

## **Gender, Cosmopolitanism and Transnational Space and Time: Kasuya Yoshi and Girls' Secondary Education**

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### **Abstract**

The article focuses on Kasuya Yoshi's comparative text, *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*, published by Teachers College, Columbia in 1933. The article explores the gendered construction of comparative education and adopts a transnational approach to make women visible as non-state actors constructing educational knowledge, founding institutions and practicing as educationists. The preface to *Girls' Secondary Education* is used to explore a transnational circulatory regime supporting Kasuya's travel and study in the USA. Modes of managing meaning used to mediate actions and ideals oriented both to the universal and the particular in the model of modern Japanese womanhood Kasuya scripted in her text, and the elements of the education she prescribed to achieve her ideals, are analysed through notions of vernacular cosmopolitanisms.

### **Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

In the autumn of 1931, Kasuya Yoshi, a thirty three year old teacher from Tsuda College in Tokyo, Japan, enrolled at the University of Berlin<sup>2</sup> and worked in the libraries of the Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht and the Staatlich Auskunftstelle für Schulwesen Preussens. She read documents about German education, travelled around twenty German cities, and visited forty educational institutions of various types and levels providing secondary education for girls and higher education for women. She talked with educators, observed educational practice, and lived with a German family for more than two months. She followed a similar pattern in England and in the USA. Having completed an MA at Teachers College Columbia (1929-30), Kasuya was now studying for a PhD at Teachers College under the supervision of key comparativist, Professor Isaac Kandel, and Willystene Goodsell, assistant professor of history and philosophy, whose specialism was the education of women and girls. Kasuya's comparative education thesis made recommendations for girls' secondary education in Japan, by bringing insights she gleaned from

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<sup>1</sup> With thanks to Katharine Lawrence, for translating Japanese text and assistance with Tsuda College communications and to Yuki Nakada at the Tsuda College Archives. Surnames are followed by given names in the text following Japanese practice.

<sup>2</sup> Rudolf Hartmann, *Japanische Studenten an der Berliner Universität 1920-1945*, [edoc-hu-berlin.de](http://edoc.hu-berlin.de) (accessed 5 January 2015).

documents, interviews and observation in England, Germany, and the USA to bear on her ten years' experience as a teacher at Tsuda College in Tokyo.<sup>3</sup>

Kasuya was appointed a teacher at Tsuda College in 1915 after graduating from the private Miwada Girls' High School. By the time Miwada Girls' High School was founded in 1902, 80 girls' elementary schools had been established by the Meiji government and attendance for girls had risen to 87 per cent.<sup>4</sup> The development of public elementary schooling for Japanese girls and of a woman's normal school to train primary school teachers (from 1873) formed an aspect of Japanese modernization in the Meiji Restoration (from 1868). Japanese educational reform was informed by notions of 'civilisation and enlightenment' (*bunmei kaika*) which drew on Western educational theories and practice but also linked with Confucian philosophy which emphasised loyalty to the emperor. 'Civilisation and enlightenment' aimed to promote a common sense of nationhood and opened up educational opportunities for girls<sup>5</sup> by stressing the development of the 'good wife, wise mother' (*ryōsai kenbo*), which came to signify a new understanding of women as citizens of the nation.<sup>6</sup> From 1873, when the edict banning Christianity in Japan was lifted, American Protestant missionaries concentrated on secondary education for girls and began to push for women's higher education.<sup>7</sup> This provision was complemented by private Japanese schools for girls like Miwada Girls' High School.

Tsuda College was founded as a private school in 1900, a year after the Japanese Higher Girls' School Law mandated that each prefecture should have at least one women's higher school.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Kasuya Yoshi, *A Comparative study of the Secondary Education of Girls in Japan* (New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1933).

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Mehl, *Private Academies of Chinese Learning in Meiji Japan: The Decline and Transformation of the Kangaku Juku* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2003), 62-69, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Kim Hara, 'Challenges to Education for Girls and Women in Modern Japan: Past and Present', in *Japanese Women: New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, eds, Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York), 93-106, here 95.

<sup>6</sup> Koyama Shizuko, *Ryōsai Kenbo: The Educational Ideal of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' in Modern Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

<sup>7</sup> Noriko Kawamura Ishii, *American Missionary Women at Kobe College, 1873-1909: New Dimensions of Gender* (London: Routledge, 2004), 11.

<sup>8</sup> Girls' higher schools (*semmon gakko*) were the equivalent of boys' middle schools: see August Karl Reischauer, 'Japan', in *Educational Yearbook of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933*, ed. Isaac Leon Kandel (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933), 391-433,

Tsuda College had an international outlook from its inception. Its founder, the Japanese Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929) was educated in the USA for ten years from age seven,<sup>9</sup> before returning to Japan in 1882. From 1889 she studied at Bryn Mawr in the USA, and at Oswego Teachers' College.<sup>10</sup> Prior to establishing Tsuda College, she also spent five months in England, visiting higher education institutions (Bedford and Queen's Colleges, Girton and Newnham, Somerville, and Lady Margaret Hall). While in England, Tsuda met Elizabeth Hughes of Cambridge Training College and was impressed with Dorothea Beale at Cheltenham Ladies' College and by St Hilda's Training College, which Beale had established at Oxford.<sup>11</sup> During her teaching career at Tsuda College Kasuya spent three periods of study in America, the first from 1919 studying English literature at Wellesley College, the second at Teachers College from 1929, and the third in 1950 when she returned to Wellesley to study aspects of university education and to research language teaching in girls' high schools.<sup>12</sup>

The article is focussed around Kasuya's 1933 comparative text. It begins by exploring the gendered construction of comparative education. Comparative studies have been aligned with internationalism because of their concern with interactions between nation states or to do with the to-ing and fro-ing of items from one national state context to another.<sup>13</sup> The article draws on Micol Seigel's argument that comparative education facilitates the circulation of people, ideas and cultural forms, and builds on, as well as creating, transnational networks through which comparative

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which notes a 65 to 35 ratio of boys to girls in secondary schools, higher school enrolments favouring men, universities admitting only a few hundred women as special students, with special schools (*semmon gakko*) providing a better chance for women, with a few offering women an education comparable to that of men in universities (*daigaku*), but denied official rating as universities.

