja siirtyä seuraavaan elämänvaiheeseen odotusten mukaan. Jee (2021, 92) mukaan sodan jälkeen naimattomat naiset loivat uuden mallin naiseudelle, joka perustui taloudelliseen itsenäisyyteen. Norikon läheinen ystävä Aya (Yumeji Tsukioka) on työssäkäyvä, moderni ja eronnut nainen. Toisin kuin Noriko, Aya ei kuitenkaan vastusta

ajatusta uudelleen naimisiin menemisestä ja päinvastoin kannustaa Norikoa naimisiin. Keskustelut heidän välillään korostavat naisen aktiivisuutta: Ayan mukaan Noriko voisi erota, mikäli aviomies ei olisikaan miellyttävä. Täten Ayan esittämä avioliiton malli eroaa hegemonisesta heteronormatiivisesta avioliittokäsityksestä. Norikon isä ei tunnu välittävän Ayan erosta, vaan päinvastoin kehuu tämän uraa.

*Tokyo Twilight*'in Takako taas palaa isänsä luo aviomiehensä arvaamattoman käytöksen vuoksi. Isä ei vaadi Takakoa palaamaan omaan kotiinsa, ja Takakon läsnäolo lapsuuden perheen kodissa vaikuttaa luontevalta. Elokuvan alussa kuluu hetki, ennen kuin Takakon läsnäolon poikkeuksellisuus paljastuu. Sugiyaman perheessä Takakon roolit ovat moninaisemmat kuin Norikon, koska hän on myös äiti omalle tyttärelleen, Michikolle. Isosiskona hän osoittaa myös äidillistä huolenpitoa Akikoa kohtaan, ja konfliktitilanteissa taas asettuu Akikon tueksi sisarena. Samaan aikaan hän voi keskustella isän kanssa Akikon kasvatuksesta, koska on perheen sisällä yhdenvertaisempi tämän kanssa. Akiko puolestaan on aikuisuuden rajalla, ja uskoo olevansa huono tytär. Omasta näkökulmastaan hän ei myöskään voisi tulla enää äidiksi oman äitinsä aiheuttaman tuskan vuoksi.

Analysoiduissa jaksoissa korostuvat ristiriitaisuudet tyttären roolissa. Toisaalta koti on feminiininen tila, mutta toisaalta elokuvien naiset liikkuvat myös julkisessa tilassa. Vanhemmilla on näkemyksensä, miten tytärten tulisi toimia, mutta he tekevät aktiivisesti omat päätöksensä. Erityisesti *Late Spring* osoittaa Norikon toimijuutta ja vapautta kameraliikkein (Wood 1998, 117–118). Akiko taas liikkuu kaupungissa aviottoman lapsensa isää etsiskellen, ja poliisiasemalle päätyessään kieltäytyy antamasta selitystä sille, miksi oli niin myöhään yksin baarissa ja täten venyttäen nuorelle naiselle sallittujen tilojen rajoja.

Alastair Phillipsin (2018) mukaan tilallisten normien vastustaminen linkittyy uusiin sodanjälkeisen demokratian synnyttämiin subjektiivisuuksiin. Woojeong Joo (2017, 142) näkee, että sodanjälkeinen japanilainen yhteiskunta jakoi tunteen muuttuvasta nykyhetkestä sotaa edeltävän ajan muistojen säilyessä. Sukupolvien välinen ero kasvaa yhteiskunnan muuttuessa, ja henkilökohtaiset perhesuhteet kuvaavat tätä muutosta. Joo (2017, 150) uskoo Ozun tunnustaneen ajan muuttuvan luonteen ja hyväksyneen sen, koska elokuvien lopussa vanhemman sukupolven on hyväksyttävä muutos. Nuorempi sukupolvi taas on muutoksen määrittämä.

Sukupuolitetut perhesuhteet ja Butlerin (1988, 1990) malli sukupuoli-identiteetin muodostumisesta osoittaa lähiluvun valossa, miten näissä elokuvissa tyttäryyden voi nähdä

itsessään muuttavana, dynaamisena prosessina. Tutkielman määrittelemä tyttöryys linkittyy äiti-tytär -suhteen keskeisyyteen, sukupuolitettuihin tiloihin (koti, julkinen tila) sekä sukupuolinormeihin avioliiton ja perheen jatkamisen näkökulmasta. Elokuvien analyysi kuitenkin paljastaa näiden piirteiden olevan ristiriitojen värittämiä ja muuttuvia. *Late Spring* ja *Tokyo Twilight* eivät siis kuvaa tyttöryyttä, joka nojaisi vain patriarkaalisen perhemallin mukaiseen ihanteeseen, vaan aktiiviseen toimijuuteen muuttuvassa yhteiskunnassa.