UNIVERISTY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Flowers in Contradiction: Japanese Imperialism and Gender Construction Through Women's Writings, 1895–1945

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

Literature

by

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2014

The Dissertation of Satoko Kakihara is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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2014

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank my co-chairs, Professors Ping-hui Liao and Lisa Yoneyama, for their intellectual guidance; Professor Jin-kyung Lee for her critique and emotional support; Professor Jody Blanco for his criticism and humor; and Professor Yen Le Espiritu for her astute and insistent critique.

Professor Stefan Tanaka has been instrumental in shaping my scholarly development. He points out my shortcomings and encourages me to reach further. I could not have written this dissertation without his mentorship. Although he would be quick to point out that it is not apparent from my work, he serves as my intellectual role model and much, much more.

Dr. Nancy Gilson has gone beyond the call of any description of duties imaginable during my time at UC San Diego. She has shown me that scholarship can be for both self and others, and that there is much more to life than what is rewarded institutionally.

I also thank the individuals who have been with me through various parts of this journey: Aaron Anderson, Robert Cancel, Kristin Carnohan, Alex Chang, Juliana Choi, Sören Fröhlich, Sue Hawkinson, Robert Horwitz, Patrick Mallon, Melissa Martinez, Stephen Meyers, John Rieder, Clare Rolens, Stacey Trujillo, and Sal Zárate, I trust that they support my omission of titles. I also hope that those I have not listed will still know just how much I appreciate having had the opportunity to encounter them.

I thank Professor Ohkubo Akio and the members of the Chinese Language and Literature Department at Tokyo Metropolitan University, for their intellectual hospitality during the time I spent among them in the 2012–13 academic year.

Finally—and most importantly—I thank my family for their encouragement and understanding: my parents, Noriko, Jim, and Sophie. Your love and patience mean the world to me; our conversations about the current state of education drive me to do what I do.

Research and writing for this project was supported by the Japan Foundation, the Joseph Naiman Graduate Fellowship, the CILAS Travel Grant, TEPCO Research Funds, and the Department of Literature at UC San Diego.

All mistakes and shortcomings of this project are my own; for that reason alone, I must stand by them.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

University of California, San Diego, 2014

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This dissertation examines writings by women in the Japanese empire, analyzing their negotiations of gender in the metropole and the colonies and territories of Taiwan, Korea, and China between 1895 and 1945. From the Meiji era, the Japanese government attempted to modernize its subjects through social reforms and the assignation of normative gender roles: men to fight for expansion as masculinized soldiers, women to reproduce and raise future imperial subjects as feminized Good Wives and Wise Mothers. Examining writings that discuss this gendered modernization, this comparative and multiregional project argues that women writers employed the performative of writing both to fit into and to break out of

constructed categories (such as “educated”, “professional”, and “Westernized”), categories that were based on the promise of progress and liberation but that created new power hierarchies. The dissertation thus contributes to the scholarship an intercolonial study on gender in the Japanese empire.

The five chapters of this dissertation explore different social institutions related to the construction of modern womanhood over a normalized female life course. Chapter 1 argues that students in the puppet state of Manchukuo constructed, through composition assignments, labels of educated/uneducated, Japanese/non-Japanese within an institution of education that was purported to promote equality. Chapter 2 argues, by examining works by Taiwanese writer Yang Ch’ien-ho and Korean writer Kang Kyŏng-ae, that the establishment of a modern selfhood through labor was impossible under Japanese imperial modernity. Chapter 3 analyzes writings by Japanese educator Hani Motoko to argue that Hani’s ideas on modern, liberal marriage reproduced oppressions of women under capitalist social structures, despite encouraging women’s self-realization and improvement. Chapter 4 analyzes Japanese- and Korean-language works by Chang Tŏk-cho to argue that they offer women’s communities as alternatives to patriarchal kinship. Chapter 5 analyzes works by Xiao Hong and Yosano Akiko to argue that notions of “belonging” are rooted in one’s freedom of movement. By extending its frame beyond single national contexts and conceiving the empire as a spatial and temporal continuum, this dissertation connects colonial gender construction with contradictions between idealized and lived womanhoods in East Asia today.

Introduction—Woman, "Japanese":

Writing in the East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere

> I am not who I think I am; I am not who you think I am; I am who I think you think I am.
>
> —*Various*
>
> How can I tell what I think until I see what I say?
>
> —E.M. Forster

Introduction

The figurative language of the flower has been used frequently to describe Japanese (and more generally, Asian) women in the Western imaginary, at once homogenizing them as a collective and marking them for their difference as "Other". The Orientalist label of "Lotus Blossom", for example, suggests a gentle, meek, dainty, and submissive woman; the label also works—often in dichotomous conjunction—with others such as "Dragon Lady", "China Doll", "Madame Butterfly", and "Geisha Girl", to insinuate the possibility of exotic sexual pleasures that such "Oriental" women (are perceived to) have to offer (Yamamoto 65)—the opening up of the guarded flower to reveal the hidden and tantalizing beauty within.[1]

This project examines writings by women published throughout the Japanese empire, to analyze the ways in which labels, categories, and norms for women of the empire—beyond that of just the flower—are both reproduced and resisted in texts that describe everyday acts

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[1] The difference that marks Asian woman as "Other" simultaneously makes her both attractive and utterly foreign. In her discussion of *Teahouse of the August Moon* (1956)—a film set in 1946 about an American Captain named Fisby (played by Glenn Ford) who "brings" American democracy to a small village in Okinawa—Yamamoto describes the geisha character in the film named Lotus Blossom (played by Machiko Kyo) as one who becomes "the feminine embodiment of idealized, dehistoricized Japanese culture, [who] becomes the sign and marker of absolute difference" (32). The film, which works to reinforce an essentialized racial difference between the Americans and the Japanese, uses the figure of the female Lotus Blossom to mark the Japanese (or, more specifically, the Okinawans) as at once peaceful, alluring, and conquerable—but with a difference that cannot be bridged, signified by Fisby's renouncement of Lotus Blossom's love for him at the end of the film.

within the empire's modernizing social institutions. I open with a discussion of Orientalist labels that mediate interactions between "East" and "West", however, in order to call into question how they simultaneously limit *and* expand the way individual subjects are constructed within assumed power hierarchies, whether within metropolitan Japan, throughout the Japanese empire, or among various imperial states. The objectifying nature of labels toward Asian(-American) women within Western (and more specifically, U.S.) discourse is clear;[2] what we must also examine is the way in which the flower metaphor is often also used to connote women's strength and vitality, in addition to their beauty, in both U.S. and Asian discourse—as well as its transference between the two regions. This metaphor also appeared frequently in the dominant discourse of the Japanese imperialist period, spanning from 1895 to 1945, which particularized the role of women in the empire as it circulated throughout the metropole as well as the colonies and territories.

One example of the transference (and subsequent reinforcement) of the flower metaphor from the Japanese to the U.S. context is provided by historian Sharon L. Sievers's explanation of the origin of the title of her book on Japanese feminism, *Flowers in Salt*. Sievers refers to a statement made by Japanese feminist Kishida Toshiko (岸田俊子, 1863–1901) at a political gathering in 1883, when Kishida said that "Daughters . . . were like flowers; they needed rich and unencumbered environments to develop their full potentials. . . . Flowers could not grow in salt" (xi). What Kishida meant as a protest against women's conditions in the Meiji era thus becomes transferred into U.S. discourse as a metaphor to name "the beginnings of feminist consciousness in modern Japan" (the subtitle of Sievers's book).

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[2] Yen Le Espiritu (1997) has discussed the racial construction of Asian American men and women by revealing how cultural symbols (such as labels and images) gender ethnicity and reinforce superiority of whiteness, maleness, heterosexuality, and their intersections.

Another common label in Japanese discourse is the cliché of the *Yamato nadeshiko* (大和撫子 or やまとなでしこ), a phrase that describes the figure of a beautiful woman, the kind of elegant, flower-like beauty that has become naturalized and idealized in Japanese society.[3] *Nadeshiko* (撫子) is Japanese for the genus of flowers called *Dianthus*, which includes more commonly known species such as the carnation; *Yamato* (大和) is another name for the nation of Japan, used also in phrases such as *Yamato damashii* (大和魂, the Japanese spirit), which essentialize and valorize Japanese nationalism. *Yamato nadeshiko* thus literally indicates a flower that belongs to, or is native to, the Japanese nation, embodying its positive and requisite characteristics. This standard of female beauty points to a particularly *Japanese* female beauty that is found only among the "Japanese", perhaps even recognized or appreciated by only the Japanese as well—a beauty prized in a society that places significance on nature, the passing of seasons, the grace of flora that enriches the Japanese environment.[4]

Uses of the cliché of *Yamato nadeshiko* appear in writings published under Japanese imperialism, to justify and call for support of imperial causes. Texts such as Katagiri Ryūko's (片桐龍子) 1938 work『久遠の愛』(*Kuon no ai*, *Eternal Love*), which devotes a section to describing one of its characters as a *Yamato nadeshiko*, and Shindō Kimi's (進藤喜美) 1943 collection of vignettes titled *Nihon no haha* (『日本の母』, *Mothers o f Japan*), with a piece

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[3] I realize that these labels, clichés, and metaphors must be fully historicized and problematized in order for their discussion to be effective. I hope that the analysis that I give here at least begins the conversation on how these labels are used, and in what numerous ways.

[4] In Japan there is also a saying—「立てば芍薬、座れば牡丹、歩く姿は百合の花」(*Tateba shakuyaku, suwareba botan, aruku sugata wa yuri no hana*)—that illuminates a similarly particular gender ideal associated with Japanese women. The English translation is much less elegant, however: "A garden peony when she stands, a tree peony when she sits, her walking figure like that of a lily." The saying works less well in English perhaps because the first two flowers are both types of peonies—and who in the United States, among English speakers, can distinguish between a garden peony and a tree peony? Yet far be it (from me, or anyone) to say: who in Japan today actually can distinguish a *shakuyaku* from a *botan*, especially if given only the flower with none of its stem, leaves, branches, or roots? (Hint: One can distinguish the two by their setting (*shakuyaku* is a shrub, *botan* is a tree) and their leaves (*shakuyaku* leaves are glossy, *botan* leaves are not).)

titled「戦傷兵の母大和撫子」(“*Senshōhei no haha, Yamato nadeshiko*”, “*Yamato nadeshiko*, Mother of a Wounded Soldier”), provide such examples. In Shindō’s story, 22-year-old Kawada Fukuno is a beautiful woman who is skilled in dance and the *shamisen*. One night, when those who have assembled for shelter at a temple are attacked, she runs to the aid of a wounded soldier without fear for her life. From that day on, Fukuno tends to the wounded soldiers and learns how to shoot firearms in order to help defend the other women and children at the temple. She thus plays the dual role of a feminine caretaker and a masculine warrior—the emblematic *Yamato nadeshiko* with her Japanese spirit. The wounded soldiers say to her, “When Fukuno is there, it is as though a flower has bloomed”—「福野がいると花が咲いたやうだ」(237). They give her the name of “Flower of Nursing” (「看護の花」) (ibid.) out of appreciation and admiration. In Shindō’s story, the figure of the *Yamato nadeshiko* is valorized for her willingness to risk her life in order to serve as the “flower” who contributes to the Japanese nation-state’s war efforts by tending to wounded soldiers. It becomes a trait that endures in its idealism.

In addition to the cliché of the *Yamato nadeshiko* to describe an essentialized form of Oriental beauty, we see, in stories such as Taiwanese female writer Yang Ch’ien-ho’s “The Season When Flowers Bloom” (「花咲く季節」), that flowers—and their blossoming—are likened to young women and the possibilities that they represent, both for themselves and a modernizing society. In Yang’s story (which I discuss further in Chapter 2), the graduating students at a women’s high school are symbolically represented as blooming flowers, not unlike the flowers blooming outside their window in Spring, a season of transition between the end of school and the beginning of a new period in the female students’ lives. This “blooming” is tied to the possibilities promised by colonial modernity in Taiwan, though the ending of Yang’s story is ambiguous in its commentary on the vacuous nature of that promise.

What is important to note here, however, is the way in which the woman-as-flower metaphor is used and circulated, even in situations that remark upon the problematic nature of the treatment of those women/flowers both in the metropole and the colonies.

The metaphor of the flower thus presents a contradiction. The nature of figurative language is that it de-personalizes, objectifies, and ultimately (and literally) naturalizes. A standard of "Japanese" female beauty that such a metaphor suggests is, like the figure of the *Yamato nadeshiko*, a myth to which a society aspires, without knowing exactly to what it is aspiring. The very metaphor of the woman as flower is additionally troubling: A woman must be beautiful and pretty to look at; she must be passive and silent, there to please the viewer with his cultured gaze. Under the context of Japanese imperialism, this objectification was also used as a method of control and normalization: the colonized female became part of a mass of other subjects who were to aspire to a state of modernization, beauty, and domesticity that the colonizing (and imperializing) power demanded.