<sup>9</sup> She was part of the Iwakara Mission sent to the United States in 1871 in order to study and bring back knowledge and skills that could be put to use in a reformed Japanese society Hara, 'Challenges to Education for Girls and Women', 97

<sup>10</sup> Barbara Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1992), chapter 4.

<sup>11</sup> Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, chapter 4. Tsuda College was established as *Joshi Eigaku Juku* (Women's English School). Here, I adopt Kasuya's terminology of College.

<sup>12</sup> Kasuya Yoshi, 'A Foreign Language to Me', in *Wellesley After-Images: Reflections on Their College Years by Forty-Five Alumnae*, ed. Betsy Ancker-Johnson (Wellesley: Massachusetts, 1974), 424; *Daigaku Tsuda Juku, Tsuda juku rokūjunenshi (Sixty-Year History of Tsuda College)* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1960), 317.

<sup>13</sup> Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London: Routledge, 2009), 3.

educationists participated in the construction of social categories.<sup>14</sup> Transnationalism is concerned with sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations that span nation-states, non-state actors and critiques of the notion of nation state itself.<sup>15</sup> The article adopts a transnational approach to make women visible as non-state actors constructing educational knowledge, founding institutions and practicing as educationists. The preface to *Girls' Secondary Education* is used to explore a transnational circulatory regime that supported Kasuya's travel and study in the USA. The article draws on ideas of cosmopolitanism<sup>16</sup> as a 'way of being in the world'<sup>17</sup> and a 'mode of managing meaning'<sup>18</sup> used to 'mediate actions and ideals oriented both to

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<sup>14</sup> Micol Seigel, 'Beyond Compare: Comparative Method After the Transnational Turn', *Radical History Review* 91, Winter (2005): 62-90, here 67, 68.

<sup>15</sup> Vertovec, *Transnationalism*, 3; See also Eckhardt Fuchs, 'History of Education Beyond the Nation? Trends in Historical and Educational Scholarship', in *Connecting Histories of Education: Transnational and Cross-Cultural Exchanges in (Post-)colonial Education* ed. Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs and Kate Rousmaniere (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 11-26; Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History* 14, no.2 (2005): 421-39; Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, 'Introduction: Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History – Definitions', in *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, ed. Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor (New York: Routledge, 2004), ix-xxiv; Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds. *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (London: Routledge, 2013); Heinz-Gerard Haupt and Jurgen Kocka, eds. *Comparative and Transnational History: Central European Approaches and New Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2009); Ludger Pries, ed. *Rethinking Transnationalism: The Meso-Link of Organisations* (London: Routledge, 2008); Thomas S. Popkewitz, ed. *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on its Questions, Methods and Knowledge* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2013).

<sup>16</sup> For cosmopolitanism see: Josh Cohen, ed. *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Cosmopolitanism: Martha Nussbaum and Respondents* (Cambridge MA: Beacon, 1996); Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds, *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds, *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Kwame Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (London: Allen Lane, 2006); Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving, eds, *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents* (New York: Berghahn, 2015); Gerald Delanty, ed. *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies* (London: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> Pratap Bhanu Mehta, 'Cosmopolitanism and the Circle of Reason', *Political Theory* 28, no.5 (2000): 619-39, here 620.

<sup>18</sup> Ulf Hannerz, 'Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture', in *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, ed. Michael Featherstone (London: Sage, 1990), 237-51, here 238.

the universal and the particular, the global and the local' within the transnational flows surrounding Kasuya's *Girls' Secondary Education*. Cosmopolitanism is used to analyse the cultural multiplicity and transformative meanings surrounding 'complex affiliations, meaningful attachments and multiple allegiances to issues, people, places and traditions, beyond the boundaries of the nation state' that work to undermine the 'naturalness of ethnic absolutisms'.<sup>19</sup> Notions of vernacular cosmopolitanisms<sup>20</sup> are deployed to highlight the universalising *and* local elements in the model of modern Japanese womanhood Kasuya scripted in her text and the elements of the education she prescribed to achieve her ideals.<sup>21</sup>

### Comparative Education as Transnational Endeavour

Kasuya followed closely comparative education method as developed by her supervisor, Kandel, whose work mirrored the importance that the English Michael Sadler placed on understanding 'the social forces and historical factors peculiar to each country'.<sup>22</sup> These, Kasuya contended, exerted 'a powerful influence upon the distinctive development of the education of girls'.<sup>23</sup> Both Kasuya and Kandel also noted the importance for educators of the growing interdependence of countries.<sup>24</sup> Nóvoa and Yariv-Mashal highlight that interwar comparativists focussed on building a 'new world', and educating a 'new man' which implied a 'new school'.<sup>25</sup> In this vein Kasuya fashioned an educated woman as she imagined her to be and to become in 1930s Japan and included elements of education from other countries to realise this vision:

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<sup>19</sup> Steven Vertovec and Robert Cohen, 'Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism', in idem, *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, 1-24, here 2, 4, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Homi Bhabha, 'Unsatisfied: Notes on Vernacular Cosmopolitanism', in *Text and Nation: Cross Disciplinary Essays on Cultural and National Identities*, ed. Laura Garcia-Moreno and Peter C. Pfeiffer (London: Camden House, 1996), 191-207.

<sup>21</sup> For a historiographical and theoretical discussion of cosmopolitanism and gender see, Joyce Godoman, 'Women, Education, Cosmopolitanisms, Temporalities, in *The Concept of the Transnational*', ed. Eckhardt Fuchs and Eugenia, Roldán Vera in preparation. For scripting see: Annemieke van Drenth, 'Contested Scripts: An Introduction', *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no.4 (2008):369-377.

<sup>22</sup> George Z.F. Bereday, 'Sir Michael Sadler's "Study of Foreign Systems of Education"', *Comparative Education Review* 7 (1964): 307-314.

