

Chapter 8

Temporalities and the Transnational: Yoshi Kasuya's Consideration of Secondary Education for Girls in Japan (1933)

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Abstract

This chapter explores temporalities in the historical and comparative approaches underpinning the 1933 comparative account of girls' education in England, Germany, France, America, and Japan that Yoshi Kasuya, a teacher from Tsuda College, Japan, produced for her doctorate at Teachers College Columbia, where she was supervised by Isaac Kandel, professor of comparative education, and Willystine Goodsell, assistant professor of history and philosophy, whose specialism was the education of women. Yoshi's study configured a complex cultural model of modern Japanese womanhood, and an associated educational programme, that entangled Japanese elements with facets of Western womanhood that she encountered during her periods of research in Germany, England and the US. To explore the temporalities that thread through Yoshi's study, the first part of the chapter examines times of diachronic comparison and temporalities of adaptation; the second section focuses on times of the nation and temporalities of awakening; and the third looks at times of vernacular cosmopolitanism and temporalities of becoming. The conclusion argues that attention to multiple temporalities in Yoshi's account points to the entanglement of the transnational with the international and the national.

Introduction

Yoshi Kasuya, a teacher from Tsuda College in Tokyo, Japan, spent three periods of study in the USA. From 1919, she studied English literature, primarily at Wellesley College; in 1929 she returned to the USA to pursue a doctorate at Teachers College, Columbia; and in the 1950s, she she went back to Wellesley to study university education and to research language teaching in girls' high schools.¹

¹ Joyce Goodman, "Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time: Kasuya Yoshi and Girls' Secondary Education," *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 683–699.

Yoshi's study in the USA was supported by a female transnational circulatory regime² built around Tsuda College's founder, Tsuda Umeko,³ that stretched between Tsuda College and the US and provided scholarships to enable Japanese women to study in America.⁴

Yoshi's comparative study of the secondary education of girls in England, Germany and the United States was undertaken in order to make recommendations for the secondary education of girls in Japan.⁵ Her study was jointly supervised at Teachers College by Isaak Kandel, professor of comparative education⁶, and Willystine Goodsell, assistant professor of history and philosophy, whose specialism was the education of women.⁷ Comparative studies have tended to be aligned with internationalism due to their concern with interactions between nation-states or with the "to-ing and fro-ing" of items from one nation-state context to another.⁸ But as Micol Seigel argues, comparative studies facilitate the circulation of people, ideas and cultural forms in ways that transcend national boundaries, and build on, as well as create, transnational networks⁹ through which comparative educationalists participate in the construction of social categories. In this vein, Yoshi's work configures a complex cultural model of modern Japanese womanhood, and an associated educational program, that entangles Japanese elements with facets of Western womanhood that she encountered during her periods of research in Germany, England, and the US. Her configuration of modern Japanese womanhood incorporates neo-Confucian, "nativist" and Western elements that embrace differing notions of temporality. As I argue elsewhere¹⁰, Yoshi entangles these elements in ways characteristic of what Arjun Appadurai terms vernacular cosmopolitanism's context-generating

² Michael Geyer, "Spatial Regimes," in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, ed. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 962–966.

³ Linda L. Johnson, "'Contributing to the Most Promising Peaceful Revolution in Our Time.' The American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women, 1893–1941," in *Women and Philanthropy in Education*, ed. Andrea Walton (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 298–319.

⁴ Sally A. Hastings, "Japanese Women as American College Students, 1900–1941," in *Modern Girls on the Go: Gender, Mobility and Labor in Japan*, ed. Alisa Freedman, Laura Miller and Christine R. Yano (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 193–208.

⁵ Kasuya Yoshi, *A Comparative Study of the Secondary Education of Girls in England, Germany and the United States with a Consideration of the Secondary Education of Girls in Japan* (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933).

⁶ J. Wesley Null, *Peerless Educator: The Life and Work of Isaac Leon Kandel* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007).

⁷ Kathleen Weiler, "No Women Wanted on the Social Frontier: Gender, Citizenship and Progressive Education," in *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender, Education and Citizenship*, ed. Madeleine Arnot and Jo-Anne Dillabough (London: Routledge, 2000), 122–137.

⁸ Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁹ Micol Seigel, "Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn," *Radical History Review* 91 (Winter 2005): 62–90.

¹⁰ Goodman, "Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time."

and world-generating optics of cosmopolitanism,¹¹ which Noah Sobe claims are characteristic of the multi-layered geographies emerging with globalization and bring people, knowledge, institutions and objects together in novel and sometimes surprising assemblages.¹²

Cosmopolitanism is a slippery and contested concept whose interpretation has been variously cast in negative terms (as identical with universalism and the loss of self-identity), with an emphasis on the pragmatic (as mobility, rootlessness, openness to different lifestyles and detachment from the nation state), and with a legal, political or ethical dimension.¹³ My “take” on cosmopolitanism(s) is informed by Thomas Popkewitz’s view that cosmopolitanism as “an analytic descriptor ... can be applied to historically shifting phenomena appearing in multiple places and multiple times and in various guises,” and entails “cultural theses” about “modes of life” in “time/space”.¹⁴ Like Sneja Gunew,¹⁵ I draw on Homi Bhabha’s specific articulation of vernacular cosmopolitanism(s)¹⁶ because of its usefulness in pointing to the complexities of estrangement and belonging in transnational flows. Yoshi, for example, develops her prescription for Japanese womanhood in a context she frames in terms of communication, transportation, international conferences, exchanges of teachers, students and pupils, educational tours and international radio, all of which she maintains has “made the world far smaller and more conscious of common problems than the educators of yesterday ever dreamed,”¹⁷ while also drawing on “nativist” Japanese elements.

In what follows, I explore Yoshi’s comparative study through the lens of vernacular cosmopolitanism in response to Antonio Nóvoa’s call for historians of education to “learn to unfold time” in order to “understand the different temporalities that exist in a given historical period.”¹⁸ Moving between

¹¹ Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” in *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, ed. Mike Featherstone (London: Sage, 1990), 295–310.