The contradiction of this objectifying metaphor, however, is this: We know that a flower is a living entity; if it is cut to be placed in a vase in someone's *tokonoma*, it will die.[5] But a living entity can also exercise agency and have the ability to articulate its thoughts in writing. As illustrated by Sievers's mention of the Kishida quote, women thinkers and writers often appropriated (and internalized) this language of woman-as-flower to explore and exemplify what they believed to be the gender ideals that they wanted to embrace—as well as to call attention to the needs and frustrations they faced in their daily lives as women living under the empire.

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[5] *Tokonoma* (床の間) is the corner space in a *tatami*-floored reception room of a wealthy, Japanese-style house, reserved for decoration items such as flower arrangements (*ikebana*, 活け花) and hanging scrolls (*kakejiku*, 掛軸).

This project confronts these labels, categorizations, and limiting expectations—labels that create norms to follow, idealize particular forms of happiness, dehumanize and aestheticize women as objects of enjoyment for others. The project traces the works of women who wrote to speak out, despite the standard of silent beauty and proper femininity (a notion that is itself classed and racialized) that has come to be valued in Japanese society. The writers put down in words their own representations of happiness, fulfillment, and disappointment, whether they reiterated imperial ideology or ran counter to it. *Flowers of Contradiction* analyzes writings by women published during the half-century duration of the Japanese imperialist era, from the Japanese metropole to the colonies and territories of Taiwan, Korea, and Manchukuo. Through this analysis I argue that women writers employed the performative of writing both to fit into and to break out of constructed categories (such as "educated", "professional", and "Westernized"), categories that were based on the promise of progress and liberation but that ultimately produced new hierarchies of power and privilege. By doing so the writers established their identities in relation to others around them and negotiated the contradictions of modernization they encountered as subjects under Japanese imperialism.

The title of the project is meant as neither an appropriation nor an approval of the metaphor, but rather as a recognition that women writers of the time used the Orientalist metaphor themselves—in ways that often revealed the heterogeneous principles held by each individual, by larger communities of women, and by the Japanese imperial government. One goal of this project, therefore, is to explore how the various criteria and qualifications were—and are—constructed for such categories as "woman", "Japanese", Japanese subject, Japanese literature, and women's writings. These labels and categories exist—and while writing is not a way to eliminate them, it is one way to *deal* with them, socially and psychologically, despite it being a tool that is available only to certain individuals and in certain ways. As much as

women's various political and economic positionalities yield structural differences in their experiences of imperial modernity, we can also find commonalities that they share in their pursuit of life itself. Structural differences should not make us ignore those commonalities, just as structural differences in academia should not prevent us from analyzing the various texts from the empire alongside each other.

This project is situated at the intersection of the fields of comparative literature, East Asian studies, and gender studies, and it is in conversation with three main bodies of work: first, that on theories of imperialism (Japanese and otherwise) and modernization; second, that on the social construction and performativity of gender as put forth by Judith Butler in her text *Gender Trouble* (1990), in this case that performative being the act and product of writing; and third, that on the idea of relationality and "the Other", which has been discussed by theorists such as Emmanuel Levinas and Michel de Certeau but was theorized articulately by Edward Said at length in his work *Orientalism* (1978) in a context most relevant to the study at hand.

In making my argument, I stress two main strands of thought: 1) negotiation of contradictions in modernity and 2) construction of relational identities. Firstly, I emphasize that the women whose writings I examine negotiated the contradictions of their imperial subjectivity through the performative of writing, both the act and the product depicting everyday experiences within communities of hierarchical relations. By "contradictions" I refer to four different types that characterized imperial modernization: 1) between theory and practice, specifically the theoretical liberation of women through modernized institutions such as education and labor, in contrast to the practical reality of subjugation within new, imperial frameworks; 2) of colonial modernity, wherein colonial subjects were forced to modernize and "become" Japanese through assimilation and imperialization, even while racial hierarchies

were erected to specify who, both within and without Japan, were superior to whom; 3) between competing philosophies, such as when individuals or groups negotiated their simultaneous espousal of both "modern" and "traditional" practices; and 4) between fiction and nonfiction works, the gap between hopeful expectations of fictional modern selfhoods and their lived realities in nonfiction. Within these contradictions, however, people had everyday lives, lives that were fully whole and integrated, despite their frustrations and hardships or uncritical sense of privilege. The writings I examine in this project capture how women writers constructed their sense of self in the everyday despite—or with the aid of—these contradictions.

Secondly, I emphasize that such women writers constructed their identities in relation to others, along hierarchies of gender, race, and class. They did so often explicitly in their works, affirming their positionality by establishing first the identities of others around them. This affirmation was accompanied by a critical gaze that was directed often upwards but rarely downwards: whereas those looking up from the bottom of the hierarchy recognized the oppressions that constructed their identities, those looking down from the top of the hierarchy overlooked such oppressions, willingly or not. While this comes as no surprise, what is notable is the way in which the phenomenon appears in the writings, as they capture the thought processes by which the writers constructed such relational identities.

In reconstructing this period of Japanese imperialism, I note that East Asian history mostly has been written since 1945 as an assemblage of distinct histories of postcolonial nation-states, with scholarship on gender and Japanese imperialism dividing the former empire along current geographic, ethnic, and linguistic lines, with the metropole serving as a counterpoint to the territories. Such scholarship has analyzed female subjectivities in the colonies and territories in relation to those in the metropole, creating a colonizer/colonized

binary based on present-day nation-states (J. Kim 2009; Kleeman 2003; Smith 2007). Such a binary reduces imperial and colonial power relations to those between *naichi* (内地, Japanese metropole) and *gaichi* (外地, the colonies and territories), overlooking the day-to-day interactions that, in fact, served the ends of imperialism from multiple directions. As historian Louise Young writes in her discussion of Manchuria in *Japan's Total Empire*,

> The assembling and disassembling of alliances, the continually changing balances of power, and the dynamics of cooperation and competition that these produced all figured into the geometry of Japanese imperialism.
>
> This same geometry of empire placed Manchuria among a number of interrelated imperial projects. What happened in central China affected Manchuria, just as events in Manchuria influenced Taiwan. Practices developed in Korea were applied in Manchuria, while Manchuria, in other aspects, became a model for Korea. (51)

Within this single empire that promoted an overarching gender ideology and was a geopolitical continuum rather than a string of separate nations, minute, everyday interactions took place that produced myriad, individual constructions of gender.

Scholarship on feminism under imperialism similarly has framed resistance by anti-colonial feminists—against both imperialism and patriarchy—as asserting national female subjectivities in opposition to those of the metropole (Jayawardena 1986; E. Kim and Choi 1998). The construction of such subjectivities implies a stimulus to a response: (the center of) the empire strikes, and (the periphery of) the empire strikes back. Such scholarship also has focused on single regions at a time rather than analyze the negotiation of imperial Japanese womanhood in a multiregional continuum, obfuscating networks of connectivity within the empire. Research by scholars such as historian Theodore Yoo and sociologist Kō Ikujo are integral to the discussion of gender under imperialism. Kō's (2001) work on Taiwan's "New Women", for example, examines the significance of the abolishment of foot binding and the new education system influenced by Japan in restructuring Taiwanese society under imperialism and patriarchy; yet such restructuring and resistance apply to more than the

Taiwan/Japan binary and can be considered together with the concurrent shifts in social institutions taking place throughout the empire. Rarely does scholarship on Japanese imperialism look at the interactions *among the colonies*, much less the empire as an inseparable whole.

In this project I instead conceive the Japanese empire as a spatial and temporal continuum, to explore the everyday performances of gender through those writings. It extends such analyses as Kō's beyond single national contexts, considering gender beyond the individual metropole/territories binaries that presuppose the Japanese state as a necessary linchpin in historical and sociopolitical analysis. Recent scholarship has begun to examine Japanese imperialism by simultaneously considering its influence in multiple geographic contexts. Karen Thornber (2009) explores the transculturations of Japanese literary texts in the *literary contact nebulae* of the Japanese empire, processes by which Japanese works were adapted, appropriated, and republished by Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese writers during a period in which imperial relations overshadowed personal and professional relations among writers. Thornber's study, however, still presupposes both an origin and a direction of such transculturations. Kimberly Kono (2010) also examines the uses of the notions of "family" and "romance" in literature in the naturalization of a subordinating relationship between the metropole and the colonies, though focusing only on Japanese-language texts. To build upon works such as Thornber's and Kono's, I focus on gender within a multilingual imperial continuum: How did women of the empire, individually and collectively, describe gender and female subjectivity in their writings from their unique ethnic, linguistic, and class positionalities? This comparative project highlights the spatial and discursive continuum of the Japanese empire, calling into question uneven ethnic demarcations and empire/subject and male/female power relations. Within this framework, women's multilingual writings present

both challenges and contributions to imperial gender ideologies that served as an organizing principle in the women's lives. By examining the changing and complex notions of femininity represented in women's writings, I elucidate how the confluence of modernity and the imperium created a sociohistorical context in which women writers dynamically negotiated gender in their works.

Women's writings in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean languages (published throughout the empire) interacted with institutional changes of modernization and served as sites for the construction of multiple modern womanhoods that unsettled concentrations of imperial and masculine power. Examining such expressions by, and exchanges among, individual women, this project describes the figures of "woman" that emerge therein, and in so doing enriches our understandings of gender as it was lived and imagined in the context of imperialism and modernity. Through this project I thus make three interventions in the current scholarship. One, it treats the Japanese empire as a temporal and spatial continuum, rather than a collection of separate nation-states whose borders arose post-Cold War. Two, it examines multilingual, multiregional objects of analyses, in order to ascertain the relationships among the writers and writings from throughout the empire. Three, it connects, to present-day gender relations in East Asia vis-à-vis "the West", the power structures that were in place from the period of Japanese imperialism. As such, the project insists on the continuation not only of imperialist relations within East Asia, but also between Asia and the West in contemporary times.

History, Japanese Imperialism, and Colonial Modernity in East Asia

The task of historicizing gender and womanhood in East Asia in the 20th century begins with an examination of the intersection between Japanese imperialism and modernization (and its cousin, Westernization). Japanese imperialism was in full force from

1895 to 1945 and subjected the Japanese metropole, Taiwan, Korea, and Manchukuo, among other places. In the period from its colonization of Taiwan in 1895 following the First Sino-Japanese War and the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, until its surrender and forced decolonization after the virtual end of the Pacific War on August 15, 1945, the empire of the Japanese government extended throughout East Asia and the Southern Pacific, modernizing its subjects by reforming social institutions in both the metropole and the colonies. It sought to create the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (大東亜共栄圏, *Dai-tō-a kyōeiken*) under the dictum of *Gozoku kyōwa* (五族協和), or the Five Ethnicities Living in Harmony (Japanese, Chinese, Manchurian, Mongolian, and Korean). This ideology is one example of the contradiction between theory and practice: the purported "harmony" merely homogenized the distinct cultures that existed in the empire's main colonies and territories, while erecting an undeniable ethnic hierarchy that imperialization served to reinforce.

Of course, ideas of modernity and liberation themselves reconstruct systems of oppression and power hierarchy in "new times". One hallmark of the modern state is its power to homogenize its subjects for control and management, while at the same time individualizing them for punishment. By creating a mass of an "overall", modern subjects came under regularized control (Foucault, *Lectures* 246). It was, therefore, not a matter of harmony at all, but rather a matter of establishing power hierarchies that would enable more efficient modes of subjugation. Within this context of modernity, relationships between nation-states and the constructs of East and West produced what Dipesh Chakrabarty has called "an imaginary waiting room of history" (8), in which some agents were seen as being better able to manage and control their subjects than others, thus justifying conditions of colonialism.

As Gayatri Spivak also has noted, one example of epistemic violence—our understanding and perception of the world—that enables colonial domination is the "remotely

orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other. This project is also the asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that Other in its precarious Subject-ivity" (280–281). It is in the government controlling what the subjects know, and in the subjects realizing what they do or do not know, that we are able to understand and begin to resist our subjugation in modern times. Yet often a nationalist response to colonization "becomes the particular manifestation of a much more general problem, namely, the problem of the bourgeois-rationalist conception of knowledge, established in the post-Enlightenment period of European intellectual history, as the moral and epistemic foundation for a supposedly universal framework of thought which perpetuates, in a real and not merely a metaphorical sense, a colonial domination" (Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought* 11). In this sense, advanced knowledge and a modern epistemology become the tools with which structures of domination become perpetuated at the hands of different people in positions of power.

Given this context, we can examine how the Japanese imperial government constructed and normalized its subjects through the assignation of modern gender roles: men were to fight for expansion as masculinized soldiers, while women were to reproduce and nurture future, imperial subjects as Good Wives and Wise Mothers. For the state, gender was an organizing force for constructing good, imperial subjects fit for a modern empire. Furthermore, in order to educate such subjects to fulfill their assigned roles, the crucial beginnings of imperialization had to be administered in the home by the women, who were to contribute to the empire by being modern mothers and daughters who possessed a thinking mind as well as an able, (re)productive body. This modernity under imperialism thus reorganized the social institutions of education, work, marriage, family, and citizenship, as well as in women's roles within them.