<sup>23</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 2.

<sup>24</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> António Nóvoa and Tali Yariv-Mashal, 'Comparative Research in Education: A Mode of Governance or a Historical Journey?', *Comparative Education* 39, no.4 (2003): 423-438.

Educational objectives should be the making of Japanese women with critical judgement and wide interests in life .... Character building with a view to training for Japanese womanhood and to mould a national mind which will be sensitive to the meaning of international cooperation is of paramount importance.... but the most urgent problem of education is the making of young women who will be able to cooperate with men in the reconstruction of present society into something higher and better.<sup>26</sup>

A PhD from Teachers College locates Kasuya at the heart of international developments in comparative education in this period.<sup>27</sup> Yet, she is a shadowy figure in comparative education's history<sup>28</sup> due to gendered constructions of knowledge and expertise, the valuation of particular gendered genres of authorship and authority, and a focus on the nation state. Kandel, for example, expected a comparative education scholar to be a cultured educational statesman, who aspired to become a worldwide educational leader. Wesley Null notes that many of Kasuya's fellow students at Teachers College had been sent by home governments to complete advanced degrees and progressed to public leadership in education, becoming statesmen in their countries.<sup>29</sup> This route was not open to Kasuya because of women's legal disabilities in 1930s Japan and she returned to

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<sup>26</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 201-202.

<sup>27</sup> Maria Manzon, *Comparative Education and the Construction of a Field* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 89.

<sup>28</sup> Kasuya's *Secondary Education of Girls* was noted in: *School Review* 1934 (March), 230; Walter Crosby Eels, 'American Doctoral Dissertations on Secondary Education in Foreign Countries', *NASSP Bulletin* 40, May (1956): 166-175; Frank Shulman, *Doctoral Dissertations on Japan and on Korea, 1969-979: An Annotated Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982), 55; William Brickman, 'Introductory Bibliography of Comparative Education', *European Education* 4 (1972): 136-153; Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie and Kerry Lynne Meek, *Women and Science: an Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1996), 240; Wesley Null, *Peerless Educator: The Life and Work of Isaac Leon Kandel* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 179 notes Kasuya among Kandel's students; Kasuya is cited by James Albisetti, 'Could Separate Be Equal? Helen Lange and Women's Education in Imperial Germany', *History of Education Quarterly* 22, no.3 (1982): 301-317; idem, *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton NK: Princeton University Press, 1983), 293; idem, *Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 253; and by A.E.McClelland, *The Education of Women in the United States: A Guide to Theory, Teaching and Research* (London: Routledge, 2014)

<sup>29</sup> Kandel's PhD students contributing to Teachers College *Educational Yearbooks* prior to 1939 include: Ernest Gideon Malherbe (director, National Bureau of Education, Pretoria, PhD 1926), 'Union of South Africa', in *Educational Yearbook 1932*, 413-30 and *Educational Yearbook 1935*, 469-502; Amir Boktor (professor of education, American University, Cairo, PhD, 1936), 'Egypt', in *Educational Yearbook 1937*, 115-44.

teach at Tsuda College. Women's educational disabilities also meant Kasuya was not in a position to contribute to Teachers College *International Yearbook*, where authors were university professors, directors of national educational associations and national commissioners or secretaries of education.<sup>30</sup>

The introductory material to Kasuya's text, however, points to alternative spaces, transnational circulations and flows crossing national borders that facilitated Kasuya's travel, her study in the USA at a time when obtaining a higher education in the West was costly and often funded by women students' own families,<sup>31</sup> her comparative education research, and her work as teacher.

### **Transnational circulatory regimes**

The acknowledgements in *Secondary Education of Girls* situate Kasuya in the entanglement of social relations that supported her travel to Wellesley and set in place networks on which she would draw both prior to, during, and after her comparative research at Teachers College. The acknowledgements illustrate what Michael Geyer calls a transnational circulatory regime comprised of informal or formal sets of rules that regulate social practices, and which depend on actors, on common languages, norms and values in order for spaces to cohere around a common purpose, activity or world picture.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Articles by men prior to 1939 entitled 'Japan', in *Educational Yearbooks* include: Masataro Sawayanagi (president, Japanese Education Association, member of House of Peers), *Educational Yearbook 1925*, 283-308; Kumaji Yoshida (professor of education, Faculty of Letters, Tokyo Imperial University), *Educational Yearbook 1929*, 427-60; Count Hiroto Hayashi (president, Imperial Education Association; chairman, Educational Investigation Committee of the Japanese Government) *Educational Yearbook 1930*, 387-426; Keiji Ashida (professor of theology, Faculty of Literature, Doshisho University, Kyoto), *Educational Yearbook 1932*, 315-30; Sukeichi Shinohara (director, Bureau of Educational Research, Ministry of Education and professor of education in Tokyo University), *Educational Yearbook 1935*, 369-382; Reischauer, *Educational Yearbook 1933*; Shigetaka Abe (assistant professor, Tokyo Imperial University), 'Education in Formosa and Korea', *Educational Yearbook 1931*, 679-706. The only visible woman contributing prior to 1939 is Anna Sethne (overlaerer and president of The Women Teachers' Association, Oslo), *Educational Yearbook 1935*, 393-8.

<sup>31</sup> Marie Sandell, 'Learning in and from the West: International Students and International Women's Organisations in the Interwar Period', *History of Education 44*, no.1 (2014): 5-24.

<sup>32</sup> Michael Geyer, 'Spatial Regimes', in Iriye and Saunier, *Palgrave Dictionary*, 962-966.