¹² Noah W. Sobe, “Rethinking “Cosmopolitanism” as an Analytic for the Comparative Study of Globalization and Education,” *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 12, no. 1 (2009): 6.

¹³ Marianna Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently About Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Eccentricity, and the Globalized World* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2015).

¹⁴ Thomas S. Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform: Science, Education, and Making Society by Making the Child* (London: Routledge, 2012), 5.

¹⁵ Sneja Gunew, “Estrangement as Pedagogy: The Cosmopolitan Vernacular,” in *After Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Rosi Braidotti, Patrick Hanafin and Bolette Blaagaard (London: Routledge, 2012), 132–148.

¹⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, “Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism,” in *Text and Nation: Cross-Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, ed. Laura García-Moreno and Peter C. Pfeiffer (London: Camden House, 1996), 191–207.

¹⁷ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 3.

¹⁸ Antonio Nóvoa, “Letter to a Young Educational Historian,” *Historia y Memoria de la Educación* 1 (2015): 51.

theoretical insights and Yoshi's study, I seek to unpack the temporalities in the comparative and historical approaches that she deploys. The first section of this chapter focuses on a body of writing on cosmopolitanism(s) that discusses women/gender and the related question of where debate about cosmopolitanism figures in feminist literature. The "Interlude" that follows the first section looks at Yoshi's comparative method through the diachronic organization of time, in which time as a way of thinking underpins the organization of what is known and acted upon¹⁹ as individuals organize themselves and tell their stories as an emergence of successions.²⁰ The second section foregrounds the deployment of time in accounts of education focused on the fabrication of cultural sensibilities and dispositions and in terms of the abjections of cosmopolitanism. The "Interlude" that follows the second section explores Yoshi's account through the forward-looking work of time in relation to the space of the nation. The third section examines a thread of feminist theorizing around becoming. The "Interlude" following the third section explores temporalities of duration embraced in the "betweenness" of past, present and future on which Yoshi draws. In her study, these temporalities intertwine "like a "ball of knots and ropes [woven] together."²¹ In the conclusion, I argue that attention to the temporalities running through Yoshi's study highlights the entanglement of the transnational, the international, and the national in her work.

Temporalities 1: Times of Diachronic Comparison

Transnationalism's focus on non-state actors, flows across national borders, the circulatory regimes that regulate flows and spaces, and the multiple geographies and geographical histories that play into the fabrication of cosmopolitan subjectivities provide strategies through which to make visible processes of knowledge construction and their maintenance, while also illuminating the spaces and processes implicated in feminists' production of educational knowledge and practice.²² Yet, as Prina

¹⁹ Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi, "Globalization and the Study of Education," in *Globalization and the Study of Education*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz and Fazal Rizvi (Malden: Blackwell, 2009), 22.

²⁰ Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*, 24.

²¹ Nóvoa, "Letter," 52.

²² Geyer, "Spatial Regimes;" Goodman, "Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time."

Werbner,²³ Maila Stivens,²⁴ and Ulrike Vieten²⁵ argue, while feminism introduces an approach to difference in cosmopolitan debate, and despite the attention of some researchers to women and globalization, and to the complex relations among feminisms, or among women from different global regions, the now voluminous literature on cosmopolitanism pays only marginal heed to gender issues. This is in spite of feminisms' engagement, both theoretically and practically, with many of the issues in debates within cosmopolitanism around universalism, ethnocentricity and neo-imperialism, and despite the emergence of feminist versions of what we might term grounded cosmopolitanism.²⁶

Stivens argues that the substantial literature on transnational feminisms does *de facto* deal with cosmopolitanism(s), but mostly evades the term due to scepticism around the invocation of cosmopolitan discourses in the "civilizing mission" of imperialism and as a result of critiques of cosmopolitan idealism, universalism, and elitism.²⁷ She asserts that feminist writers have taken up Nira Yuval-Davis' reworking of Felix Guattari's transversal politics,²⁸ based on the idea of dialog and debate that takes into account the different positionings of women, as an alternative to what feminist theorists tend to view as a universalizing exclusionary liberal cosmopolitanism.²⁹ Yuval-Davis differentiates between positioning, identity and values, claiming that while differences are important, they should encompass, rather than replace, notions of equality, through respect for others' positionings in processes that incorporate the acknowledgement of differentials in social, economic and political power. She draws on a dialogical epistemological standpoint which perceives each positioning in the world differently and renders knowledge incomplete when based on just one positioning.³⁰ What counts for Yuval-Davis and Werbner in transversal dialog is a process in which all participants mutually reconstruct themselves as others engaged with them.³¹ This implies that women will approach disagreement and conflict with cosmopolitan openness, "rooting" and "shifting" (ie being reflexive as well as staying grounded in one's own social location) toward mutually

²³ Pnina Werbner, "Introduction: Towards a New Cosmopolitan Anthropology," in *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*, ed. Pnina Werbner (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 1–32.

²⁴ Maila Stivens, "Gender, Rights and Cosmopolitanisms," in *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives*, ed. Pnina Werbner (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 87–110.

²⁵ Ulrike Vieten, *Gender and Cosmopolitanism in Europe: A Feminist Perspective* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

²⁶ Werbner, "Introduction."

²⁷ Stivens, "Gender, Rights and Cosmopolitanisms."

²⁸ Felix Guattari, *Psychanalyse et transversalité: Essais d'analyse institutionnelle* (Paris: La Découverte, 2003).

²⁹ Nira Yuval-Davis, *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations* (London: Sage, 2011).

³⁰ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage, 1997).