What is more, women served as the measure for progress in the constant change of imperial modernity. Chatterjee has described, for the context of nineteenth century Bengal (wherein efforts for social reform were bifurcated into those by modernist and nationalist groups), how women were cast into the role of maintaining the inner, essential identity of the nation, of defending it from colonizing forces. Specifically, "The home was the principal site for expressing the spiritual quality of the national culture and women must take the main responsibility of protecting and nurturing this quality" (Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution" 243). Thus the inner, spiritual identity of the nation was valorized over its outer, material identity, but this valorization also distinguished between the Westernization of men and women in the new, modern nation, while also creating a new patriarchy to which the women were subjected ("The Nationalist Resolution" 244). Beyond the category of gender as well, this nationalist modernization led to "the failure of the Indian nation to effectively include within its body the whole of the demographic mass which it claimed to represent" ("The Nationalist Resolution" 251).

Meyda Yeğenoğlu also has discussed the various solutions (with varying degrees of "success") at which many nations have arrived when answering "the Women's Question" specifically as well as the broader question of how to achieve three "'isms': secularism, nationalism, and modernism" (138) under colonialism and imperialism. In her analysis of the figure of the veiled, Oriental woman using feminist and postcolonial theories, she critically examines the role of women in such processes: they are exploited by men in power both to ground the evolving nation in the traditional and to embody the proof of the country's progress toward the modern. At the same time, they are prevented from being influenced by "'excessive' Westernization" (Yeğenoğlu 129), ensuring that they pass on the authentic, national culture to future generations while fulfilling their roles as mothers. (Of course, they

must become neither too promiscuous nor too politically literate in the formation of the modern state.) Such a mottled modernity, with its double standards for marginalized groups, was the case under Japanese imperialism as well.

Needless to say, individuals' lived experiences of this modernization, with its complexities and many facets, depended on their sociopolitical contexts. Furthermore, this subjectification by empire involved both benefits and losses, resistance and acceptance—a part of the daily lives of individual subjects. These were, as de Certeau theorizes in the two volumes of *The Practice of Everyday Life*, daily tactics of both living and resistance, even if they were not debated explicitly at the forefront of the subjects' minds.

Performativity of Gender and "Womanhood" Through Writing(s)

We must also bear in mind that "woman" was not a stable category under Japanese imperialism (or in any other context), one not to be taken for granted as a given identity that a person comfortably embodies from birth to death. Simone de Beauvoir's famous words aside, the social construction of an individual's gender takes place over the entire course of her life, from her days as a child through her interactions with her parents and guardians, through socialization within the community and educational institutions, through divisions of labor in both private and public spheres, and through decisions of marriage and having a family, often a reinforcement of the heteronormative practices of the union between those constructed as husband and wife.[6] Through it all, individuals are managed by social institutions that reinforce heteronormative constructions of "man" and "woman", constructions that marginalize performative acts and identities of gender that fall between and outside of that normative

[6] It is not clear whether the "becoming" can be of one's choosing, however—while the "being" is neither natural nor biological, an individuals' agency may still be at odds with social forces: "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman." –Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*

binary. These individuals live and die as subjects under a government, their lives and sexuality shaped by state and society.

As this project encompasses literary and historical analyses of a wide range, its goal is to describe the multiple subjectivities expressed by the writers, not to collapse them into one representative, homogenizing figure. Its analysis is built on the idea that gender as a performative "constitut[es] the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed" (Butler 33). The project examines fictional and nonfictional writings as such "performatives," "an incessant and repeated action of some sort" (143). The project is also a collection of multiple literary biographies; and as Ray Monk states in his discussion of philosophical biographies, "there is an important sense in which to understand what somebody says is to do something other than to evaluate it" (3–4)—and in such a spirit, the project abstracts, by analyzing multiple texts, the figures of both the women writers themselves, as well as the women and men who appear in the writings as either figments of the imagination or expressions of what the writers thought to be the reality of their everyday lives and surroundings.

This project examines cultural productions of various types as "writings under imperialism"—what we might consider "classic literature", such as novels, short stories, and poetry; nonfiction works such as magazine articles and essays; travelogues, which record the experiences of writers moving through various parts of the empire, encountering what is foreign while being constructed as a "domestic" or "foreign" imperial subjects. These texts, read alongside imperial government documents that provide historical and political context, serve as the act and product of writing, a type of gender performative. This project also takes its cue from works such as Leo T.S. Ching's *Becoming "Japanese"* (2001), Emily Roxworthy's *The Spectacle of Japanese American Trauma* (2008), and Robert Tierney's

Tropics of Savagery (2010) to examine the construction and performativity of racialized ethnicity as it intersects with gender.

As historian Joan Scott asserts, "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (1067). She goes on to say that, in considering gender, we cannot limit our discussions to issues of the household, family, and kinship systems—the "gendered" topics related to the intimate and private spheres—but must also turn our intellectual gaze to the labor market, education, and the polity (1068), for it is precisely through the process of discussing these issues that gender is constructed, rather than given constructions of gender serving as the starting point (or reasons) for those discussions. It is in this vein that I examine a range of social institutions that together constitute the self and the imperial subject within multiple spheres.

Orientalism, Relationality, and Categories

Together with the gender identities constructed within and without literary works, this project examines the relationality that is part and parcel of constructing one's identity. The starting point for this relationality was often the binaries of colonizer/colonized and *naichi*/*gaichi* that simultaneously reduced and revealed the more complex hierarchies of power within the Japanese empire. Edward Said has discussed this need for the figure of "the Other" in recognizing and affirming one's own identity. As much as "the Orient" is reproduced as a discursive entity, the figure of "the Oriental" is that which enables the Westerner to establish his own identity as one who is *not* the Other—though without the critical examination of his own privileged positionality.

Historian Stefan Tanaka has applied these ideas to his discussion of Japan and its establishment of itself as a modern nation-state, highlighting the reciprocal nature of the relationship. In discussing the way *tōyōshi* (東洋史, or, history of the Orient) was constructed as a means for Japan to engage in dialogue with the West, Tanaka remarks:

> Although Said depicts the discourse on the Orient as a one-way relationship, the Occident over the Orient, the potential (or myth) of a reciprocal relation, the possibility of a dialogic exchange, provides a powerful motivating force to 'be like the West' or to 'modernize.' One does not merely extract from the object, for that object might incorporate parts of the external discourse, or it might develop—or try to develop—a voice of its own. (22)

Tanaka's *Japan's Orient* (1993) thus deals with the way the Japanese nation-state leveraged a constructed history and the nation of China in building an Orientalist relationship within East Asia, that which enabled Japan to reaffirm its modernity (or, at least, its status as being further along on its way to getting there).

As works such as Tierney's *Tropics of Savagery* have done, this project delineates the ways the internalization of these binaries emerge in writings in the Japanese empire, documenting the relationship from both ends of the spectrum (in the dialogic exchange to which Tanaka points). It also follows in the steps of anthropologist Fernando Coronil, who "[sought] room for a decentered poetics that may help us imagine geohistorical categories for a nonimperial world" (52). Coronil discusses how the Orient/Occident binary and the ethnocentric hierarchy based on cultural difference are extensions of imperialism and colonialism—and the postcolonialism now followed by neocolonialism (68). Maps, for example, are representations of both geography and history, with the act and product of labeling both reifying and eliding differences. What we must do, then, is to recognize the implications of each representation's involvement in history, to be accountable for its political effects, and to overturn the polarity of the Self-and-Other (73). In this project I thus identify the relational constructions of categories of gender and identity based on Orientalist binaries,

and I also call to question the types of labeling—"Japanese", feminist, nationalist, sinophone—that lack referents in reality, like figures and landmarks on maps.

Writing and Identity

We can also see that modernization and imperialism engendered debate for the individuals subjectified by it in their identity construction, within their own minds and out in the open with others, particularly in the form of writings: a site in which one's thoughts are articulated and, if only for a moment, crystallized on paper and open to others' scrutiny. This project examines such works that capture those debates and focuses on how the writers and their writings depicted daily life and thought under Japanese imperialism and modernization. By analyzing depictions of women's lives—in the Japanese metropole and the colonies, both real and imagined—the project sheds light on how the modernization of various social institutions that manage the lives of imperial subjects throughout a normative life course under imperialism (specifically education, labor, marriage, family, and citizenship) influenced women's hopes and ideas of identity and happiness.

In arguing that women writers negotiated the contradictions of their subjectivity through their writing(s), I focus on the way the choice to write, to use the medium of the written word for the act of self-expression, was itself significant for constructing women's identities. Contemporary works such as the anthology *This Bridge Called My Back* and Gloria Anzaldúa's own *Borderlands/*La Frontera*: The New Mestiza* demonstrate the integrality of *writing* in constructing and asserting one's identity and experiences. While scholars and intellectuals such as Mikhail Bakhtin, Henry Giroux, and bell hooks have theorized the relationship between identity and the task (and the teaching and learning) of writing, fewer projects in literary studies examine explicitly the role of writing in identity construction.

Traise Yamamoto's *Masking Selves*, *Making Subjects* provides an exceptional and insightful examination of the relationship between the performance and perception of the Japanese-American female body, in particular the way such exchanges (and what she calls "masking") took place in various cultural texts. She also states that her

> study grounds itself in the awkward juncture between two claims: that identity is a highly contingent and constructed category, one that for marginalized subjects must necessarily reference the ways in which the individual body is marked and circulates in the social and discursive arenas; and the somewhat contradictory assertion that for all the language of postmodern subjectivity, there remains a place for the self, that which is often rather condescendingly referred to as the product of a backwards humanism. (Yamamoto 3)

Yamamoto's work thus opens up a space within which to explore writing(s) as a process of teasing out the strands of identity construction, determined from both within and without.

Slightly removed from literary studies, the field of English as a Second Language (ESL) (and its pedagogy and sociolinguistics) includes a number of recent studies that point to the importance of writing in one's navigation through linguistic and cultural instability (as was the case under Japanese imperialism, for both the government's language policies that marginalized the colonized people's own language and forced Japanese language education, as well as the imperial efforts made toward the modernity project that constructed cultural traditions in order to move away from them). Particular attention has been paid, in the field of language learning and teaching, to the role of writing assignments in identity construction: ethnographic research about ESL learners has argued for the importance of ESL students to have the opportunity to practice "autobiographical" writing in the classroom, in order to negotiate their process of assimilation into their new, English-speaking environment. For example, Katie Van Sluys analyzes how the writings of a young girl "become a powerful tool in trying on new identities" (179). In the study she analyzes the writing assignments of a girl who has moved to the United States from Eastern Europe, arguing that writing provides a site

for the young student to define herself in relation to her teacher, classmates, and family members. These "written performances" thus capture "a young girl not only navigating life in transition by writing about her experiences, but using her life experiences, her understanding of what it means to write, and various writing contexts to define who she is within her social worlds" (177). Similarly, Gloria Park's study on adult English Language Learners in the United States participating in a Cultural and Linguistic Autobiography project as part of the academic writing program of a community college also takes up the idea of "writing as a way of knowing" (343), in order to examine "the concept of writer identity (i.e. autobiographical self, discoursal self, and self as author)" (336). Writing thus becomes a key performative for those struggling to define a linguistic and cultural self.

One trend that is significant among these works is that the focus of scholarship examining the relationship between writing and identity is on writings by subjects who are, in a sense, marginalized—as though the role of writing in identity construction is particular to those who are of a disadvantaged group (such as language learners, women, or colonized subjects). The markedness of, for example, ESL students belies the assumption that normative individuals (people who are *not* writing in foreign languages, people who are male, people who are from the metropole) do not need to engage in the act of writing in order to construct their identities. While my project does not address this question, it does focus on the idea that, particularly for women (and women *writers*) under Japanese imperialism, writing served as a significant mechanism through which they constructed their identities, performed those identities as female subjects of the empire for others to read, and negotiated the contradictions inherent in that imperial subjectivity. In conversation with scholars such as Yamamoto and

others, I provide an analysis of gender within the Japanese empire, bringing to the fore the realization that these women were living their lives as their own selves.[7]

Methodology

This multiregional project examines writings from Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria and their relationships to structural changes through modernization, putting into conversation multilingual archival sources to penetrate linguistic and ideological borders and contribute to the current scholarship an intercolonial study on gender in the Japanese empire. To be sure, the primary sources from the different parts of the empire by no means have "equal opportunity"; I have consulted more sources in Japanese than those in other languages. More writings, and of certain types, are available from certain parts of the colonies as well. The project nonetheless puts into conversation texts written in various languages, originating from various parts of the empire, that address similar issues of modern gender roles.

The project analyzes texts such as novels, short stories, poetry, essays, and travelogues from throughout the empire, in order to follow the textual conversations, however asynchronous, that constructed imperial female subjectivities across the empire. For instance, the debate in the 1910s between writers Yosano Akiko and Hiratsuka Raichō over government support for motherhood in Japan provides one example of the opportunities that writing provided women for exchanging ideas and political commentary, a forum for discursively reconstructing female subjectivities in the empire (Kanō 1990; Molony 1990; Rodd 1991). Women writers' works for and about women also created a corresponding readership, seen in the popularity of women's magazines and mass media (Sato 2003; Silverberg 2009). The

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[7] Another work, Megan Matchinske's *Writing, Gender, and State in Early Modern England*, also offers literary analyses of texts that construct the writers' female selves. While the historical and geographic context of its analysis differs from this particular study, Matchinske's work offers insight into how subjects' relationships to institutions such as church and government.

project thus sheds light on the negotiation of female imperial subjectivity through literary analyses of such texts and the sociohistorical contexts of the debates to which they contributed.