Kasuya acknowledges a number of women connected to Wellesley College, including Sophie Chantal Hart, Wellesley's professor of English; Eunice Cole Smith, from the Wellesley class of 1898, who supported Kasuya financially while she studied at Teachers College;<sup>33</sup> and Marion Dilts, a Wellesley roommate of Kasuya's fellow Japanese student Takizawa Marusyo, who read the proofs of Kasuya's *Secondary Education of Girls* and attended to its publication on Kasuya's return to Japan.<sup>34</sup> Hart, who was responsible for international students at Wellesley, had lectured at the American College for Girls at Constantinople<sup>35</sup> and had many contacts with educators and colleges in the 'East'. The Women's Christian College in Japan had a Sophie Chantal Hart room in its main building, endowed in 1899 by the Eunice Smith, who supported Kasuya's study.<sup>36</sup> Hart first visited Tsuda College in 1918, immediately preceding Kasuya's departure for Wellesley. In 1923, co-inciding with Kasuya's return to Tokyo from Wellesley, Hart gave a course of lectures at Tsuda College, arriving two days prior to the Great Kanto earthquake. In 1930 she was in Cambodia.<sup>37</sup>

The trans-Pacific circulatory regime that supported Kasuya's travel and study was established around Tsuda, the founder of Tsuda College, and facilitated and regulated the flow of many single Japanese women studying in the USA up to 1967. As Johnson notes, the American Mary Harris Morris (1836-1924) supported Tsuda financially while she was studying at Bryn Mawr. Tsuda herself spent her third year fundraising among Americans with a view to establishing an American style women's college in Japan. While Tsuda College was Japanese led, it was funded almost entirely by a group of Philadelphia women around Morris who formed the Committee for Miss Tsuda's School for Girls. As Johnson illustrates, many of the Committee for Miss Tsuda's School were also members of the American Women's Scholarship for Japanese Women, drawn from the social and economic elite of three Protestant denominations in Philadelphia active in mission work in Japan, which raised funds and supervised the academic study of scholarship holders while they were in

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<sup>33</sup> Kasuya '23, *A Foreign Language to Me*, 70.

<sup>34</sup> Sally 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, here 208.

<sup>35</sup> *Wellesley News*, 6 April 1910.

<sup>36</sup> *Wellesley News*, 3 May 1934.

<sup>37</sup> *Wellesley News*, 20 March 1930.



America and had links to Bryn Mawr. Numbers of Japanese women students studying in the USA up to 1967 were funded through this trans-Pacific circulatory regime.<sup>38</sup>

The transnational circulatory regime demonstrates the operation of relations of power and the tensions that could inhere in circulatory regimes as a result of cultural differences and interests of members. Johnson notes that American members saw the mobility of Japanese women serving edifying and modernizing purposes. Because the Americans understood little about the circumstances in which selection of women for study in America was undertaken, however, this left power in the hands of the Japanese committee. Although Tsuda resigned from the American committee when her wish to use the scholarship solely for her school was rejected, she continued to control decisions as chair of the Japanese committee.<sup>39</sup>

Sally Hastings' description of scholarship holders' time in the USA through the trope of the 'pilgrimage', points to the regularity and informal sets of rules that regulated the social practices embedded in the circulatory regime that supported the Japanese women students' study in the USA. Hastings notes that the 'pilgrimage had regular stations, chaperoned passage, stay in an American home, time in a preparatory school, four years in a dormitory, summers at camp, other vacations in American homes, and a visit to Europe, all facilitated by a network of friends, extending from Tsuda'.<sup>40</sup> Kasuya spent her Wellesley summers at Aloha Club and Camp, travelled to European countries. She also attended the 1921 meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Vienna with fellow Wellesley student Takizawa.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Linda 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, In: Indiana University Press, 2005), 298-219; idem, 'Meiji Women Educators as Public Intellectuals: Shimoda Utako and Tsuda Umeko', *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal* 44 (2013): 67-92, here 83; Hastings, 'Japanese Women as American College Students', 196, 200, 202, 207; Furuki Yoshiko, *The Attic Letters. Ume Tsuda's Correspondence to Her American Mother* (New York: Weatherhill, 1991), 19-20; Alice Mabel Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women* (London: Gay & Bird, 1902, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn); SIH, 'Japan and Bryn Mawr', in *Offerings to Athena: 125 Years at Bryn Mawr College*, ed. Anne Bruder (Philadelphia: Friends of the Bryn Mawr College Library, 2010), 73.

<sup>39</sup> Johnson, 'American Women's Scholarship', 309.

<sup>40</sup> Hastings, 'Japanese Women American College Students', 207.

<sup>41</sup> Kasuya, 'A Foreign Language to Me', 69; *Report of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of Women, Vienna July 10-17 1921* (Geneva: WILP, 1921), 311. Takizawa also attended the fourth congress when a student at Columbia.

The transnational circulatory regimes that supported Kasuya demonstrate Ong's view that transnational processes operate not as unstructured flows but through techniques and codes to direct human behaviour that condition the dynamism and scope of transnational flows, manage the movements of populations, and shape and direct border crossings and transnational relations, giving structure to their patterning. Ong argues that mechanisms of power enable mobility as well as the localization and disciplining of diverse populations within transnationalized systems, in which cultural flows and human imagination are conditioned and shaped within new relations of global inequalities. She argues that this includes the reproduction of gendered inequalities across transnational space, the incorporation of multiple geographies into subjectivity, and the disciplining structures – of family, travel and nation – that condition, shape, divert and transform cosmopolitan subjects.<sup>42</sup> Tsuda, for example, expected those whom she sponsored to travel abroad for study to contribute to her school. When Kasuya returned to teach at Tsuda College in 1923, she followed the example of Kawai Michi (1904), Suzuki Otako (1906), Kawashima Hoshiko (1909), Hoshino Ai (1912), and Yamada Koto (1916) who had studied in the USA and returned to teach at the College. Of these Hoshino, Kasuya and Fujita (who would return in 1925) eventually became principals.<sup>43</sup>

Kasuya returned from Wellesley to Tokyo in 1923 at the time of the Great Kanto Earthquake, which destroyed the building of Tsuda College. Her salary was paid by the Wellesley Service Fund, and the Philadelphia Committee raised money to rebuild Tsuda College. Kasuya's letters of appreciation published in *The Wellesley News* in 1925 and 1927 highlight asymmetrical relations surrounding the 'gift'.<sup>44</sup> They also differentiated between the spiritual and the material, which formed an important aspect of Japanese views regarding engagement with the 'West'<sup>45</sup> and which Kasuya would reflect in her comparative study.