³¹ Nira Yuval-Davis and Pnina Werbner, *Women, Citizenship and Difference* (London: Zubaan, 2005).

acceptable agendas without effacing their own positioned identity, and also recognizing unequal power relations in such transactions.³² Transversal dialog, which underpins Vieten's feminist approach to gender and cosmopolitanism³³ and my earlier work on cosmopolitan women educators and abjection,³⁴ attempts to reconcile the universalism at the heart of some accounts of cosmopolitanism with the demands of political difference and resonates with Kwame Appiah's account of cosmopolitanism.³⁵ Approaches to cosmopolitanism like those of Appiah and Yuval-Davis call for the development of habits of coexistence, or "conversation" in its older meaning of living together, but "conversation" without a promise of final agreement.³⁶ Drawing on Bhabha's notion of vernacular cosmopolitanism,³⁷ Yuval Davis argues that cosmopolitanism does not mean the abstraction of the individual and their location, but attention to their social situatedness and to political normative messages regarding rootedness in particular contexts. Yuval-Davis sees cosmopolitanism as always situated (though not always rooted). She argues that intersectional social locations (of which national origins and formal citizenships form only part) are implicated in cosmopolitan gazes, and she maintains that intersectional social locations require exploration in relation to boundaries of belonging in cosmopolitan projects that construct themselves as universal political enterprises.³⁸ Nina Glick Schiller et al.³⁹ and Mitchell Cohen also call attention to the maintenance of ethnic/national ties, gendered identities or religious commitments through "the fashioning of a dialectical concept of a rooted cosmopolitanism [that] stand[s] in many circles but with common ground."⁴⁰ For Yuval-Davis et al., Glick Schiller et al., and Werbner, cosmopolitan standpoints require contextualization and situating; and intersecting positions in terms of class, ethnicity, gender (and so on) need articulation, if Western-centric, heterosexist and middle-class

³² Nira Yuval-Davis, "Human/Women's Rights and Feminist Transversal Politics," in *Global Feminism: Transnational Women's Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*, ed. Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 275–312.

³³ Vieten, *Gender and Cosmopolitanism*.

³⁴ Joyce Goodman, "Cosmopolitan Women Educators, 1920–1939: Inside/Outside Activism and Abjection," 46, nos. 1–2 (2010): 69–83.

³⁵ Kwame A. Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers (Issues of Our Time)* (London: Allen Lane, 2006).

³⁶ Yuval-Davis, *Politics of Belonging*.

³⁷ Bhabha, "Unsatisfied."

³⁸ Yuval-Davis, *Politics of Belonging*.

³⁹ Nina Glick-Schiller, Tsypylma Darieva and Sandra Gruner-Domic, "Defining Cosmopolitan Sociability in a Transnational Age: An Introduction," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34, no. 3 (2011): 399–418.

⁴⁰ Mitchell Cohen, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," *Dissent* (Fall 1992): 483.

discourse is not to render invisible the standpoints and interests of excluded minorities.⁴¹

While Marianna Papastephanou argues for a transversal approach, she sees much discussion of cosmopolitanism as overly reliant on a celebration of global mobility, transnational border-crossing, and adaptability to diversity.⁴² In such accounts, maintains Papastephanou, the borders that the self has to cross in order to merit the attribute "cosmopolitan" include external frontiers (e.g. walls, checkpoints and frontiers). She is critical of a focus on learning about other cultures and people associated with them, which she argues comes down to self-enrichment through hybridization. She applies her critique of cosmopolitanism as self-enrichment to vernacular cosmopolitanisms like those of Bhabha on the grounds that they portray refugees and migrants⁴³ as sharing with the "footloose" academic the movement in space and the experience of disorder that generates the renewal of existence. Such accounts of the self, she maintains, are individualistic and embrace a cognitivist cosmopolitanism that draws on monological understandings (i.e. of a type that are reflected back upon the Cartesian subject). She argues that such monological understandings are Western in origin and do not make room for those who, far from sharing a Western valorization of rootlessness, wish to remain rooted and reclaim their (often traumatically dislodged) rootedness.⁴⁴ Rather than internal borders like emotional dependence on rootedness, that can restrict physical movement,⁴⁵ the internal borders in Papastephanou's model comprise values, mentalities and rationales for action that underpin the treatment of others and of the environment (in the sense of nature/cosmos), which she argues are not easily shaken just by exposure to alternate lifestyles outside an individual's country of origin. For Papastephanou, cosmopolitanism entails a capacity on the part of the self to reconsider critically the impact of priorities and values on others and on nature in the light of one's own ethical and emotive boundaries, regardless of mobility or rootedness. This re-evaluation necessitates a context-sensitive, ethico-political cosmopolitanism that embraces an ethical responsibility to attain a more complete knowledge of the past of one's own community. Such knowledge is to reveal the entanglement of one's community with others and to give rise to forms of restorative justice around

⁴¹ Nira Yuval-Davis, Kalpana Kannabiran and Ulrike Vieten, eds., *The Situated Politics of Belonging* (London: Sage, 2006); Glick-Schiller, Darieva and Gruner-Domic, "Defining Cosmopolitan Sociability;" Werbner, "Introduction."

⁴² Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently*.

⁴³ Bhabha, "Unsatisfied."

⁴⁴ Marianna Papastephanou, "Concentric, Vernacular and Rhizomatic Cosmopolitanisms," in *Cosmopolitanism: Educational, Philosophical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Marianna Papastephanou (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 215–228.

⁴⁵ Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently*.

the debts and wrongs which that entanglement may have generated. For Papastephanou, transcending internal borders requires a cosmopolitan worldview that not only emanates from synchronic considerations but also embraces a historical diachronic temporality that, as Gilroy has also observed, recognizes and acknowledges a colonial past.⁴⁶

Mica Nava includes manifestations of racialization in relation to Britain's old and new imperial projects in her analysis of micro-narratives of emotional, gendered and domestic "everydayness" in various articulations of vernacular cosmopolitanisms in London from the 1920s to the 1990s. In Nava's study, imperialist manifestations run alongside "structures of feeling"⁴⁷ associated with modernity, which include hospitality, inclusivity, and conviviality.⁴⁸ Fiona Paisley, meanwhile, highlights how imperialism inflected modes of cultural internationalism constructed around affect and rationality in the context of the Pan-Pacific Women's Conferences from the 1920s to 1958. These conferences acted as settings for delegates from nations on the Pacific Rim, and from those newly formed or still under trusteeship within the Pacific Basin, to seek new models of being and responses to globalization and Westernization. As Paisley notes, the Pacific was a complex and dynamic space, the site of entangled interconnections among imperial, colonial and national histories. In a context where an East-meets-West theme dominated early conferences, delegates from Japan, China, and subsequently South East Asia played an important role in the association's collective imagination and practical achievements. At times, this gave rise to anxiety over the expression (or assertion) of cultural authority in the enduring colonial attitudes and colonizing ambitions that Paisley argues were inherent in the fabrication of cosmopolitan identities.⁴⁹

Taken together, these accounts highlight the importance of diachronic (historical) elements of temporality in the analysis of instances of cosmopolitanism that have shifted over time. In Interlude 1, I explore elements of diachronic temporality that inform Yoshi's use of the methodology of comparative education.