I examine writings by women who published mainly during Japanese imperialism (e.g., Kang Kyŏng-ae, Xiao Hong) as well as women who continued to write after decolonization (e.g., Hani Motoko, Yang Ch'ien-ho). Through analyses of writings that are published in various forums (such as Japan's Four Great Women's Magazines of the Prewar Era: *Fujin gahō* (*Ladies' Illustrated*), *Fujin kōron* (*Ladies' Public Opinion*), *Shufu no tomo* (*Friend of the Housewife*), and *Fujin kurabu* (*Ladies' Club*)), I trace these asynchronous conversations on gender by identifying references to contemporary publications about women's roles, such as Taiwan's Yang Ch'ien-Ho and her reference to Japanese writer Ōsako Rinko's *Musume jidai* (*Girls' Era*). Taiwanese magazines such as *Taiwan furenjie* (*Taiwan Ladies' World*) and *Fujin to katei* (*Lady and the Home*) also published writings previously published in the metropole, generating responses in subsequent issues. An examination of such texts points to how certain gender roles were normalized and perpetuated over others. For example, while Japanese magazines often featured articles on entertaining and other matters of the middle and upper class, Korean magazines—such as *Shin gajŏng* (*The New Home*) and *Shin yŏsŏng* (*New Woman*)—often discussed farming and education directed toward the working class (this despite shared publishers), differentiating between women from the Japanese metropole and women from colonial Korea.[8]

To contextualize these literary texts historically and politically, the project addresses the structural changes made by the Japanese imperial government, such as those that placed

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[8] Of course such differentiation still happens with the various versions of magazines published in different countries today (such as Asian versions of *Vogue* and *Real Simple*), an effect of the market, marketing, and readership across regions.

limitations on women's rights in the empire to initiate divorce or called for more strict regulations and punishment for women who sought or had abortions. Through analyses of these texts I point to how the construction of womanhood from multiple directions—as writers critiqued, questioned, and articulated shifting gender roles in fiction and nonfiction works—took place through exchanges of ideas that must be considered in the context of the empire as a whole. Analyses of literary works, magazine articles, and government documents from the imperial continuum in relation to each other enable discussions of how women of the empire negotiated modern femininity and feminist thoughts.

Chapter Outline

Each chapter of the project explores a different social institution related to the construction of modern womanhood in the Japanese empire, following the normative life course of individual women: education, labor, marriage, family, and citizenship.

Chapter 1 explores the social institution of education, looking at how the government defined access to education for its various subjects, and how the subjects themselves constructed their identities within that institution through writing. Specifically, the chapter examines essays written by students in the puppet state of Manchukuo in the 1940s. In analyzing these essays that depict the students' everyday lives, the chapter argues that the students, through the act of writing and using their understanding of "proper" Japanese language, constructed the labels of educated/uneducated, Japanese/non-Japanese, and fortunate/unfortunate, thus categorizing themselves and those around them by the use (and discussion) of language.

Chapter 2 explores work, both the labor of the working class and the bourgeois notion of profession as entered into by women in the 20th century, as more middle-class women

joined the workforce. Through a focus on works by Taiwanese writer Yang Ch'ien-Ho (楊千鶴, b. 1921) as well as a discussion of Korean writer Kang Kyŏng-ae (강경애), the chapter examines the changing definitions of the female worker in the empire and how it related to female subjectivity as laborer and professional. While Yang's texts, such as her articles in the ethnographic journal *Minzoku Taiwan*, discussed ideas about work as a means of defining a modern, professional self, Kang's work reveals the impossibility of constructing a self as a laborer under Japanese imperialism. In assertions of workers' rights or women's rights to receive equal pay or become respected professionals, how did the construction of modern feminine identities both resist imperial subjugation and also perpetuate Japan's modernization project built on the exploitation, racialization, and marginalization of non-normative ethnic (and other minoritized) subjects? The chapter argues that the rhetorical promise of self-definition through work is both a contradiction and an impossibility within imperial modernity.

Chapter 3 explores how marriage was constructed and defined under Japanese modernization and imperialism. It discusses the interactions, convergences, and divergences of feminist thoughts from the constructions of East and West, focusing on theorizations of marriage and happiness in works by Japanese writer and educator Hani Motoko (羽仁もと子, 1873–1957). The chapter examines Hani's work *Fūfuron* 『夫婦論』, her treatise on marriage published in 1927, which was influenced in particular by ideas of Western liberalism and Hani's faith in Christianity and encourages women to have a relationship not of subordination, but of symbiosis with their male spouses. Yet her theory reinforces the ideology in which subordination merely transforms into an already ascribed role for a woman to fill as a wife in a heteronormative society. Chapter 3 thus argues that ideas of the "self"—self-definition, self-improvement, etc.—were, again, constructions that gave a name to an

impossibility, for its existence was untenable from the outset within Japanese imperial modernity.

Chapter 4 explores family and the various discussions surrounding the modernization of that unit of social organization, paying particular attention to the sociohistorical context of the empire as a model for the institution. In the Japanese metropole, the feminist movement (and its move to create more freedoms for women to become mothers or not) was derailed as Japan moved toward a pro-natalist policy to support mobilization for World War II, which framed advocates of abortion as being against the empire (Mackie 7). Similar rhetoric was also leveraged in other parts of the empire. This chapter identifies the ways in which family was both an affirmation of, and a challenge against, Japanese imperialism—namely, in the choice of what kind of family to start and nurture—or not. Through an examination of works by Korean writer Jang Dŏk-jo (장덕조, 1914–2003), this chapter argues that Jang offered an alternative to the imperial emphasis on the family system by deconstructing labels of "family" and instead advocating for communities of women that overturned gender hierarchies and modern systems of patriarchy.

Chapter 5 explores citizenship, especially in relation to the Manchukuo puppet state established in 1932, through close readings of works by writers Xiao Hong and Yosano Akiko, and considers the definition of subjectivity for women who lived in territories that were a part of the empire and yet were ethnically marginalized. In the years leading up to the end of World War II and the subsequent decolonization and repatriation movements throughout the empire, the question of loyalty and the notion of a diaspora—a people displaced from their own homeland—complicated the works written by writers of the empire, creating rifts among those with strong notions of either support for, or resistance against, the empire. In particular, the idea of travel and the freedom of mobility present points at which to

explore the institution of citizenship and colonial modernity. The chapter argues that, rather than through notions of "citizen" or "subject", the idea of mobility provides a more productive site in which to explore subjects' ability to find belonging in their own homelands.

Here, a word must be said about the selection and significance of the texts and their pairings. While there are countless more texts that can be analyzed to bring light to the issues of modern social institutions discussed in this project, the analyzed texts point to particular theoretical concerns. In Chapter 1, the analysis of student essays legitimizes those texts as cultural productions that speak to the influence of the educational institution on subject formation, while simultaneously revealing the political problematics of the selection of all-Japanese essays as the contest's winners. In Chapter 2 I juxtapose writings about "work" from two strikingly different positionalities—Taiwanese middle class and Korean working class—in order to scratch the surface of the vast array of such political and economic positions that women writers (and the subject matters about which they wrote) occupied. In Chapter 3 I deliberately put into conversation a Japanese writer with writers from "the West", in order to bring to light the influence of Western liberal feminism on the development of theories on marriage under modern Japanese capitalism. In Chapter 4 I examine writings in different languages by a single author, in order to address the question of the influence of the "colonizer's language" on the outputs of a writer. How does the medium of the writing influence its production and consumption? Finally in Chapter 5, I tackle texts by two prominent female writers from the war era—Xiao Hong of Manchuria and Yosano Akiko of Japan. If one had to choose representative female writers of the era from their respective regions, these writers would top the lists. Yet I see the comparison of their two particular texts not as comparing "apples and oranges", but rather of putting into conversation writings that both deal with mobility and belonging. In works by such "representative" writers, how do we

interpret the negotiation of gender, race, and class that appears therein? These are the issues and questions that this particular set of texts and their pairings raise.

Conclusion

In 2010, Tōhō released a film titled *Flowers* (『FLOWERS—フラワーズ—』), directed by Koizumi Norihiro and featuring six commercially successful actresses of the day (Aoi Yū, Suzuki Kyōka, Takeuchi Yūko, Tanaka Rena, Nakama Yukie, Hirosue Ryōko). The storylines of *Flowers* spanned temporally from 1936 to contemporary times, dealing with such topics as marriage (wanted and unwanted), pregnancy (unexpected), loss of a spouse, and dangerous childbirth. The film is 110 minutes of product placement featuring Shiseido hair care products, celebrating the life choices made by the characters portrayed by the six actresses. The association of the flower metaphor with femininity, beauty, marriage, and motherhood remains strong in modern, capitalist Japan—and what is more, the film's title alone indicates it, without having to have any substantive relation to its content.[9]

Artist and gender studies scholar Kurihara Yōko, in her preface to the biography of Hashimoto Kenzō—the husband of the 20th century Japanese poet and historian Takamure Itsue (高群逸枝, 1894–1964)—writes that the act of living is not about its theory, but about the question of its practice. In that biography of Takamure, Kurihara theorizes the reality of love and sex as it was lived by a couple that experienced changing gender roles, increasing privilege for emerging women writers from the educated class, and life in an empire that was also slowly being defeated in war. Despite the history of the couple's marriage—which included several instances of Takamure leaving Hashimoto, only to be brought back by him

[9] Thanks go to Juliana Choi for reminding me of the existence of this film.

each time to their home—what Kurihara describes is a picture of a couple that achieves a kind of *balance*, something that might also be called "marital happiness".

This project ultimately identifies the ways in which individuals, in their everyday lives, negotiate their subjectivity under imperialism and modernity. We may succumb to it, embrace it, resist it, denounce it. We can do all of these things in combination, with or without knowing. Often what individuals experience in their everyday lives is an immediate sense of pain, suffering, fulfillment, happiness. José Esteban Muñoz has described, in his work on queer of color performativity, the ways in which individuals can "disidentify" with mainstream, homogenizing culture in order to transform it (and themselves) for their own cultural and political purposes. A similar kind of "disidentification" can be identified among the writings analyzed here, in which women negotiate their gender expectations from the positionality to which they are assigned, but through day-to-day actions that pave the way toward their own understanding—and living—of happiness. While Mimi Thi Nguyen's discussion of freedom (that which is given to Vietnamese refugees victimized by war and need for refuge) as "a beguiling gift, the promise of freedom" (32) parallels similar promises made to subjects under Japanese imperialism (wherein modernization liberated them into new constraints of subjectification), we can also recognize and explore how such "beguiling" contradictions are negotiated on an individual level. Women writers may have had to resolve their conflicts with the false promise of modern liberation by empire; but their writings stem from the collection of moments in which they lived—and survived—every single day.

Questions of gender—as it is performed each day, every day, even today—are inseparable from either the history of East Asia or its contemporary social conditions. As political issues such as reparations for Comfort Women from the Pacific War, territorial disputes over Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands and Takeshima/Dokdo, and the reliance on nuclear

power plants hark back to not only East Asian imperialism but also to relations between East and West before and after the Cold War, we see how imperialist power relations within various parts of the Japanese empire persist and have transformed. While sociopolitical conditions certainly have changed, this project points to the continued significance of everyday experiences and their articulations as one way to resolve the conflict between subjectification and agency. The women's writings that I analyze point to the need to examine such contradictions that they raise.

Chapter 1—Student, Learner:

Writing and Language in Establishing Imperial Identities

Introduction

In the memoir of her youth, titled *Hoshigarimasen katsumade wa* (『欲しがりません勝つまでは』, *I Shall Not Want, Not Until We Win*), Japanese writer Tanabe Seiko (田辺聖子, b. 1928) recounts her teenage years in 1940s Osaka as a student at the girls' school.[1] She remembers her fervent desire to serve her country, even as a young student:「ナチスのヒットラーユーゲンの少年少女に負けないように、私たちも祖国につくすのだ！」/ "Like the young boys and girls of Nazi Germany's *Hitler-Jugend*, we must give our all to our homeland!" (9).[2] She quotes from her own introduction that she wrote for the literary magazine she and her friend produced together in their youth:「敏捷に、持続性を持った、立派な女学生となって、国家の要求する頼もしい国民になりましょう」/ "Let us become outstanding female students who are nimble and have perseverance, so that we may become trustworthy national subjects desired by our nation" (137). This piece is just one of the many earnest and often passionate pieces that Tanabe wrote during her years as a student, writings that mark her, in retrospect, as the bud of the writer that she would later become.