The circulatory regime also shaped the transnational space in which Tsuda and Kasuya worked as educators, alongside the American volunteer teachers whom Tsuda recruited from among

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<sup>42</sup> Aiwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 6, 11, 14.

<sup>43</sup> Hastings, 'Japanese Women American College Students', 197.

<sup>44</sup> 'Funds Divided Among Forty Needy Cases', *The Wellesley News*, 10 June 1927; 'Wellesley Gives Aid at Home and Abroad. Report for 1927-1928', *Wellesley News*, 10 April 1928; 'Japanese Aluma Expresses Appreciation of New Honour', *Wellesley News*, 4 November 1929; 'Miss Hart Traces History of Tsuda', *Wellesley News*, 5 April 1934.

<sup>45</sup> See Fukuzawa Yukichi, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1973), trans David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst, chapter 2.

Bryn Mawr graduates, the daughters of the members of the American Scholarship Committee, and Western women with Japanese links.<sup>46</sup> Photographs of the fourth graduation ceremony in 1906 and from 1923, the year that Kasuya return from Wellesley, include American women who drew on experience at Tsuda College to position themselves as experts on Japanese women to an American audience. Alice Bacon (1858-1918), who had previously taught at the Hampton Institute in Virginia,<sup>47</sup> co-authored *Japanese Girls and Women* with Tsuda, in which she compared Japanese women to the freedwomen of Hampton.<sup>48</sup> Anna Hartshorne, one of Tsuda's Bryn Mawr classmates,<sup>49</sup> published a two volume work entitled *Japan and Her People*.<sup>50</sup> Marion Dilts, who assisted Kasuya with the publication of her text, visited Japan twice for extended periods and wrote a popular history of Japan.<sup>51</sup> Sophie Hart's travels in China, Japan and Cambodia, as well as Russia, demonstrated her international experience to the American Association of University Women and she became in demand as a speaker.<sup>52</sup>

### Worldly perspectives

In setting up her own school Tsuda illustrates Lefebvre's observation that for 'ideas, representations and values' to maintain their distinctiveness, groups must carve out a particular space.<sup>53</sup> At Tsuda College the worldly and the local fused through what Appadurai refers to as a context-generating and world-generating optic.<sup>54</sup> This formed 'a conceptual organiser that linked people(s) across space

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<sup>46</sup> Hastings, 'Japanese Women American College Students', 196; Furuki, *Attic Letters*, 397, 406, 475, Johnson, 'American Women's Scholarship'.

<sup>47</sup> Alice Bacon's sister Rebecca was Assistant Principal at the Hampton Institute, see: Francis Greenwood Peabody, *Education for Life: The Story of Hampton Institute* (New York: Doubleday, 1920), 101-2, 189;

<sup>48</sup> Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, 97-8; 189.

<sup>49</sup> Johnson, 'Meiji Women Educators', 71.

<sup>50</sup> Anna Hartshorne, *Japan and her People* (London: K. Paul, Trech, Trübner and Co, 1903), 2 vols.

<sup>51</sup> Marion Dilts, *Pageant of Japanese History* (New York: Longmans Green, 1938).

<sup>52</sup> At the 1937 American Association of University Women's conference Hart chaired the Committee on International Relations in Mary Woolley's absence, *Wellesley News*, 24 March 1937.

<sup>53</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 51.

<sup>54</sup> Arjun Appadurai, 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', in *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, ed. Mike Featherstone (London: Sage), 295-310.

and time<sup>55</sup> and played out in Kasuya's ideals of womanhood and women's education in ways that fused 'East' and 'West'.

In the space of her school, Tsuda implemented ideals of liberal education and pedagogy that she had experienced at Bryn Mawr.<sup>56</sup> These were enmeshed with ideas from her earlier experience of education for republican motherhood from the age of seven in America.<sup>57</sup> Tsuda aimed to educate girls to be 'good mothers', who would also develop the capacity for economic self-sufficiency should this prove necessary,<sup>58</sup> and many of the students educated at Tsuda College became teachers in girls' higher schools.<sup>59</sup> Johnson notes that Tsuda's stance on educating women as good mothers was at variance with those Japanese advocates who prescribed an education around 'good wife, wise mother' (*ryōsai kenbo*) based on expanding women's domestic responsibilities as a modern development. Tsuda thought increased domestic tasks supported women's servitude within traditional households and produced submissive and obedient girls and believed that liberal education would strengthen the family by developing sympathy between family members. Yet, as Johnson states, Tsuda expected women to develop the means of economic self-sufficiency, but her rationale for the education of women was articulated in terms of collective rather than individual benefit. Rather than arguing for formal equality in terms of the vote, as others in Japan at the time were doing,<sup>60</sup> Tsuda expected her students to use their education and professional skills in the service of society, which she expected to elevate the status of women in the future.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Noah Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen: Yugoslav Student and Teacher Travel and Slavic Cosmopolitanism in the Interwar Era* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 19-21.

<sup>56</sup> Johnson, 'Meiji Women Educators', 71; Hartshorne, quoted in Yoshi Furuki, *The White Plum: A Biography of Ume Tsuda: Pioneer in the Higher Education of Japanese Women* (New York: Weatherhill, 1991), 86.

<sup>57</sup> Martha Tocco, 'Made in Japan: Meiji Women's Education', in *Gendering Modern Japanese History*, ed. Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2005), 39-60, here 49.

<sup>58</sup> Rose, *Tsuda Umeko*, 103; Johnson, 'Meiji Women Educators', 68.

<sup>59</sup> Brian Marshall, *Learning to be Modern* (Boulder Co.: Westview Press, 1996), 77.

<sup>60</sup> Barbara Molony, 'The Quest for Women's Rights in Turn-of-the-Century Japan' in Molony and Uno, *Gendering Japanese History*, 463-492.

<sup>61</sup> Johnson, 'Meiji Women Educators', 78, 80.