Interlude 1: Temporalities of "Adaptation"

⁴⁶ Paul Gilroy, "Postcolonialism and Cosmopolitanism: Towards a Worldly Understanding of Fascism and Europe's Colonial Crimes," in *After Cosmopolitanism*, ed. Rosi Braidotti, Patrick Hanafin and Bolette Blaagaard (London: Routledge, 2012), 111–131.

⁴⁷ For "structures of feeling" see Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

⁴⁸ Mica Nava, *Visceral Cosmopolitanism: Gender, Culture and the Normalisation of Difference* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).

⁴⁹ Fiona Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women's Pan-Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai Press, 2009).
Joyce Goodman, *The Transnational in History of Education: Concepts and Perspectives*, ed. Eckhardt Fuchs and Eugenia Roldàn Vera (2019), Palgrave Macmillan. Reproduced with permission of Palgrave Macmillan. This extract is taken from the author's original manuscript and has not been edited. The definitive, published, version of record is available here <https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9783030171674>.

Yoshi opens her study by stating that because education has as its object the development of individuals or groups that constitute society, it must inevitably be closely related to the social theory of the community and of the period which it serves. As a result, she continues, the objectives of a country's education policy cannot be divorced from those of society, nor can its educational practices be entirely alien to the ordinary procedures pertaining to other fields of communal activity. To effect such a split, she argues, would be to engender social unrest and to waste educational efforts. At the same time, Yoshi considers the purpose of education to be the cultivation of critical judgement and constructive thinking so that social objectives and practices might be constantly evaluated in the light of the new needs of the society that are brought about by the ever-changing nature of civilization.

In Yoshi's view, researchers wishing to understand the "needs" of a country have to examine national ideals or traditions, which she terms "a cumulative result of the activities which have been carried on generation after generation from the foundation of the country, and in response to the peculiar natural environment, special conditions and cultural history."⁵⁰ Her comparative perspective is founded on the premise that educational theory and practice should take account of the "social forces and historical factors peculiar to each country," which she sees as "exerting a powerful influence upon the distinctive development of the education of its girls."⁵¹ For Yoshi, the evaluation of the education process must be based on the "degree of appropriateness and efficiency manifested in meeting the peculiar needs of girls and women of each country,"⁵² which she sees as "rooted in the native soil."⁵³ Here, her approach is closely aligned with the "comparative education" method developed by Kandel, who considered the chief value of comparative education to be in analyzing the causes of "problems." In Kandel's view, the institution of school reflects the social and political ideals of a country, so that understanding, appreciating and evaluating the real meaning of a nation's education system, and providing direction for future policy, necessitates knowing something of its history and traditions, and the "forces and attitudes governing its social organisation."⁵⁴ What matters to Kandel is the "appreciation of the intangible, impalpable, spiritual and cultural forces which underlie an educational system."⁵⁵ His views aligned with those of Michael Sadler, with whom he had studied in England. Sadler regarded a national system of education as a "living thing," the

⁵⁰ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁴ Isaac L. Kandel, *Studies in Comparative Education* (London: George G. Harrap and Co Ltd., 1933), xix.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

“outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties” and “of battles long ago,” from which he concludes that education illustrates “some of the secret workings of national life.”⁵⁶ Sadler thought the practical value of studying the workings of foreign education systems lay in the manner in which it enabled educationists to understand their own educational system. But, he argued, we cannot wander at pleasure among the education systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home we shall have a living plant.⁵⁷

Yoshi’s own references to soil activate threads of Sadler’s and Kandel’s perspectives. She devotes considerable attention to the social forces and historical factors peculiar to each country which she sees as working together in the context of interdependence among countries. She outlines a general historical and social background to the education of girls and women that covers traditional conceptions of women’s position, the condition of their education up to the mid-nineteenth century, and the development of the women’s movement in England, Germany and the United States. For all three countries, she considers secondary education for girls from the mid-nineteenth century onward, tendencies and “problems” in girls’ secondary education in her time, and the philosophical underpinnings of women’s education. Her chapter on the secondary education of girls in Japan opens with a summary of historical and social factors before turning to contemporary tendencies and recommendations for the future.

Yoshi weaves her historical account around understandings of a womanhood that is “fitted” to a particular setting. She notes, for example, that “German girls had to be educated to fit the war-begotten needs of society.”⁵⁸ “Fitting,” in Yoshi’s terms, requires processes of adaptation. She argues that a key element for consideration in reforming girls’ education in Japan is the “adaptation” of “the finest traits of Western civilisation” in ways which “intelligently preserve[s] the heritage of Eastern culture and constantly enrich[es] it.”⁵⁹ Advocating for a secondary education to serve the needs of Japanese women, she notes:

“[W]hile the peculiar social and historical backgrounds must be taken into serious account and the best of Japanese traditions must be preserved, native culture has

⁵⁶ Michael Sadler, “Documents: Sir Michael Sadler’s ‘Study of Foreign Systems of Education’,” *Comparative Education Review* 7, no. 3 (1964): 310.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 310.