Tanabe's sentiments no doubt were shared by many other students of her generation, who grew up and were educated in the Japanese school system during the war years. In particular, she and the other students at the girls' school spent the 1940s learning to be imperial subjects who lived with very little and contributed to the war effort by filling such

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[1] I use "girls' school" to refer to 高等女学校 (*kōtō jogakkō*), also known, more simply, as 女学校 (*jogakkō*).
[2] English translations of Japanese texts in this chapter are my own.

roles as emergency nurses at the local hospitals (104). The title of her memoir—"*I shall not want"*—thus indicates the kind of *gaman* (我慢, to bear patiently) and endurance people were taught to exercise during the war, giving up so much for the hope of a greater return in the form of Japanese military victories and the continued growth of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Yet the everyday experience and living-out of these sentiments were conflicted: for adults and certainly for children, the teaching to make sacrifices and to be made aware of those very sacrifices continuously created an environment in which internalization and external performance of imperial ideologies were often at odds with each other. In the case of Tanabe, we question whether she was aware of the performative nature of her writings as a youth being educated in a Japanese, imperial institution of education.

These imperial ideologies of sacrifice for the emperor are problematic to say the least, but even more so—and quite disturbing—when they are taught to youth as part of the empire's educational curricula. Particularly for young girls, because they were not to be sent to the battlefront the way their male counterparts could foresee, the task of displaying their internalization of imperial, female subjectivity took on different dimensions. This chapter looks at student writings that reflect the young writers' learning and internalization of various imperial ideologies, among them that of *gozoku kyōwa* (五族協和)—the idea of the five ethnic groups of Northeast Asia living together in harmony (those five ethnicities being Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Manchurian, and Mongolian). The chapter analyzes writings by students attending schools in the occupied territory of Manchukuo—specifically, essays describing students' ordinary lives and thoughts that exemplify the method of *tsudzuri-kata* (綴り方). This analysis reveals how the educational institution more broadly, and the composition-based writing curriculum more specifically, presented a formative force in how young imperial subjects understood and constructed their own identities. Through this

discussion, the chapter argues that the performative of writing within education led to students' construction and internalization of binary labels such as educated/ignorant, dominant/subordinate, and fortunate/unfortunate. Furthermore, the students' gender, ethnic, and class identities were constructed in relation to, and along power hierarchies formed with, others around them, thus affecting their positionalities within the imperial frameworks of inclusion and exclusion.

From early on within this context, the students at these educational institutions (the original inhabitants, children of Japanese colonial settlers in Manchukuo, children of immigrants and refugees) practiced (via language use and writing) how to describe and mark themselves—and others—as "Japanese" or "non-Japanese". Through this practice and their perception of everyday life in the puppet state, they also came to see themselves and others as happy/fortunate or unhappy/unfortunate. While they did not always overlap consistently, the binaries of male/female and of normative/non-normative (and privileged/oppressed) gendered identities were themselves constructed to maintain social hierarchies that favored the rich, male, (adult,) Japanese colonizers. The social institution of education and its curricula on writing, composition, and language (particularly in the colonies) thus helped to establish (imperial and personal) identities and hierarchies among different nationalities and ethnicities. In learning to write—about their day-to-day lives, their thoughts about the war, their interactions with "the Other"—children attending schools during the Japanese imperialist period relationally established and cemented their notions of the self; they constructed their ideas about happiness and privilege (though both were frequently and uncritically misidentified by the writers) in relation to the privileged, or the oppressed, "Other"—even though the students may not have recognized the colonial nature of that oppression and their positionality within it. For the essays from Manchukuo that I discuss in this chapter in

particular, whereas male Japanese students often wrote about war and military accomplishments of soldiers they knew—or hoped to become—female Japanese studies studying in Manchukuo constructed their gender role as a "Japanese girl" in their writings as one that extended helping hands to those whom they marked as being less fortunate than they, particularly along class and ethnic lines.

Scholars have discussed the significance of literature (and the reading of it) in the construction of gender among children as young as preschool, if not earlier.[3] This chapter in turn highlights the writings by students themselves as being "literature", and it turns the attention to that unique genre and the influence of its production on gender construction and subject formation in the imperial subjects' youth. In other words, the output of writing is not a reflection of the gender construction; rather, the act of writing itself is the performative, a part of the process of constructing the students' gender (and other) identities. Furthermore, recalling Tanabe's words from the beginning of the chapter, we can consider how her fame as a writer in the postwar years places her childhood writings quoted in *Hoshigarimasen* in a different light: perhaps only in hindsight we recognize the "talent" of a future professional writer. Yet it we must also remember that Tanabe's training (and later career) as a writer began in the Japanese imperial education system, much like it did for many other writers who learned to write in schools and later became known for their written works.[4] It becomes

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[3] Although in the field of American (rather than Japanese) literature, Barbara Chatton has discussed the exposure of three- and four-year-olds in preschool to gender issues through picture books in her chapter, "Picture Books for Preschool Children: Exploring Gender Issues With Three- and Four-Year-Olds", included in *Beauty, Brains, and Brawn: The Construction of Gender in Children's Literature* (ed. Susan Lehr), although that volume is interested more in pedagogy than in the critical analysis of gender construction through reading children's literature. (It also emphasizes more the role of "authors, illustrators, publishers, and teachers" (143) with less attention paid to the role of parents and children (the readers themselves)).

[4] This, of course, is the case still for many professional writers who earn money for their writings as adults—writers who had access to an education system that taught them how to read and write at an early age. At the same time, however, this is only an assumption that good writers must have been

crucial, then, to examine the impact of the imperial writing curricula on this generation of writers, and how it influenced their works—however early—as well as their sense of self as "Japanese" subjects. As I discuss below, in Japan in the years since the Meiji Restoration, and since just before the 1910s in particular, educational institutions taught their students how to write through composition assignments, most notably using the method of *tsudzuri-kata*.

Tsudzuri-kata, upon which the curriculum for composition was based since before the beginning of the Taishō era in 1912, was significant for its emphasis on developing the students' abilities to express themselves—their thoughts, their identities, their everyday lives—through writing, gradually and step-by-step over the course of their years spent in institutions of education. As Louis Althusser writes, institutions of education are part of the Ideological State Apparatus that constructs subjects within societies. More importantly, education, as philosopher Jacques Rancière writes, was a method of constructing the binary of knowledge and ignorance, power relations, and notions of advancement, progress, and modernity. We can see, therefore, that what was the primary method for teaching composition in Japanese imperial schools from the early 1910s well into the 1950s was instrumental both in forming the foundations of the writing skills developed by the young writers— who would grow up to publish their works during the war and after—as well as in simultaneously constructing their subjectivity in imperial Japan. I also assert that for female students, learning to write was itself a significant part of not just their education but also of their identity formation, for it endowed them with a skill that produced a testament to their internalization of imperial ideology. As James Fujii states (referencing Foucault) in his discussion of subjecthood in modern Japanese literature, "Authors (like other subjects) are not sources of creation but are themselves discursively created" (23). Constructions of subject and modern

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equipped with a high quality education; not all "education" is equal, and writers come from backgrounds with a wide range of educational experiences.

literary authorship thus occur in tandem, a relation that is equally applicable to student writers. We thus see an inextricable link among imperialism, education, and identity formation for female student subjects, which I explore below.

In that exploration, however, we must ask how we come to describe or label various cultural productions, related to the labeling and categorization of individuals as discussed in the Introduction: What qualifies as women's writings? What qualifies as Japanese literature? What is "proper" Japan language, and who is a proper Japanese subject? What, also, becomes categorized as non-Japanese literature, based on language or the writer's identity, such as in the case of Sinophone literature? Like the chapters that follow, this chapter responds to some of these questions by examining how the content of female students' writings is gendered in certain ways, all the while it reaffirms Japanese racial and ethnic hierarchies. They often deal with elements such as domesticity (and the figure of the domestic help), displaying kindness and help to others, and other "feminized" concerns. We see that even at a young age, these female students in schools under Japanese imperialism wrestled, knowingly or not, with questions of how to construct and articulate their identities on paper.

Education and the Construction of Ignorance—Perceived, Willful, or Deliberate

Although education is a positive benefit to society and its inhabitants, we must also consider how the social institution becomes a means of exclusion and organization of subjects along a hierarchy; the institution of education itself constructs subjects as well as notions of power, knowledge, and ignorance, as we see in Althusser's discussion of schools as a place for teaching society's dominant ideologies. Raymond Williams also discusses the notion of "educated"—a condition that, at least initially, was seen to be a result of adults' efforts to rear children, to guide them, to bring them up, and to foster them. It was not, therefore, related to

such ideals as higher intellectual capacity or the figure of "Good Wife, Wise Mother" (良妻賢母), with which it came to be associated in the late 19th century in East Asia. Yet the notion of being "educated" gradually took on a meaning implying immersion in, and successful completion of, organized teaching and instruction. Williams asks, now with "universal education" (at least in certain parts of the universe), who is considered *uneducated*? Or *properly* educated, or *half*-educated? This also leads to the question: who is considered *intelligent*? (Williams 112).

The idea of education itself, furthermore, is one that inherently constructs the binary of knowledge and ignorance. As Rancière notes in *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, in the relationship between teacher and student, the attempt to have the students "understand" is what creates "the division between the groping animal and the learned little man, between common sense and science" (8); it creates the "hierarchical world of intelligence" to which the teacher belongs, from where she invites the students to join, and to where some students can easily transport themselves while others take more time (but will, eventually, according to teleological theories of education). In fact, it is in trying to get someone to understand what someone else already does, that we come to create that knowledge/ignorance binary.

In contrast to the construction of this hierarchy, Rancière argues that intellectual emancipation is the consciousness of the inherent equality among people, "of that reciprocity that alone permits intelligence to be realized by verification" (39). Just as surely as anyone can learn his mother tongue, anyone can learn—and teach—any other subject. In other words,

those who believe in the existence of inferior and superior intelligences are those who are "stultified".[5]

Given Rancière's assertion of equality in intellect (based on the ability to acquire a first language), for the students being educated in Manchukuo—a place where the theory of the five ethnicities living in peace prevails (though only in theory)—the notions of living in a multiethnic community among *many* languages (多言語) and *other* languages (他言語) present interesting questions about what the educational institution can do for its young subjects, as they use different languages to depict their lives in such a society.[6] As we shall see in the students' essays, language learning and composition writing exemplify the ideas about power and imperialism that these young writers internalize through education.

Japanese Imperial Education

As is the case today (in Japan, the United States, and elsewhere), what was taught in schools provided the content framework upon which diplomatic relations and social hierarchies were built in imperial Japan. For example, Stefan Tanaka notes how *tōyōshi* (東洋史, or, the history of the Orient) was a form of circular scholarship that emerged in Japan during the Meiji era that "was based on a prescientific philosophy of history that incorporated previous images or notions about Asia as well as the West" (193). The intellectual output of *tōyōshi* scholars was then

> served up to Japanese in their elementary school curriculum. Because early twentieth-century Japanese elementary school textbooks were the products of the editorial Division of the Ministry of Education, they are a fair indication of

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[5] This idea is now common among parents who incorporate, for example, psychologist Carol Dweck's research of encouraging a *growth* mindset over a *fixed* mindset: we are not born with inherent talents, but rather must develop them over time.

[6] Both words, interestingly enough, are pronounced *ta-gengo* (たげんご) in Japanese. *Ta* (多) means "many" or "multiple", while *ta* (他) means "other". *Gengo* means "language".

> the government's sense of what all Japanese citizens should know. (Tanaka 201)

Thus in the early 1900s, *tōyōshi* scholars constructed a "history" of the Orient that was then used by the government to convince the Japanese people that, for example, China was past its prime and that China (and by extension the rest of East Asia) needed Japan's guidance to become modern, since Japan already had done so. History—and the teaching of history—in other words, was a construction used to convince and coerce subjects into living in, and perceiving, the world around them in ways that the government saw fit, particularly under an imperialist ideology.

Of course, the Meiji Restoration that began in 1868 had altered Japan's various social systems such as class, landownership, military, and universal education (Hane 11); but the new universal education system (along with reforms in other areas) neither delivered on the promise of modernization as liberation nor affected practical changes: attendance was not enforced at schools, and tuition was often too expensive for many people to afford—12.5 to 50 sen per child, per month. Schooling was required for three to four years, a difficult requirement to fulfill for most families (Hane 20–21). In other words, although Japanese subjects in the metropole received an education of some sort, not all education received was equal. The education institution thus managed to instill support for, and devotion to, Japanese imperialism, while also managing to maintain social inequality in the metropole. The institution of inequality thus went hand-in-hand with fueling imperialism.

This simultaneous instillation of imperial devotion and maintenance of inequality continued throughout the Taishō and into the Shōwa eras. The interwar period between 1919 and 1939 proved a complicated era for many countries, with Japan being no exception, particularly with respect to the use of education as proof of a nation-state's modernization. In Germany, for example, the task of moving forward after World War I alongside overcoming

its traumas and wounds (both physical and emotional) was a trying one. For women in particular, they "were declared emancipated, which meant taking up their civic duties in public life. But they were also expected to guard private life and preserve the home against the ravages of economic and social turmoil" (Koonz 31). In other words, their equality was merely rhetorical: they had no access to, or influence on, the workings of determinations of public policy, except perhaps "education, health, culture, religion, and welfare" (ibid.)—gendered issues that were considered a separate realm from those of governance and militarism. For Japan, the nationalist and imperialist developments within the government from the Sino-Japanese War leading up to World War II placed women in similar positions. Education (and equal access to it) was developed as one of the key realms in which women were granted this rhetorical equality (which was also a measure of Japan's modernization); yet this "equal" access was to separate, gendered curricula that maintained education's task of subordinating women, as well as proffering educational and professional goals that remained socially frowned upon for women to pursue in practical reality.