When Kasuya joined Tsuda College as teacher in 1915, the curriculum included Chinese and Japanese literature, as well as history, psychology and ethics.<sup>62</sup> But English was central, reflecting Tsuda's belief that studying English language and literature gave women of the 'East the key to Western thought, ideals and points of view'.<sup>63</sup> Pointing to the production of the local and the worldly in relation to one another Kasuya, depicted Japan as:

a country where the Orient meets the Occident, and where a well thought out adaptation of the finest traits of Western civilization is needed, an adaptation which intelligently preserves the heritage of Eastern culture and constantly enriches it.<sup>64</sup>

A pedagogy built around Western notions of individualism, autonomy and agency that linked with Western-inspired notions of civilization and enlightenment was central to Tsuda and Kasuya's views of how 'modern' womanhood was to be developed.<sup>65</sup> Mishima Sumi, who joined Tsuda College in 1918 when Tsuda was principal and Kasuya a teacher, wrote that students were never allowed to listen quietly to the teacher in class, taking notes and memorising them for examinations as was the norm in Japanese schools but were required to prepare thoroughly before hand and give their opinions in class and did not have to agree with the teacher.<sup>66</sup> This pedagogy reflected Tsuda's view that Japanese women lacked autonomy as the result of a limited education, in which they had failed to develop their intellect.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, Kasuya wrote, 'Japanese women lack that Anglo Saxon individualism which regards the development of individual talents as essential to the good of the community'.<sup>68</sup>

Kasuya echoed views of Teachers College progressive educators in seeing schooling in Japan as too remote from life.<sup>69</sup> She quoted Dewey's phrase that the school was not 'an agency to prepare for life but *is* life itself' and drew on Dewey's notions of democracy in her recommendation that Japanese girls' schooling should adopt American practices of self-government which she argued

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<sup>62</sup> SIH, 'Japan and Bryn Mawr', 73.

<sup>63</sup> Hastings, 'Japanese Women American College Students', 194, 197; Johnson, 'Meiji Women Educators', 80.

<sup>64</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 4.

<sup>65</sup> For Western-inspired notions in Japanese girls' education, see: Shizuko, *Ryōsai Kenbo*.

<sup>66</sup> Sumie Seo Mishima, *My Narrow Isle: The Story of a Modern Japanese Woman* (New York: John Day Company, 1941), 59.

<sup>67</sup> Johnson, 'Meiji Women Educators', 77.

<sup>68</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 193

<sup>69</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 191.

‘enables pupils to practice citizenship within school by participating in their own government activity; for by taking part in some phase of student activities American girls develop initiative, a sense of responsibility and the spirit of democracy’.<sup>70</sup>

Kasuya espoused thinking on progressive education that resonated with her supervisor Goodsell’s analysis of the relationship of women’s education and democratic citizenship discussed in Goodsell’s book *The Education of Women* published in 1924. As Kathleen Weiler illustrates, Goodsell grappled with the tension between women’s reproductive and sexual difference from men and the assumptions of equality implicit in conceptions of universal democratic citizenship but did not address the extent to which this system itself reproduced existing class, race, and gender hierarchies.<sup>71</sup> In aligning with Goodsell’s views on the interrelationship of women’s education and democratic citizenship, Kasuya departed from Kandel who publicly critiqued progressive education, a subject on which Kandel and Goodsell clashed in print.<sup>72</sup>

From a neo-institutionalist perspective on transnationalism, the notions of autonomy, individualism and agency in Kasuya’s narrative and her adoption of a melioristic comparative educational science imbued with notions of progress, coupled with her references to international conferences, exchange of teachers and students and of pupils’ work, as well as educational tours and international radio,<sup>73</sup> form vehicles through which the internal workings of schooling become increasingly homogeneous.<sup>74</sup> Kasuya’s notions of individuality, autonomy and agency also embody

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<sup>70</sup> Dewey visited Japan in 1919 while Kasuya was at Teachers College, see: John and Alice Chipman Dewey, *Letters from China and Japan* (New York: E.P.Dutton, 1920).

<sup>71</sup> Willystine Goodsell, *The Education of Women: Its Social Background and Its Problems* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924); Kathleen Weiler, ‘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, here 130.

<sup>72</sup> Willystine Goodsell, ‘The New Education As It Is. A Reply to Professor Kandel’, *Teachers College Record* 34, April (1933): 542-50; Isaac Kandel, ‘Alice in Cuckoo Land’, *ibid.*, 34, May (1933): 627-34.

<sup>73</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 3.

<sup>74</sup> Jeremy Rappeleye, ‘Compasses, Maps and Mirrors: Relocating Episteme(s) of Transfer, Reorienting the Comparative Kosmos’, in *New Thinking in Comparative Education: Honouring Robert Cowen*, ed. M.Larsen (London: Sense Publishers, 2010), 57-80, here 62-3.

the agency, progress, reason and science that Thomas Popkewitz argues provide ways of seeing and acting, that are constructed as reasoned and reasonable.<sup>75</sup>

### **Vernacular perspectives**

While Kasuya recognised universal tendencies in the circulation of educational ideas and practice that she argued led to the 'creation of situations common to many countries and to the rise of more or less similar modes of reaction by different people', she aligned this with context-specific optic that stressed the specificities of local variation:

These two factors, then, always working together – the distinctive character of each country, and the interdependence of the countries – must be recognized 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. In these circumstances, the question of how much to preserve and develop the peculiar cultural qualities of a country while joining in general world movements is one of the important problems of the educators of today.<sup>76</sup>

Kasuya's notions of the 'peculiar cultural qualities of a country' point back to the legacy of Michael Sadler's 'soil' metaphors but also to how regional and national patterns of education constitute an amalgamation of cultural practices that are drawn into the fabrication of cosmopolitanism.<sup>77</sup>

'Vernacular cosmopolitanisms' represent cultural repertoires that are not scripted by any one community but deploy cultural vocabularies and discourses drawn from the traces and residues of many cultural and ethical systems, while retaining the distinctiveness of their historical roots.<sup>78</sup>

Different temporalities in 'vernacular cosmopolitanisms', based on cultures and identities with different relations to time and space and with diverse conceptions of history, at times connect to

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<sup>75</sup> Thomas S. Popkewitz, 'Comparative Studies and Unthinking Comparative Thought: The Paradox of "Reason" and its Abjections', in Larsen, *New Thinking in Comparative Education*, 15-28, here 15-16; 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, Mass.: Blackwell, 2009), 7-29, here 17; Thomas S. Popkewitz, 'Globalization as a System of Reason: The Historical Possibility and the Political in Pedagogical Policy and Research', in Popkewitz and Rizvi, *Globalization and Education*, 247-267, here 252.