⁵⁸ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 121.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

much room for enrichment by means of an adaptation of the finest features found in the cultures of other countries.⁶⁰

We may read Yoshi's reconfigured vision of education through the "enrichment" model of cosmopolitanism that Papastephanou highlights.⁶¹ At a time of increasing nationalism in Japan, when "those associated with a school with foreign connections [could not] be too bold in breaking openly with that which had the government's stamp of approval,"⁶² Yoshi is silent on questions of "race" and "imperialism." Nonetheless, her critique of the rising nationalism of 1930s Japan gestures toward Papastephanou's call for an ethico-political stance; Yoshi opposes what she terms "narrow patriotism" and proposes a form of education which would enable society to discern and reject "the fanatical aggrandisement of national glory."⁶³ Her deployment of the metaphor of soil and of notions of "fitting" or "adapting" to a particular setting creates associations with ideas or practices leaving one space and arriving at another in which they are received, a process that Sobe argues is diachronic.⁶⁴ The "to-ing and fro-ing" of items from one nation-state context to another, in line with this diachronic approach, is characteristic of the internationalism of comparative accounts of education.

Temporalities 2: Times of the Nation

Popkewitz sees the "cosmopolitan child" fabricated through an assemblage of reason that includes notions of planning, design, autonomy, career, and so on. From this perspective, the cosmopolitan child is considered as an assemblage in which design provides plans for uncertainty and rules of reason tame the world in ways that enable individuals to act with foresight. Accounts of cosmopolitanisms focused around systems of reason highlight the future-oriented work of time and the invention of multiple forms of agency that are historically particular and order particular forms of

⁶⁰ Ibid., 191.

⁶¹ Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently*; Marianna Papastephanou, "Editor's Introduction," in *Cosmopolitanism: Educational, Philosophical and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Marianna Papastephanou (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 1–20.

⁶² August Karl Reischauer, "Japan," in *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University*, ed. Isaac L. Kandel (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933), 429.

⁶³ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 94.

⁶⁴ Noah W. Sobe, "Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education," in *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on Its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge*, ed. Thomas S. Popkewitz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 93–107.

cosmopolitan self-in-time.⁶⁵ For Popkewitz, acting with foresight includes the double gesture of hope and fear that he argues characterizes cosmopolitan modes of living. Popkewitz shows how a modern conception of time, deeply embedded in the ways in which Westerners have come to know the world and encompassing fears of degeneracy and decay, endows reason and rationality with notions of agency and progress. These notions of agency and progress incorporate a view of time as marching forward through an irreversible succession of events progressing from past to present and to a future in which old-world traditions (or ignorance) are replaced with a superior, future-oriented time guided by reason and science.

In this perspective, the spatial and temporal grammars of everyday life in schools and the sciences of learning hold time and space together in ways that shift.⁶⁶ Julie McLeod illuminates the emancipatory promise of progressive education which informed citizenship practices, modes of citizenship recognition, and pedagogies for learning to be a citizen in interwar Australia. These practices and pedagogies varied across time and place and incorporated "dividing practices" that simultaneously constructed Aboriginal students as "problematic" and excluded them from recognition as citizens.⁶⁷ For McLeod, like Popkewitz⁶⁸ cosmopolitanism works to abject those deemed unreasonable or undesirable, and includes processes which for Papastephanou align with universalization.⁶⁹

Henri Lefebvre argues that the future-oriented time of progress that Popkewitz, Sobe and McLeod identify in their analyses of cosmopolitanism is concealed in the "envelope" of a Cartesian view of absolute space, which David Harvey terms abstract space.⁷⁰ This is a notion of space as carefully measured, regulated, isotropic, geometric, reducible to a formal (empty) schema or grid, associated with seriality, repeated actions, reproducible projects, interchangeable places, behaviors, activities and numbers. Location in abstract space/time provides the means for the identification of the

⁶⁵ Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*; Noah W. Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen: Yugoslav Student and Teacher Travel and Slavic Cosmopolitanism in the Interwar Era* (New York: Lang, 2008).

⁶⁶ Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*.

⁶⁷ Julie McLeod, "Educating for 'World-Mindedness': Cosmopolitanism, Localism and Schooling the Adolescent Citizen in Interwar Australia," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 44, no. 4 (2012): 339–359.

⁶⁸ Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*; McLeod, "Educating for 'World-Mindedness'."

⁶⁹ Papastephanou, *Thinking Differently*; Papastephanou, "Editor's Introduction."

⁷⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (London: Wiley, 1992); David Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* (New York/ Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2009); Thomas S., *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform*; Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen*; McLeod, "Educating for 'World-Mindedness'."

individuality and uniqueness of modern persons, things and processes, within a concept where measurement and calculability thrive.⁷¹ The history of abstract space/time includes the growth of asymmetry between experience and the expectations produced by the idea of progress and the opening of time-as-future. Such processes point to what François Hartog terms "regimes of historicity",⁷² and to the distance between self and self, to which categories of past, present and future give order and meaning, and within which the dominant rhythms of different societies and their changing relationships to time shape discourses of collectivity and frame political action to which Reinhart Koselleck alerts.⁷³ Dipesh Chakrabarty argues that theories and concepts founded on notions of abstract space/time work to demarcate difference and racialize populations through a backdrop of assumptions about universal human nature, the time-space coordinates of historicism and universal history, and the landscape of a universalized space of humanity.⁷⁴ Time as a regulatory principle of conduct, instantiated in continua of value and hierarchy, assigned so-called primitive societies to positions in evolutionary taxonomies that reinterpreted time as distance in categories of "savage," "barbaric" and "civilized," rather than understanding these categories as functions of national and transnational power structures.⁷⁵ These processes abjected populations to another time,⁷⁶ that of Chakrabarty's imaginary waiting room of history.⁷⁷ In Interlude 2, I explore elements of diachronic temporality related to conceptions of nation that inform Yoshi's approach to women's education.

Interlude 2: Temporalities of "Awakening"

Yoshi deploys the metaphor of "awakening" in relation to the development of women's education,

⁷¹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Harvey, *Cosmopolitanism*.

⁷² François Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

⁷³ Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁷⁴ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁷⁵ Thomas S. Popkewitz, "Comparative Studies and Unthinking Comparative 'Thought': The Paradox of 'Reason' and Its Abjections," in *New Thinking in Comparative Education: Honouring Robert Cowen*, ed. Marian Larsen (London: Sense Publishers, 2010), 15–28.