A short story starkly illustrates this contradictory nature of education—supposed aims for equality, a simultaneous maintenance of the opposite, the spread of imperialist ideals to boot—in the metropole in the early 20th century. In a short story titled "The Woman Raised by Class" (「階級に育てられる女」, "Kaikyū ni sodaterareru onnna") by Aikawa Yō (藍川陽) from the early Shōwa period (which began in 1926), the classroom in which the female protagonist receives her education (although unspecified, probably in the 1920s or early '30s) is divided into two, along the middle, according to the students' academic performance: "smart" students on the right, "stupid" students on the left.[7] The physical space of the

[7] This short story, included in the *Japanese Proletarian Literature Collection Vol. 23*, has an ending that rivals that of Kang Kyŏng-ae's "Underground Village" (which I discuss in Chapter 2—Work) in

classroom is divided by an invisible wall that separates the students based on their "abilities", with little regard to the rhetoric of equal education for all. In a sense, education is no longer a means to the end of improving the livelihood of, and modernizing, Japanese subjects; it is merely an institution through which the separation is reinforced and cemented. Needless to say, this division according to intellectual performance is simultaneously a division that reflects the students' class division, as becomes evident in the proletarian short story. Yet this division of the classroom—and all that it implies—is what Japanese imperial education perpetuated, in addition to the students in the classroom acquiring the practice of identifying themselves in relation to the students on the other side of that division.

With all of this taught to the students going through the educational institution, the imperial government had a clear channel through which to teach its subjects about the supposed need for Japan to establish the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere (and its implicit ideology of domination and hierarchization). Furthermore, a significant part of the effort to teach young students these imperial ideologies was embodied in the teaching of the philosophy of *gozoku kyōwa*, of Five Ethnicities Living in Harmony. This philosophy, whatever its stated intention, was a means of homogenizing the colonized under the brushstroke of Japanese imperial subjectification, and simultaneously constructing an undeniable ethnic hierarchy within that supposed harmony.

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terms of tragedy: The mother of the female protagonist dies a horrible death—she is bitten by a poisonous bug, a bite which the mother scratches, causing the poison to spread; she cannot afford to go see a respectable doctor, and there are too many patients already waiting at the office of the doctor affordable to the poor; the mother does not want to tell her daughter (who had gone off to work at a factory after a difficult parting with the mother) of her condition because doing so would make the daughter worry. When the neighbors discover the mother's corpse days after she has passed away, they find her mouth full of rotten apples; her feces have completely soaked through the floor from the time she was lying down, sick from the poison. All of this is relayed to the daughter in a letter written to her by her friend (412–413).

As historian Louise Young argues, the modern Japanese educational policy implemented in the Meiji era also indirectly fueled the spread of "war fever" surrounding Japanese military imperialism. With compulsory education in place since the 1870s in the metropole, literacy had spread among not just the middle and upper classes of Japan, but also among its laboring classes in urban and rural areas (Young 58–59). By the 1931 Manchurian Incident, the Japanese metropole boasted what Young (citing Carol Gluck's *Japan's Modern Myths*) describes as "a highly literate and overwhelmingly newspaper-reading public" (58). This high level of literacy, along with wide news circulation and readership of developments in East Asia, thus not only "fed the war fever" (Young 61) but also contributed to the validation and continued spread of imperialism through popular support from "educated" consumers of media stories.

Furthermore, the philosophy of *gozoku kyōwa* mobilized—and was mobilized by—different actors in different ways. As described in the Introduction, the establishment of Manchukuo was a significant historical development in East Asian history, for it provided the Japanese government with a stable economic and military foothold in mainland China in the later years of its imperialist ventures. The 1932 establishment of Manchukuo as a puppet state after the Manchurian Incident (満州事変) of 1931 led to Japan gaining control over the Chinese territory through a puppet state, enabling reinforcement of its imperial domination across other parts of East Asia that included China, Korea, and Taiwan. On a political level, the rhetoric of community and harmony was, of course, simply imperialist discourse. As historian Suk-Jung Han describes, the puppet state of Manchukuo was constructed at the intersection of both the "basic assumption of establishing Japanese hegemony in Asia, while protecting Asian integrity," and also "the confrontation between the East and the West", in which the notion of transnationalism and multiculturalism in Manchukuo was leveraged to the

advantage of the state makers ("The Problem of Sovereignty" 466). Furthermore, in an economic invasion that rivaled the military one, many colonial settlers migrated from Japan to Manchuria to find better economic opportunities amidst high rates of unemployment and overpopulation in their homeland, overtaking lands already occupied by their original inhabitants, even before the official start of the occupation.

In the colonies, the practice of educational institutions took on a different dimension of colonialism and racism. For example, while language policy in China since 1911 included the twin aspects of character reform and language integration (between written and spoken), language and education in Northeast China were complicated by sociopolitical contexts of the region. As literary scholar Ohkubo Akio describes, conflicts with Russia and Japan and immigration from within and without the region contributed to Northeast China becoming a multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual society (208). Furthermore, various educational institutions in the region set up by non-Chinese governments went against China's language policies. Between 1904 (during the Russo-Japanese War) and 1925, the Japanese government set up 10 government schools directed toward Chinese students, growing to over 6,000 enrolled students. The schools had mostly Japanese instructors, with a six-year curriculum in which Japanese language instruction took up a third of the curriculum. Aside from these government schools, the Japanese government also set up four-year public schools that also emphasized Japanese language instruction. By 1920, there were 116 such schools, with 17,605 students enrolled. Within the South Manchurian Railway Zone, the 10 public elementary schools (in 1924, with 2,049 students) and a number of middle and high schools also emphasized Japanese, with all subjects, except Chinese language class, being taught in Japanese (Ohkubo 209).

Students in schools of Manchukuo often had speech and slogan-writing contests (such as on topics of "soldiers' safety" in Japanese to "cultivate the state foundation spirit". Such state-sponsored contests in educational institutions in Manchukuo also provided the model for similar contests in colonial schools in Korea as well (Han, "Those Who Imitated" 176). Later, after 1937, language policy in "Manchukuo" dictated that Japanese language be taught as the "national language" (国語), with often as twice as much instruction time as Chinese language, becoming the prioritized national language. This, of course, had direct correlation with employment and social status as the students grew older (Ohkubo 210).[8] Language policy and education thus directly contributed to the hierarchization of subjects in the puppet state.

In the introduction to the established work *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, co-authored by Mark Peattie and Ramon Myers, Peattie states that the difference between Taiwanese and Korean sentiments about Japanese colonialism—to identify with, or feel antagonism toward, Japan—is the result of the different educational systems in the two colonies (42). I question the simplicity of this description. To be sure, colonial education in Taiwan and Korea *did* differ from each other, just as it differed from education in the metropole, as we outline later in this chapter; it can also be argued that the imperial government 1) could not apply its Meiji education strategy from the metropole to the colonies because of the latter's different racial, historic, and linguistic environments; *and* simultaneously 2) saw its colonial subjects in East Asia as being the same as (or at least similar to) subjects in the metropole, thus justifying a direct transference of such education strategy (Myers and Peattie 39).

Yet what matters, I argue, is not whether the same education strategy was applied throughout the empire, metropole and colonies included, or not (even if it were the same

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[8] In Manchukuo, Japanese, Chinese, and Mongolian were the three official national languages.

strategy, the education received was not the same—how could it be?); I claim that the social institution of education itself, a site in which racial and gender identities are constantly formed and reformed, not only constructed a hierarchy that spanned the colonizer/colonized binary, but also exacerbated the feelings of antagonism between and among colonizer and various colonized groups, among the rich and the poor (and people in between), and among the subjects in relation to their government. This parallels Gayatri Spivak's development of the phrase "epistemic violence", in which the notion of education, knowledge and knowing, and the very ways in which subjects are made to perceive the world contribute to their oppression and domination. For example, Spivak addresses how the privileging of intellectuals—those with the cultural capital of education and knowledge—that grants them the ability to become "the absent nonrepresenter who lets the oppressed speak for themselves" (292) itself furthers imperialist projects. The class of native elites, intellectuals, and generations of landed gentry also benefits from their complicit relations with imperialism, for they become the "best native informants for first-world intellectuals interested in the voice of the Other" (Spivak 284). Class and status, which accompany education and the construction of knowledge (and ignorance), thus reinforce imperial hierarchies. Furthermore, the colonial state leverages ideas such as knowledge, history, and culture in order to control its subjects. As Frantz Fanon notes, "Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today" (210). The social institution of education thus becomes a fruitful site to examine how the government's imperial policies influenced the way subjects (in this case, student writers) performed their identities.

History of *Tsudzuri-kata*

Institutions of education were thus structures through which the government imparted its philosophies of Japanese imperialism, both within the metropole and abroad in the colonies and territories. In particular, the empire implemented a Japanese language education system in the colonial schools, where the students were forced to learn Japanese and to study other academic subjects in the language of the colonizer as well. For example, although Manchukuo was originally a multilingual country, Japanese was being taught as the first language in schools by 1938 (Suzuki 12).[9] Already in this structure there emerges an imbalance of power: both the means and the end of education were foreign to students in schools within the colonies.

During this time, the curriculum of *tsudzuri-kata* education strengthened the role of schools as institutions to construct imperial subjects, both male and female, starting from a young age. Now known as the precursor to the *sakubun* (作文—composition, or literally "making sentences") curriculum, *tsudzuri-kata* education, a part of the curriculum of the old-style (旧制) schools, was seen not only as an important academic subject, but as a subject that would enable the education of the empire's youth on how to live as proper Japanese subjects. Developed and promoted by individuals such as teacher and researcher of pedagogy Ashida Enosuke (芦田恵之助, 1873–1951) and writer Suzuki Miekichi (鈴木三重吉, 1882–1936), *tsudzuri-kata* emphasized the students' ability to write about particular topics (chosen by either the teachers or the students themselves) and thus articulate on paper their thoughts, beliefs, and identities (Ashida 4). *Tsudzuri-kata* education thus emphasized the everyday experiences of the students in the formation of their identities as writers, the content of their

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[9] In Manchukuo, in addition to the most common Chinese and Japanese languages, Manchurian, Mongolian, and Russian were also spoken.

writings to be taken from actual feelings they felt and events they experienced in their lives. Ashida also noted the importance of making students feel comfortable, as they transitioned into the classroom as the environment in which they would spend many hours each day; the school, he said, had to be like an extension of the home, a place where the students would feel the kind of comfort and belonging that would enable them to write their thoughts and ideas freely, without nervousness or coercion (93). This naturalness, he argued, would lead to better articulation of their ideas through writing, and in return, the better formation of beliefs suited to proper members of society.

Yet as literary critic Kawamura Minato argues, writing to express the ideas in one's mind is also inextricably linked to the process of forming those very ideas that were to be expressed in the writing. In addition, imperial education included teaching students the "correct" way to think and feel, the "correct" way to perceive and understand the situations in their daily lives, as proper Japanese subjects. Embedded into the developmental theory of education is also a "stagist theory of history", which, as Dipesh Chakrabarty describes, is the basis for such (European) ideas as political modernity (9). This theory reinforces the stratification of the "educated" and the "uneducated" (or "'not yet' educated") and constructs the falsity in the way, for example, India adopted universal adult franchise to recognize the subjects' modern abilities to elect candidates democratically—but *only* on election days; most other days, peasants were seen as still needing to be educated to become functional citizens (Chakrabarty 10). Education, like modernity, was thus a concretization and teaching of this inadequacy; furthermore, the outward performance and expression of the learning of this inadequacy in the form of writing, as Kawamura states, is merely another step in the internalization of the ideas of imperialization and correct ways of living as Japanese subjects (and a reminder that what the students practice now are "incorrect" or "undeveloped" ways of

living). Thus a *tsudzuri-kata* assignment to write about one's thoughts on the war, for example, can be another way to concretize beliefs about war that are suited to being proper members of the Japanese empire under imperialism.

Furthermore, the identities that were being articulated—and constructed—through the teaching of writing in educational institutions were being established relationally as well, as the process of learning to write under the *tsudzuri-kata* method relied on feedback from others as both constructive audience members and interlocutors, who would enable reflection on, and revision of, the compositions. Therefore, the writings (the expressions of students' thoughts and identities) were in constant reformulation by an infinite feedback loop that involved others within both the school and the community. These identities that were being "revised", in a way, included not only the students' identities as writers but also their place in the gender, racial, and ethnic hierarchies of imperial Japan, as social institutions such as education reinforced the hegemonic social order organized along binary axes of the privileged and the oppressed. Moreover, in the colonies and *gaichi* (外地) beyond the Japanese metropole, linguistic abilities in daily conversations beyond the writing of compositions also contributed to the establishment of power hierarchies among students and their perception of the world around them.