<sup>76</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 3.

<sup>77</sup> Sobe, *Provincializing the Worldly Citizen*, 123.

<sup>78</sup> Stuart Hall, 'Political belonging in a world of multiple identities', in Vertovec and Cohen, *Conceiving Cosmopolitanisms*, 25-31, here 25-6.

create new communities. Nóvoa and Yariv-Mashal illustrate this idea through the metaphor of 'geological formation' comprising several layers of time with various 'thicknesses' that cannot be understood without taking into account their specificities as well as the commonalities that connect and influence each and every layer.<sup>79</sup> Japanese disciplinarization of literature and history as interdependent disciplines, for example, configured literature in ways which 'slowed down' time to establish the conceptual places of the nation, while chronology was used in history to give those spaces activity, around forward-looking notions of 'progress'.<sup>80</sup>

In similar vein when scripting modern Japanese womanhood marked by cosmopolitanism, Kasuya fused neo-Confucian, 'Nativist' and Western elements. She held onto neo-Confucian virtues found in *The Imperial Rescript on Education*, issued in 1890, which emphasised loyalty filial piety, humanity, fairness and harmony through a hierarchy of social relations that stretched back to the goddess Amaterasu and instilled respect for sources of authority such as teachers and parents.<sup>81</sup> The *Rescript* was revered as a sacred object and adopted in Shinto<sup>82</sup> ceremonies introduced into Japanese schools. It was recited on national holidays and monthly convocations, and formed the basis of moral education.<sup>83</sup> Kasuya noted in terms of character education that the *Rescript* should continue to be the keynote for the fundamental principles of corporate life.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Nóvoa and Yariv-Mashal, 'Comparative Research in Education', 433.

<sup>80</sup> Axel Schnieder and Stefan Tanaka, 'The Transformation of History in China and Japan', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, vol.4: 1800-1945*, ed. Stuart Macintyre, Juan Maiguaschca and Attila Pok (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 491-319, here 500.

<sup>81</sup> 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 MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 132-154; Jeremy Rappleye, 'Re-Contextualizing Foreign Influences in Japan's Educational History: The (Re)Reception of John Dewey', in *The Global Reception of John Dewey's Thought. Multiple Refractions Through Time and Space*, ed. Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jürgen Schriewer (London: Routledge, 2012), 116-145, here 118.

<sup>82</sup> Shinto, which distinguished indigenous Japanese beliefs from Buddhism and became Japan's state religion in the Meiji period (1868-1912), fostered an emperor cult stretching back to the goddess Amaterasu used to unite disparate elements into a modern nation, including through education in Shinto mythology and compulsory participation of schools in Shinto rituals, see: Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State 1868-1988* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 4.

<sup>83</sup> Nicole Freiner, *The Social and Gender Politics of Confucian Nationalism: Women and the Japanese National State* (New York: Palgrave, 2012), 84.

<sup>84</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 201.



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.<sup>85</sup>

Kasuya argued that in a country built upon the idea of the nation as a large family, the family could not be neglected, so as a general rule, women were to be trained for home life, for 'tradition justly esteems married life as the most normal and as the best career of women' who were to be the intelligent companions of men.<sup>86</sup>

At the same time, Kasuya's notion of 'good wife, wise mother' (*ryōsai kenbo*), incorporated a worldly optic that included Western ideas of the educated woman who possessed the potential for rational motherhood that she saw as compatible with the neo-Confucian dictum of the family at the root of the state.<sup>87</sup> Kasuya noted that the individuality of all dependent members was to be developed to the fullest extent, at the same time as they were to remain strictly bound to the patriarchal rule of the legal head of the family:

The combination of the two ideas – respect for individual personality and the willing subjection of dependent members to the head of the family which in turn is under legal and moral obligation to support them – constitutes a unique feature in the history of the family. Such an idea of the family has influenced the Japanese conception of the nation.<sup>88</sup>

On the one hand, her stress on cultivating a character capable of managing agency formed a goal of Western style learning and notions of time as progress introduced into Meiji Japan from 1868 but it also denoted a person worthy of respect that formed a goal of neo-Confucian education.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 189.

<sup>86</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 200.

<sup>87</sup> Kathleen Uno, 'Womanhood, War and Empire: Transmutations of the "Good Wife, Wise Mother" Before 1931', in Molony and Uno, *Gendering Japanese History*, 493-519, here 503.

<sup>88</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 189.

<sup>89</sup> Molony, 'The Quest for Women's Rights'; Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno, 'Introduction' in Molony and Uno, *Gendering Japanese History*, 1-35.