⁷⁶ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

⁷⁷ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

which, she argues, took different forms in England, Germany, the United States, and Japan, but constituted an integral part of the general movement for the emancipation of women. She perceives the Industrial Revolution, democratic ideals, and other “modern forces” as affecting the development of the feminist movement in similar ways in all these countries. She unfolds time in a linear evolutionary trajectory characteristic of a “worldly” optic through a “stadial” (i.e. perceived as occurring in stages) universal approach to history, which links metaphors of germination and soil in her view that this historic “awakening” occurred in each country at a different point in time. In this diachronic history of “awakening,” America “took the lead” in developing secondary education for girls, while Germany “lagged behind”⁷⁸ in what Chakrabarty would term the imaginary waiting room of history⁷⁹:

“The modern women’s movement germinated earliest in the democratic soil of America, latest in Germany, where a form of feudalism had long held sway, and in England, tradition-bound but inherently individualistic, midway between the two.”⁸⁰

When Yoshi writes of change in Japanese society, affecting, inter alia, the position of women and their education, she does so in terms of speed and intensity subsequent to the temporal rupture around the 1868 Meiji restoration, which, as Christopher Hill highlights, forms a narrative structure in the historical accounts of Japan circulating in Yoshi’s day⁸¹:

“With the penetration of Western civilisation added to an abundance of energy, Japan has undergone during the last seventy years a social change the rapidity and intensity of which have no parallel in the history of the world.”⁸²

Yoshi situates feudalism on the other, more temporally distant side of the the cleft in the rupture of Japanese political forms prior to the 1868 restoration: “[F]or nearly three centuries until the restoration of full sovereignty to the Emperor in 1868 she [Japan] had been a country typical of the most elaborate form of feudalism” (ibid., 179). Yoshi folds the “awakening” of women into the concomitant “awakening” of the nation by understanding the work of temporal rupture in positive terms:

⁷⁸ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 174.

⁷⁹ Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.

⁸⁰ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 173.

⁸¹ Christopher Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

⁸² Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 179.

[W]ith a social transformation of such magnitude, Japanese women, whom the old régime had held in absolute subjection, could not but feel the broadening spirit of the age. They, too, have undergone a remarkable change in their status and in their outlook upon life (ibid., 179).

Yoshi's narrative around a Japan that "endeavours to build up a modern nation comparable with any of the Western nations"⁸³ plays into the temporal notions around Japan which Masako Shibata terms catch-up⁸⁴, as do Yoshi's writings about the immaturity of the Japanese women's movement moving towards a self-consciousness which she describes as "young."⁸⁵

In Yoshi's account, not only are women "awakened" through the wage system in a new industrial order that gives them a "vague sense of independence," with middle-class women driven to seek gainful employment through economic pressure, but aspects of national "awakening" also emerge via a transnational intermingling through whose description Yoshi incorporates the history of Japanese women into a history of civilization in which women's education works to overcome outmoded aspects of custom. She contests Japanese histories of civilization from which women were excluded through their authors' differentiation between notions of intelligence (operating in the public domain) and of morals (in the private domain of the household).⁸⁶ Yoshi notes how a Western democratic ideal "caught the imagination of the Japanese people ... and emphasised the full realisation of individual ability".⁸⁷ She points to the importance of Christianity in improving women's lot and their education, but pinpoints the most direct call for an advanced education for girls as resulting from the physical presence in the West of the 1871 Iwakara Mission, involving "[M]en and women who were sent abroad to see the best of Western culture and to see for themselves how women in foreign countries receive their education and also learn the way to bring up their children."

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Yoshi's account of the transnational intermingling of men and women in the West - which resonates with her own sojourn in America and her travels in Germany, England and France - draws on a trope of "intercourse". This trope of "intercourse" is double-sided and resonates with Hill's arguments

⁸³ Ibid., 180.

⁸⁴ Masako Shibata, "Controlling National Identity and Reshaping the Role of Education: The Vision of State Formation in Meiji Japan and the German Kaiserreich," *History of Education* 33, no. 1 (2004): 75–85.

⁸⁵ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 183.

⁸⁶ Hill, *National History*.

⁸⁷ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 180.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 181.

about Japanese understandings of “civilization” as a liberal and gradualist history of national unity that aimed to explain the formation and mechanisms of the Japanese nation’s development.⁸⁹ Exemplified by Yoshi’s narrative of intermingling and by Fukuzawa Yuchichi’s *Civilisation and Enlightenment*,⁹⁰ this trope of expansion locates human nature as associating in ever-widening circles, constantly overcoming barriers to communication; it is a conception which depicts impediments to circulation as fundamentally damaging to society.⁹¹ This expansionist side of the trope of “intercourse” in Yoshi’s account, where instances of impetus to the reform of girls’ education include the transnational circulation and cross-border engagement of the Iwakara Mission,⁹² resonates with an enrichment narrative of cosmopolitanism of the type that Papstephanou upacks. It also illustrates Hill’s contention that expansionist and integrationist elements in the trope of “intercourse” in Japanese histories of civilisation place a primary focus on the internal integration and enrichment of the nation.⁹³

Temporalities 3: Times of Vernacular Cosmopolitanism

For Antonio Viñao the academic time of schooling is framed institutionally through taken-for-granted assumptions in a conception and experience of time as measurable, fragmented, sequenced, linear, and objective, which carries cosmopolitan implications of goals and a future. But as Viñao notes, this institutional framing coexists with the time of the individual, a time for her or him to internalize and learn, which reflects specified psychopedagogical assumptions, values and forms of gestation; the result is that academic time is at once personal time and institutional, organizing time.⁹⁴ Luhmann argues that social and human, multiple and plural time is a consequence of, and implies, the establishment of, “determined relations among the before and the after, and the now – the past, the future and the present.”⁹⁵ Sobe, too, finds that temporalities of science and progress circulated alongside temporalities related to past, present, and future, acting to inscribe Slavic sentiments in

⁸⁹ Hill, *National History*.

⁹⁰ Yukichi Fukuzawa, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilisation (1875)* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973).

⁹¹ Hill, *National History*.

⁹² Yoshi, *Comparative Study*.

⁹³ Hill, *National History*.