As we shall see in the essays by the students in Manchukuo, the notion of writing as a performative that constructs one's racial, gender, and class identities finds its foundations in her participation in the educational institution. It is within that institution that young students learn how to articulate their thoughts through writing, thus enabling them to produce, on paper, a modern notion of the self through the performative act of writing. The words on paper then can become subject to revision, in languages that are both their own and forcibly taught to them.

Student Essays from Manchukuo

"Please do not use complicated language," said the June 1941 call for entries for the essay contest. The contest was organized by the Manchukuo Youth Central Government-General (満洲帝国協和青少年中央統監部, *Manshū teikoku kyōwa seishōnen chūō tōkanbu*), government district office overseeing matters related to youth. According to an explanation by Ōmura Kaoru (大村薫), the contest's goal—while not necessarily a part of Manchukuo's official linguistic policy—was to draw submissions from youths living in Manchukuo aged between 10 and 20 that depicted their everyday lives and thoughts in relation to *gozoku kyōwa*'s idea of different ethnicities living harmoniously in Manchukuo. Essays that had been selected as the winning pieces in that contest were featured in the February 1942 issue of *Geibun* (『藝文』), in a section titled "Seikatsu-ki kyōwa seishōnen tsudzuri-gata-shū" (「生活記（協和青少年つづり方集）」, "Kyōwa Youth *Tsudzuri-kata* Collection").[10] [11] Of the six essays that are featured in the issue, two were written by boys and four by girls. Even for these young writers (mostly teenagers), their essays indicate a difference in topics discussed between male and female students. From the submitted essays we detect, in particular, that the young female writers already have acquired the notion of what "proper Japanese" (「正しい日本語」) is; and that they emphasize their contribution to life within (a lie of) a purported and idealized multiethnic, multilingual society by kindly helping others learn Japanese, more so than their male counterparts do. As we see in the girls' essays, the Japanese of various types that they hear and use in their daily lives reinforce the power hierarchy among different ethnic groups under Japanese imperialism. In particular, these three

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[10] *Geibun* was a Japanese-language cultural magazine published in Manchukuo between 1942 and May 1945. It featured writers and thinkers from both China and Japan.

[11] These essays were also published in a volume titled *Watashitachi no Manshūkoku* (『私達の満州国』, *Our Manchukuo*) in Showa 17 (1942).

girls who learned Japanese as their native language, treat others of the working class who do not speak "proper Japanese" as if they were pets or (small) animals—people lower, essentially, on the ethnic and class power hierarchy. In addition to power through language, therefore, the students construct gendered identities based on binaries and hierarchies of knowledge, race, and class through their writings.

Love Thy Neighbor

In a piece titled "Ura no Kimi-chan" (「裏のきみちやん」, "Kimi-chan, Who Lives in the House Behind Ours") by 13-year-old Satō Etsuko, the student writer tells of her interactions with Kimi-chan, the girl-servant (女ボーイ, or *onna bōi*) who lives in the house behind hers. Kimi-chan is a Manchu girl who works as a servant to make a living.[12]

What is significant in the essay is the nonchalance with which Etsuko writes about the simultaneous belittling of Kimi-chan (by her employers as well as Etsuko herself) and the erasure of her humanity and Manchu identity. The people at whose house she works call her "Kimi-chan", despite the fact that clearly she has a different name in the Manchu language. Like a pet, she has been renamed, her former (true) name replaced, (re)branded like a piece of property (which she is, as a servant). Yet Etsuko does not consider this renaming of Kimi-chan as labor as problematic or of particularly serious concern; Etsuko, instead, is driven by a desire to be nice to Kimi-chan and to teach her ("proper") Japanese, especially after having been told by her mother that one must be kind to people:「誰にでも親切にして上げたら みんなにすかれますよ ことに満人には親切にして上げなさいね」/ "If you are nice to everyone, people will like you. You should especially be nice to Manchurian people" (150). It is as if Etsuko's mother is telling her that one should be nice to small animals, because that is simply

[12] The Manchu people are an ethnic minority with their own language.

the way to be—never mind the fact that Japanese people have come to Northeast China to take over farmlands and to set up a puppet state. In her writing, Etsuko reveals a sense of belittling and superiority toward Kimi-chan, but the sentiment is cast in the rhetoric of building a relationship of ethnic harmony with a girl who she believes deserves kindness and assistance.

Much of that "kindness" toward Kimi-chan includes Etsuko teaching her the Japanese language, or, correcting Kimi-chan's "improper" Japanese:

> 私はきみちやんと友達になりたいので『あとで一しよに遊びませうね。』と言ひますと『んゝ後なら遊ぶね。』とたしかでない日本語を使つてこたへました。私は時々日本語のまちがひをなほして上げます。そうするときみちやんは『どうもありがたう。』といつも言ひます。
>
> Because I want to be friends with Kimi-chan I say to her, "Let's play together." But she says, "Yes, if it's later I'll play," using her strange Japanese. I sometimes fix her Japanese mistakes for her. When I do that, Kimi-chan always says, "Thank you very much." (ibid.)

For Etsuko, fixing Kimi-chan's Japanese is a sign of friendship, a form of kindness. In this small interaction, the attitude of student Etsuko is clear—for the sake of the harmony among the five ethnic groups, one must help the others learn proper Japanese; because in Manchukuo, the reigning language is Japanese, not the fiction of multiple languages being used together side-by-side. Yet this act of teaching, of course, is a display of power and authority on Etsuko's part. Etsuko, as a Japanese, knows Japanese; Etsuko's knowledge thus constructs Kimi-chan's ignorance of the same. The role that Etsuko takes on as a "schoolmaster" over Kimi-chan is possible because of Etsuko's Japanese identity and acquisition of her first language; it is a patronizing gesture, despite Etsuko's good intentions.

Toward the end of the essay Etsuko mentions that, as she spends more and more time playing with Kimi-chan, she finds herself wanting to learn Chinese as well:「それから後私ときみちやんとはとても仲よしになりました。私はきみちやんになるだけ親切にしてやらうと思ひます。さうしてきみちやんに満語を教へてもらひ、満語でもお話が

出来る様にならうと思ひます。」/ “Later on I became very good friends with Kimi-chan. I intend to be as kind as possible to Kimi-chan. Also, I will have Kimi-chan teach me Chinese, so that we will be able to speak in Chinese as well” (151). This is a curious sentiment that is expressed by Etsuko—is this a budding friendship, a bond that, in a small way, challenges and resists the (linguistic and ethnic) power hierarchy that is taught through everyday practices in Manchukuo? Perhaps. The desire to learn another language in order to communicate with someone is a strong motivational factor for language acquisition[13]. Yet inherent in the dynamics of learning a language—and writing composition using that language—is the difference between the two girls and the power relation that emerges between them. While Etsuko can choose to, *want* to, learn the Manchu language, Kimi-chan *must* learn Japanese. Friendship or not between them, Japan’s establishment of the Manchukuo puppet state establishes a hierarchy that labels, categorizes, and separates the two girls. In wanting to teach Japanese to Kimi-chan, Etsuko simultaneously constructs and cements her (superior) identity as Japanese in relation to Kimi-chan’s identity as Manchu, thus reinforcing the imperial and linguistic power hierarchy between them.

Gendered Student Subjectivities

While it is questionable to embark on the analysis of these student essays from the *a priori* categories of “male” and “female”, part of my effort is devoted to understanding how the teaching of such preconceived gender frameworks surfaced in the writings as everyday performatives. To be sure, these gender categories are forced constructions—but they nonetheless influence how we socialize and are perceived in society. A deconstruction of

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[13] It’s true! See Kakihara, Satoko. “Influence of Attitudes and Strategies on English Acquisition by Japanese Women.” *CATESOL Journal*, *18* (2006), 109-121.

gender without keeping that acknowledgment at the forefront of our minds misses the reality of life. Gender ideology (and the social institution of education that reinforced it) in imperial divided its subjects into a male/female binary: men as soldiers (who would sacrifice their lives for the emperor) and women as mothers (who would reproduce said soldiers). Identity categories based on such ideologies are constructed and produced through performative practices, and they subsequently gain materiality that is often tangible. However, to learn and internalize this ideology was one thing; to perform and externalize it, whether by writing or some other performative, involved negotiation, resistance, and conflict on the part of the subjects, whether conscious or not. This contradiction is what adds complexity to the reading of these texts.

Indeed, we can see in the two featured essays written by male students the gendered preoccupation with war and militarism. For example, the essay by 11-year-old Hasegawa Seiichi (長谷川精一,『福鐵號』*Fukutetsugō*) tells about the relationship between the writer and his father's horse, Fukutetsugō, whom he affectionately calls "Fukutetsu". Yet his anecdotes about Fukutetsu—feeding him carrots, looking at the shape of his ears, playing with him after school—contain an admiration for the work that his father does, who works at the headquarters of the Kwantung Army. The horse thus acts as a metonym, a stand-in for his father's masculinity, militarism, heroism—and Japanese imperial ideology in general. As his father rides Fukutetsu to work every day, Seiichi says, "Right now in Japan horses are prized for being living weapons that are necessary for war. I want to be very good to Fukutetsu" (148). An innocent story about a boy and his (father's) horse suddenly takes a chilling turn—Fukutetsu, as beloved as he is, is a "living weapon" (「生きて居る兵器」) to be used for ends of Japanese imperialism. And being "good to Fukutetsu" is a way in which Seiichi endorses the empire's militarism. In his essay meant to describe his everyday practices aligned

with the philosophy of *gozoku kyōwa*, the young boy constructs instead his ideas for what can be categorized as admirable and heroic—which is, at the same time, deadly and oppressive.

Two of the three other essays by female students do not indicate an underlying admiration for war. Like the story of Etsuko and Kimi-chan, the two essays focus on acts of kindness and on maintenance of social order. In the essay titled "Bōkūgō" (「防空壕」), "Air-raid Shelter"), 13-year-old student Yoshino Haruko (芳野春子) recounts her experience of watching Manchurian coolies build an air-raid shelter. At first she is irritated by their slow pace, but seeing them work so hard for the sake of protecting Japanese people, her heart is struck. She gives them water, and she expresses her happiness for having become friends with them. Haruko says,「又私たちのために汗をたら／＼流しながら、防空壕を作つてくれる苦力達を有難く思ひ又氣の毒に思つた。さうして私達だつたら辛抱強くないことが恥しくなつたさうだ。」/ "I felt grateful for, and pity toward, the coolies building the air-raid shelter for us while covered in sweat. And I felt embarrassed that we did not have the same endurance as they" (151). To Haruko, it is clear that "they" are building the air-raid shelter "for us". "We" Japanese do not have as much endurance as "they" Manchurians, and that is a source of embarrassment to her. Yet even with this awareness, she feels pity toward the coolies—she gives them water, she thinks about them while eating dinner at home. As a young girl learning Japanese imperial ideologies in school, however, she has no critical tools with which to criticize the situation of imperial domination in the puppet state. And it is her writing of this essay that cements that us / them opposition in her mind, while being complicit in colonial oppression of the people of Northeastern China. While this is not an open admiration for militarism, it is more than a tacit endorsement of it.

Another essay by a female student, this time 17-year-old Yamashita Kyōko, provides a clear illustration of how the writer reaffirms her happiness and blessed situation by

comparing her own positionality to that of a Korean servant working in her house. As in "Ura no Kimi-chan", the writer of the essay titled "Fusa" (「フサ」) describes the occasion on which her family members rename the Korean girl (of about 13 years old) that they have taken in to work in their home:「朝鮮の名前ぢやわからないから日本の名前をつけてやりませうと云ふので皆で考はた。けどなか／＼きまらない。「タケ、ウメ、フサ、ユキ、アキ」なんでどれもこれも感じの出ない名前ばかりだ。結局「フサ」とつけて終つた「今日からフサと呼んだらハイツて返事をするのよ」と云へば「ハイツ」と張り切つている可愛い子」/ "Since we cannot understand Korean names, we decided to give her a Japanese name. But we could not decide so easily. 'Take, Ume, Fusa, Yuki, Aki.' None of them felt right. In the end we named her 'Fusa'. When we said to her, 'From now on if we call you Fusa, you must respond", she energetically replied, 'Yes!' What a cute girl" (152). The entire incident is marked by the family's lack of concern for the Korean girl's will. Because they cannot understand Korean, the Japanese family gives her a Japanese name. Despite the fact that none of the names feel quite right, they simply give her one in the end in order to stop having to think about it. The girl—now renamed "Fusa"—and the willing energy with which she listens to her new masters appear "cute" to the family. The Japanese family, in other words, does not recognize Fusa's agency as an individual, or even her individuality.