Drawing on notions of *kokutai* (national structure) and the family Kasuya viewed Japanese uniqueness as a cultural entity manifesting notions of time as the uninterrupted reign of the Japanese imperial family and the emperor as descendant of the gods and object of patriotic devotion and religious reverence.<sup>90</sup>

When we consider the aims of education both for boys and girls, two points stand out from all others: one is the cultivation of a reverence for what the Japanese call *Kokutai* or the national structure, unique in the world because of the unbroken line of the Imperial dynasty, founded nearly 2,600 years ago, the other the fundamental importance of the family as a social unit. Japanese boys and girls must be imbued with a sense of the glory of nation and with a sense of responsibility for the further enhancement of it.<sup>91</sup>

Running in the background of Kasuya's time at Teachers College and particularly from 1931 was the Japanese military action in Manchuria which brought Japan into direct confrontation with the League of Nations.<sup>92</sup> Kasuya argues that Japan could not be isolated from world turmoil and that Japanese women could not remain different to 'current problems of vital significance'<sup>93</sup> which she does not name. Reischauer, secretary to the Women's Christian College of Japan, commented in 1933 that no private school in Japan could afford to depart too far from the government's recognized system and least of all could 'a school with foreign connections be too bold in breaking openly' with that which had the government's stamp of approval.<sup>94</sup> The extent to which Kasuya's text is framed by the increasing centralisation of 1930s Japan, linked with rising nationalism, is difficult to determine, as is her silence on empire, which may hint at tensions in the spaces into which her text would be received. Kasuya opposed what she termed 'narrow patriotism' and thought education should lead society in discriminating against 'the fanatical aggrandisement of national glory',<sup>95</sup> while simultaneously aligning with 'nativist' calls for the past glory of Japan to be recaptured. She stressed the spirit of *bushido* (the soul of Japan),<sup>96</sup> which represented an essentialist

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<sup>90</sup> Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, 12, 13.

<sup>91</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 189.

<sup>92</sup> Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

<sup>93</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 184.

<sup>94</sup> Reischauer, *Japan*, 429.

<sup>95</sup> Kasuya, *Secondary Education of Girls*, 200.

<sup>96</sup> see Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido: the Soul of Japan. An Exposition of Japanese Thought by Inazo Nitobe* (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan: Chales E. Tuttle Publishing Co., 1969), revised edition.

view of nation incorporating Western notions of national character and cultural nationalism alongside affect and emotion.<sup>97</sup>

Scripting womanhood in ways that synthesised neo-Confusion ethics and 'invented' Shinto traditions that treated the emperor as a descendent of the gods,<sup>98</sup> positioned women as doubly subject to the emperor and to the authority of the father in the patriarchal family. For Vera Macke this represents the basis of authority relations in the system and the site where individuals learned the gendered nature of subjecthood.<sup>99</sup> Koyama Shizuko demonstrates how Japanese ideals of 'good wife, wise mother' changed over time and particularly in the wake of the Sino-Japanese (1894-5) and Russo-Japanese (1904-5) wars.<sup>100</sup> Kim Hara sees the Imperial Rescript's ideals of 'good wife, wise mother' as the other side of the coin of 'enrich the country and strengthen the army', in which men were to enhance the wealth of the country and maintain its strength by becoming hard workers and brave soldiers, while women's duty was to serve their men and families and maintain the continuity of the Japanese patriarchal family system.<sup>101</sup> 'Good wife, wise mother' also fed into economic discourses by emphasizing the moral education and the homemaking skills required for the creation of a modern industrialised nation state in which women's primary role was to be the reproduction and socialization of children and as passive supporters of a wealthy country.<sup>102</sup> As Lowy and Uno argue 'good wife, wise mother' was multifaceted. Those who looked to Japan's own traditions could emphasize women's role as 'good wife, a frugal manager and hard worker in the enterprise household', while those more open to Western models could support wise mother, derived from the notion of educated motherhood.<sup>103</sup>

Transnationalism nuances this gender analysis by illustrating that Kasuya's scripting of womanhood embraced both a context specific and a worldly optic. But as Bhabha reminds us this is not an additive process enacted in a homogenous empty time. Rather, this type of coexistence is a form of transformation, displacement and transfiguration. This co-existence draws on the partial and

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<sup>97</sup> Ohukura Kentaro and Shibata Masako, 'Globalization and Education in Japan', in Popkewitz and Rizvi, *Globalization and Education*, 160-179.

<sup>98</sup> Hardacre, *Shinto*, 4.

<sup>99</sup> Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3, 6.

<sup>100</sup> Shizuko, *Ryōsai Kenbo*, analyses shifts in the historically constructed concept of *ryōsai kenbo*.

<sup>101</sup> Hara, 'Challenges to Education for Girls and Women'.

<sup>102</sup> Uno, 'Womanhood, War and Empire', 492; Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan*, 3.

<sup>103</sup> Uno, 'Womanhood, War and Empire', 502.

the unstable and brings together a temporal future present and a lived present in which affect and emotion play their part in the relation between the patriotic and the cosmopolitan, the home and the world, in a space of struggle for survival that is always in danger of being nationalised and unfolds with uncertainty.<sup>104</sup>

## Conclusion

Transnationalism's focus on non-state actors, flows across national borders and the circulatory regimes that regulate flows and spaces provides an approach to redress gendered processes that render women marginal in accounts of comparative education based on the nation state where women's disabilities come into play. Transnationalism also provides ways to make visible gendered processes of knowledge construction and their maintenance and to illuminate the spaces women created to foster the production of educational knowledge and practice.

Transnationalism enables researchers to demonstrate how gendered relations of power play into spaces and institutions through multiple geographies and geographical histories that inform cosmopolitan subjectivities. Transnationalism sheds light on cosmopolitanism as a historically shifting phenomenon that embraces several layers of time in spaces of uncertainty at variance with the broad sweeps of history and increasing homogenisation of the internal workings of schooling proposed in neo-institutionist perspectives on education.

Viewing Kasuya's recommendations for secondary education for Japanese girls through both the context-generating and world-generating optics of vernacular cosmopolitanism illustrates the potential for gendered subjectivities and gendered notions of subjecthood to be assembled in contradictory ways. In Kasuya's text, Western ideas about the educated woman who possessed the potential for rational motherhood were combined with neo-Confucian and Nativist elements that included the willing subjection of dependent members to the head of the Japanese family, which positioned women as doubly subject to the emperor and the authority of the father in the patriarchal family. In Kasuya's multifaceted view of 'good wife, wise mother' (*ryōsai kenbo*), Japanese tradition and Western models were assembled in ways that positioned girls' secondary education simultaneously as both a conservative force *and* force for change.

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<sup>104</sup> Bhabha, 'Unsatisfied'.