⁹⁴ Antonio Viñao, “History of Education and Cultural History: Possibilities, Problems, Questions,” in *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling*, ed. Thomas Popkewitz, Barry Franklin and Miguel A. Pereyra (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 125–150.

⁹⁵ Viñao, “History of Education,” 135; Niklas Luhmann, “The Future Cannot Begin: Temporal Structures in Modern Society,” *Social Research* 43, no. 1 (1976): 130–152.

acts of commemoration, sites of memory, architecture, the sharing of memories and gymnastics.⁹⁶

Analyses like those put forward by Viñao, Luhmann and Sobe point to the plural temporalities on which a specific strand of feminist theorizing and some feminist historical studies of women and education draw.⁹⁷ Here, an emphasis on becoming cosmopolitan (as process) rather than being cosmopolitan (as identity) embraces temporalities in which past, present and future coexist and contain, entwined within them, potentialities that may or may not be actualized and expand into a virtual plane of potential.⁹⁸ An opening to the space of the virtual in feminist historical studies of women, education and cosmopolitanism constitutes a dis-ordering of chronological time as a linear/divisible unit that underpins historical views of cosmopolitanism like those of Fitch, who saw cosmopolitanism as a revolution by stages (first the nation, then humanity as a whole).⁹⁹

A strand of feminist theorizing which deploys the “new,” harnesses a cluster of concepts drawn from Charles Darwin, Friedrich Nietzsche and Henri Bergson, which conceptualize time as opening up to new ways of living and thinking beyond what has already been imagined, and which refuses to think [time] as a modality or dimension of space.”¹⁰⁰ This conception of time re-orders cosmopolitanism along a present that entwines past, present and future in a virtual plane of futurity.¹⁰¹ Time as becoming in feminist historical approaches is dynamized as duration, “the coexisting moments where the virtual past – what was – inheres in the experience of the present – what is – and opens it up to virtual and radical futures – what will be.”¹⁰² Elizabeth Grosz argues that in duration, past and present are not two modalities of the present (“the past receded or former present, a present that has moved out of the limelight, a diminished version of the present that once was”).¹⁰³ Instead, the past and present coexist, with the whole of the past contained in contracted form in each moment of the present and accessible in the form of recollections, or in the form of image-memory.¹⁰⁴ Straddling

⁹⁶ Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen*.

⁹⁷ Viñao, “History of Education;” Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen*.

⁹⁸ Claire Colebrook, *Gilles Deleuze* (London: Routledge, 2002).

⁹⁹ Yuval-Davis, *Politics of Belonging*.

¹⁰⁰ Patty Sotorin, “Becoming-Woman,” in *Gilles Deleuze: Key Concepts*, ed. Charles J. Stivale (Durham: Acumen, 2014), 117.

¹⁰¹ Elisabeth Grosz, “Becoming ... An Introduction,” in *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, ed. Elisabeth Grosz (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 1–12.

¹⁰² Maria Tamboukou, *In the Fold between Power and Desire: Women Artists' Narratives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 4.

¹⁰³ Elisabeth Grosz, *The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 176.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 170, 175.

past and present, the present “requires the past as its precondition” and is oriented toward the immediate future. The present may be almost instantaneous, or may stretch back to include hours, days, or centuries or millennia or geological or evolutionary duration, as a dynamic concept that is elastic and capable of expanding to include what from the past and immediate future the present requires to complete its present action.¹⁰⁵ This, then, is one time, but also numerous times, “a duration for each thing or movement, which melds within a global or collective time.”¹⁰⁶

Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari write of “becoming” as neither one nor two, nor the relationship of the two, but as the in-between of the intermezzo.¹⁰⁷ Tim Ingold talks of “betweening” as “the becoming of persons and things within the midstream of correspondence.”¹⁰⁸ Here, historical practice in the nomadic space of the intermezzo and of “betweening” evokes becoming in the “and” spaces between terms (women *and* education, women *and* cosmopolitanism(s), education *and* cosmopolitanism(s)).¹⁰⁹ Becoming speaks to historicity¹¹⁰, where iterability is not repetition in which the distances between temporal moments are treated as uniform and connote time as an operator. Nor does historicity understand time as spatialized, or bounded as an identifiable object.¹¹¹ Historicity denotes a betweenness that differentiates moments of time and resonates with temporalities of becoming in which dualisms between the context-generating and world-generating optics of vernacular cosmopolitanisms may be dispersed. In Interlude 3, I suggest how some temporalities of becoming intertwine past-present and future in Yoshi’s approach to vernacular cosmopolitanism, women and education.

Interlude 3: Temporalities of Becoming

On the one hand, Yoshi looks forward through a worldly optic and an integrative model of

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 175, 177.

¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Grosz, “Thinking the New: Of Futures yet Unthought,” in *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory, and Futures*, ed. Elizabeth Grosz (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 16.

¹⁰⁷ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1988).

¹⁰⁸ Tim Ingold, *The Life of Lines* (London: Routledge, 2015).

¹⁰⁹ Here I draw on Tamboukou, *In the Fold between Power and Desire*, 169.

¹¹⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976). Historicity goes beyond the chronology of events and attempts to “think” notions of history without “origins” and without “grounds”. See Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, “Experimental Systems: Historicity, Narration, and Deconstruction,” *Science in Context* 7, no.1 (1994): 65-81.

¹¹¹ Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.)

“intercourse” that interpolates “woman” and her education in the future development of the Japanese nation. On the other, she embraces a context-generating optic around the neo-Confucian virtues found in the *Imperial Rescript on Education* that demonstrates that her account of civilization is not an account of Europeanisation. Issued in 1890, the *Rescript* emphasized loyalty, filial piety, humanity, fairness and harmony maintained through a hierarchy of social relations. The *Rescript* also “invented” a “mythohistory”¹¹² that instilled respect for sources of authority such as teachers and parents.¹¹³ In the work of memory, the *Rescript* was revered as a sacred object and formally adopted in Shinto ceremonies in Japanese schools,¹¹⁴ where it was recited on national holidays and at monthly convocations, and came to form the basis of moral education.¹¹⁵ Yoshi notes that the *Rescript* should continue to be the keynote in the education of women; for in a country built on the idea of the nation as a large family, “tradition justly esteems married life as the most normal and as the best career of women [as] ... the intelligent companions of men”¹¹⁶:

“The emperor and his subjects make one large family. The freedom of individual subjects must be tempered by a sense of responsibility which arises not from coercion but from love and admiration for the Emperor, the inviolable Head of the Great Family of Japan, and from the splendour of the unbroken dynasty which traces ancestry from Amaterasu Omikami, the Sun Goddess. The subjects are sons and daughters, living under the loving guidance of the Emperor, the father. Their utility and subservience to the well being of the State further the progress of the nation.”¹¹⁷

Yoshi describes a dual belonging to the collective and to oneself as a unique feature of the history of the family and as embedded in Japanese conceptions of the nation.

Yoshi’s invocation of the *Rescript* in a reconfigured education for Japanese women that incorporates

¹¹² Takashi Fujitani, *Japan's Modern National Ceremonies, 1868-1912* (Berkeley: University of California, 1986).

¹¹³ Samuel Hideo Yamashita, “Confucianism and the Japanese State, 1904–1945,” in *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons*, ed. Tu Wei-Ming (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 132–154.

¹¹⁴ Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State, 1868–1988* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

¹¹⁵ Nicole Freiner, *The Social and Gender Politics of Confucian Nationalism: Women and the Japanese Nation-State* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

¹¹⁶ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 189.

Western ideas of the educated woman who possesses the potential for rational motherhood¹¹⁸ reflects a Japanese preoccupation with the relationship of the present to the past. As Hill notes, in response to the early-Meiji enthusiasm for foreign learning, a “nativist” movement became an important reference point in political and social thought during the mid Meiji period (from the 1880s), which saw an “invention” of new attitudes toward the past”.¹¹⁹ Yoshi asserts:

“Japan is proud of her culture, which is nearly three thousand years old; and yet facing the forceful influx of Western civilisation she stands hesitant. People are prone to consider anything foreign as much better than things native of Japan. This blind adoration of Occidental manners and customs, things material and immaterial, must be checked with the power of discriminating judgement.”¹²⁰

Alongside her description of the speed and intensity characteristic of a “new” Japan, Yoshi argues for the right of the Japanese imperial family to loyalty and obedience through a notion of time stretching back without interruption to the goddess Amaterasu. Hill notes how Japanese temporalities pointing to the past were used to justify reforms in the present that would play out in a future.¹²¹ In Yoshi’s account, invocations of the goddess Amaterasu in the present draw on the invention of a timeless past in pursuit of a future reformed education for Japanese women.

Yoshi references particularities of the Japanese nation in a context centring on closer relations between countries, generated through transnational circulation and entanglements, which are to be considered together:

“Two factors ... always working together - the distinctive character of each country, and the interdependence of the countries - must be duly recognised by educators everywhere. Lose sight of the former and a country will lose its very identity: if the eyes are closed to the world currents, a hopeless cultural stagnancy will be inevitable.”¹²²

In the interstices of vernacular cosmopolitanism, the transnational entanglements of the present prompt recourse to a Japanese national past through deployment of a differentiating side of the trope of “intercourse” to highlight alterity across borders. In Yoshi’s account, this differentiating side

¹¹⁸ Goodman, “Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time.”

¹¹⁹ Hill, *National History*.

¹²⁰ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 200.

¹²¹ Hill, *National History*.

¹²² Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 3.

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ran alongside the integrationist side of “intercourse” noted earlier in this chapter to create a “betweening” with the potentiality to facilitate women and education becoming other than they already were.

Reassembling: Temporalities and Vernacular Cosmopolitanism

Exploring and unfolding temporalities in Yoshi’s comparative study brings into focus a temporal interweaving in which transnational, international and national aspects coexist in and between the universal and particular spaces of vernacular cosmopolitanism. This interweaving adds a level of complexity to Nóvoa’s call for historians of education to “learn to unfold time” in order to “understand the different temporalities that exist in a given historical period.”¹²³ In addressing the question – derived from vernacular cosmopolitanism – of the extent to which educators should preserve and develop the “peculiar cultural qualities of a country” while simultaneously joining in “general world movements,”¹²⁴ Yoshi draws on forward-looking spatio-temporal notions of stadial histories to narrate the “awakening” of women, which she folds into the “awakening” of the Japanese nation, and to point to Japan’s energy in “catching up” with the West. She deploys Japanese narratives around the sudden temporal rupture of the 1868 Meiji restoration to frame her argument for the necessity of educational reform and for an intellectual education that moves women towards the exercise of their judgement and away from a life based solely on custom. She imagines this education as “fitting” and adapting women to the soil of Japan, whose “peculiarities” she portrays in terms of “origins” stretching back through an uninterrupted temporality to the goddess Amaterasu.

When knotting together these various temporalities, Yoshi interweaves the universal of “world current” and the particularities of nation, that in some instances works through the double-sided trope of “intercourse” in Japanese histories of civilization with the potentiality to create a “betweening” to facilitate women and education becoming other than they already were. In Cohen’s phrase, Yoshi works with a dialectical concept of rooted cosmopolitanism that “stand[s] in many circles but with common ground.”¹²⁵ To pursue Yoshi’s prescription of education through the lens of transnationalism alone, rather than through a perspective taking account of the entanglements of transnationalism with internationalism *and* nation, and the spaces between these terms, would be to

¹²³ Nóvoa, “Letter,” 51.

¹²⁴ Yoshi, *Comparative Study*, 3.

¹²⁵ Cohen, “Rooted Cosmopolitanism,” 483.

adopt a position that would remain, in Yuval-Davis and Werbner's terms, "unfinished"¹²⁶ and in Bhabha's words "unsatisfied."¹²⁷ Whether such entanglements are characteristic of Yoshi's study, whether of comparative accounts, or whether they pertain more generally remains a question for further study.

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¹²⁶ Yuval-Davis and Werbner, *Women, Citizenship and Difference*.

¹²⁷ Bhabha, "Unsatisfied."

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