The story is also marked by the linguistic divide between Kyōko the writer and Fusa the object of the writing. In places Kyōko uses *katakana* to indicate Fusa's uncertain Japanese, saying,「はつきりと廻らない舌で興奮しながら云ふフサの話は聞きとりにくかつた。でも興味深いものなので一心に聞いていた」/ "It was difficult to understand what Fusa was saying when she spoke unclearly due to her excitement. But I listened attentively because it was very interesting" (ibid.). To Kyōko, Fusa's Japanese is difficult to understand—yet

what motivates her to continue to listen to Fusa is the *interestingness* of what she says. To Kyōko, Fusa is a figure of the "Other"—and thus anything that Fusa says is different, interesting, and ultimately difficult (and perhaps impossible) to understand. But Kyōko's attentiveness is drawn by curiosity for this girl who is different from herself. As she closes the essay, Kyōko states that she realizes how much her own life is happier when compared to Fusa's life:「この年端も行かない女の子が苦しい茨の道をふみ續けて生きて行く姿を見せつけられ何不自由なく両親の愛に守られながら學びの道に勵む事の出来る私は自分の生甲斐のある生活をつく／"＼幸福に感じた」/ "Seeing such a young girl having to walk through a trying, thorny path, and realizing how I am able to travel a path of learning, protected by my parents' love and with not a care in the world, I realized just how happy my life was" (154). It is in relation to the figure of Fusa, the Korean domestic laborer, that Kyōko reaffirms her happy life as a Japanese girl. Her ability and freedom to "travel a path of learning" both constructs the difference between the two girls and perpetuates it.

Education in the Colonies

Education was one of several social institutions through which the Japanese government aimed to modernize its subjects into manageable submission. In Korea, education was one of several reforms through which the Japanese government carried out its process of imperialization (*kōminka* 皇民化 in Japanese), with the other three being name changing (創氏改名, *sōshi kaimei*), military inclusion, and religious reforms (i.e., philosophical alignment with Shintōism). As historian Takashi Fujitani describes for the Korean context, "this campaign of assimilation to Japaneseness is usually understood as seeking to extinguish the unique cultural life and traditions of the colonized peoples—or in the often-used expression, to 'obliterate the [Korean] ethnos' (*minzoku massatsu*)" (6). For example, Fujitani discusses how

imperialization—the transformation of a colonized subject into a "Japanese" subject—was predicated on equal treatment among all "Japanese" subjects, but that the Japanese did not actually see the Korean people as equals, or certainly not "equally Japanese." So while "enhanc[ing] their health, sanitation, birthrate, longevity, education, and general well-being" (2–3) became a priority for the imperial government (given the increasing need for more subjects in its project of political and military expansion), social reforms, including education reform, had the underlying current of maintaining the hierarchy among various colonial subjects. In other words, education (a significant part of modernization and imperialization) was a tool for management and subjugation of subjects who could never hope to achieve equality with the colonizing race. Even in 1936 (31 years after annexation in 1905, 26 years after the start of colonization in 1910), for example, only 8 percent of the total Korean population had competency in the Japanese language. It was not until two years later, in 1938, that the Governor-General of Korea (GGK) announced the plan to implement universal elementary school education for the Korean subjects—but that, too, was not planned for realization until 1946 (Fujitani 2). We have seen this before, in the metropole—that even educational reforms that strive for "universal elementary education" is another mechanism for maintaining a power hierarchy favorable for the colonizer, a binary of colonizer/colonized and of knowledge/ignorance.

The imperial institution of education nonetheless differentiated the construction of gender identities and roles among its young students. For example, the ideas of helping and educating the less fortunate within the community (which we saw in the essays by female students) have been attributed to the figure of the ideal woman in various parts of Asia, including Korea and Taiwan. In Korea under Japanese colonialism (as well as before and after colonization), women were tasked with the education of children, especially within the

domestic space. In more recent contexts as well, scholars have discussed and analyzed the figure of the ideal woman in North Korea (which has been in virtual existence since 1945 and in political existence since 1948) as one who 1) provides a revolutionary and moral (健全, *kenzen*) education to her children; 2) sends her children to war for the country and its military; and 3) gives communist love to her society, even beyond blood relations; and 4) shows loyalty to the state and leader by reproducing (Kohiyama 133). Even when taken out of its contemporary context, these four characteristics still point to a subject position under a totalitarian government; when examined carefully, the first, second, and fourth certainly applied to ideal womanhood under Japanese imperialism as well. In particular, the expectation of providing a "moral education to her children" was precisely the description of the Wise Mother, Good Wife (현모양처).

Similarly in Taiwan, both the Japanese colonizers and the Taiwanese intellectuals (male in either case) worked to modernize Taiwanese women for their own sociopolitical ends: the former to make them into (re)productive subjects, the latter to make them into contributors to the nationalist movement. Japanese colonizers expected Taiwanese women to learn the Japanese language and reform their Taiwanese culture through a "national" education (国民教育), also emphasizing their influence on their *male* children through their role as mothers (Kō 79). Despite the rhetoric of the need for modernized education for women, the practical reality was that the Japanese colonial government allocated fewer resources for women's education. This manifested in the uneven development of different curricula (such as sewing), a lack of female teachers, and the unavailability of childcare institutions in agriculture schools, which resulted primarily in education being accessible for women of privileged classes but not for the majority of the women in Taiwan (Kō 107). Taiwanese men who had traveled to Japan to see the status of women in the metropole believed that modern

women could contribute more both to the nationalist movement and to the home (Kō 45). In fact, what Taiwanese intellectuals wanted was not for women to start working after getting their education, but for them to understand the social and economic issues at stake in Taiwan under Japanese colonialism, in order to *cooperate* with the men who were the main agents in solving those various issues (Kō 150). Even with the rhetoric of modern education for Taiwanese women, therefore, the reality was that the institution was meant to control their actions as subjects.

Female journalist and writer Yang Ch'ien-ho also has written about her encounters with the assumptions that being Taiwanese meant not being modern or educated, crystallized in the insults she receives for wearing a cheongsam in public ("Tsun-sa" 25–26). The negative comments she receives—from other women—point to the discrimination that Taiwanese women face at the hands of Japanese women and also illuminate the silent acquiescence to such discrimination given by other Taiwanese women who wear Japanese or Western clothes in order to fit in with the rest of their colonial society. The cheongsam is associated with a backward (Taiwanese) culture and, by extension, an ignorance of modern thought and practice. Modernization and education, in this case, act as the force that enables individuals to justify the marginalization of Others. Yet Yang, unrelenting, takes pride in her (supposedly "traditional") attire and says, 「私は一人前の日本女性としての教育を受けたものです」 / "I am one who has received an education fit for a proper Japanese woman" ("Tsun-sa" 25). She declares that, regardless of what she wears, she has the ability to defend herself and the choices she makes in fluent Japanese as necessary in a colonial society—precisely *because* of the education she received as *a Japanese subject*. Yang believes that her educational and intellectual background attests to her qualifications for being considered "Japanese," even if she chooses to wear a cheongsam.

The sentimental irony here is striking: As an independent, modern woman, Yang feels she can choose to wear whatever she wants, when in fact the act of wearing a cheongsam should not be an issue of tradition or modernity in the first place (if it is indeed a liberal, individual choice). Furthermore, as a properly modernized (and colonized) woman, she can defend her actions in fluent Japanese—yet that ability is the very sign of being an imperialized subject. In moments of hurtful insults, however, Yang thinks of her close friends with gratitude, for they, regardless of being Japanese, respect her and admire her choice of clothing. Yet, Yang wonders, if they were not her friends, would they comment negatively about her cheongsam as well? Would they treat her as a backward Taiwanese who needed to be modernized more thoroughly? And in a colonial society in which Taiwanese people experience structural discrimination, how helpful is it to have individual friends who she can believe are on her side? These emotional conflicts and self-questioning reveal how the constructed binary of educated/uneducated and the intertwined feelings of (obligatory) kindness toward those who "need help" to become properly Japanese are embedded into the experiences in educational institutions.

Conclusion

What these students from Manchukuo, particularly the girls, write out and describe in their essays already suggests their sense of superiority from knowing already what they have learned (in school or outside of it) as the "proper language", despite the fact that Manchukuo was proposed and erected upon paeans to a multilingual, multicultural society. The reality was not the case, of course, and certainly not what these students describe. While the boys' writings often highlighted their gendered interests in, and desires for, successful militarism and Japanese victories (as well as dejection over Japanese imperial losses), the girls' writings

revealed their preoccupation with not only domestic issues but with ideas of welcoming the "Other" into proper, Japanese social and linguistic spheres—as expected of women who were to maintain order and peace within intimate spaces. These ideas relate to the teachings of imperial education, the instillation of ideology at a young age, the establishment of who is included or excluded from certain social circles, the determination of who is superior or inferior. In this way, the composition assignments of these young subjects were integral drivers of Japanese imperialism, whether the writers realized this fact or not.

The tone of the memoir written by Tanabe—who was most likely born around the same year as Etsuko—changes after the bombing of Hiroshima, in the face of Japan's imminent surrender. Tanabe loses the love she had felt for her school, the place where she had felt so much pride while she was learning to become a productive member of society in war: 「私は、何かしら、あれだけ好きだった学校に違和感をかんじてしまった。木の多い、美しい木造校舎の学校は、私の誇りで、私の愛するものだったのに、焼けのこったものをみると反射的に、失ってしまったかずかずのものを思い出す。」/ "I don't know what it was, but I began to feel a sense of discomfort about the school that I had loved so much. The school, with its many trees and the beautiful wooden building, had been my pride and object of love. Yet upon seeing its burnt remains, just as a reflex I remembered the many things I had lost in the war" (225). Tanabe realizes, only after the defeat of her country, that she was not actually proud to serve in the military and give up her life for the emperor if given the opportunity, she had merely idealized the possibility as a child who had been taught to think and feel that way (250). She had learned many things in school, perhaps almost too gladly—yet just as soon as the political climate of Japan changed following its defeat in the war, the content of the curriculum changed as well. In such an environment, what are children to do? How are they to learn morals, ethics, their sense of who they are?

Other scholars have written about composition competitions that took place in places such as Taiwan and the metropole as well as the strict Japanese language education in many schools in Korea. Some of the most interesting parts of education policies are their language-teaching policies, and as we have seen in the essays written by the students in Manchukuo, the often patronizing nature of the relationship between those who speak the language of the colonizer (or whichever the dominant group) and those who do not cements social hierarchies among children from a young age. One can certainly argue that it never *hurts* to know a language, that knowing or learning a new language (even that of the colonizer) can only help individuals, to work to their advantage. Yet the construction of the ignorance (of *not* knowing the language of the colonizer) and the subsequent reshaping of one's subjectivity and identity via the task of having to learn that language, is itself a type of violence—in which case, knowing a language can, in fact, hurt. It is not a choice at all, to be made to learn a new language in order to only slightly ameliorate colonial subordination.

In order to explore these questions further, we can examine what types of course materials and textbooks were used throughout the empire, what kinds of teachers taught in the schools, and what kinds of training those teachers received. Furthermore, we can examine what sorts of texts were being circulated as examples of good composition for students, who produced their own texts in response. The differences and similarities in the kinds of education methods and theories that were used throughout the Japanese empire (and in these locations before colonization by Japan) also bear significantly on the discussion at hand.

The teaching of language and writing is, even today, a task both meaningful and difficult, often critiqued for its subjective and (nearly) impossible (to measure) nature. Yet writing is an invaluable tool for communication and self-expression—as it is also an undeniable component of the persistence of power relations. Language is merely the tip of the

iceberg of instruments of control and subordination, of the construction of social hierarchies. Those in power can choose to claim that certain topics must be taught as part of the educational curriculum, if only to further certain political ends. As (arguably conservative) intellectuals such as mathematician Fujiwara Masahiko[14] (藤原正彦, b. 1943) argues, for example, elements such as sentiment (情緒, *jōcho*) and form (形, *katachi*) must be restored in the educational curriculum and the minds of people of Japan, not topics like "Western reasoning", in order to restore Japan to the cultured and sensitive nation it once was. However, while teaching sentiment and form is certainly worthwhile (and valuing what is essentially "impractical" is important, particularly in the age of neoliberalism), promoting such educational curricula without critiquing their nationalist tendencies or implicit assumption that somehow "the Japanese" are the (chosen) people who will save (or at least improve) the world subordinates and even vilifies individuals, practices, and languages that are constructed as "Other", that which do not belong to a homogeneous Japanese nation. To nurture individuals who can resist subjectification, we must teach them from early on about the processes—writing, linguistic, or otherwise—by which we construct and realize who we are. And we must teach them to take ownership of those processes, of the writing and articulating of their identities and everyday experiences.[15]

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[14] Fujiwara Masahiko himself was born in Xinjing of Manchukuo, now Changchun. His father was writer and meteorologist Nitto Jirō (新田次郎, 1912–80), and his mother is writer Fujiwara Tei (藤原てい, b. 1918).

[15] Thank you to Alex Chang for helpful comments on this draft, as well as to the panelists and audience members of the panel "Asian Literature" at the Pacific Ancient and Modern Language Associate 2013 Annual Conference.

Chapter 2—Worker, Laborer:

Profession and Livelihood of Writing Modern Femininities

毎日毎日　僕らは鉄板の　上で焼かれて　嫌になっちゃうよ
—高田ひろお、「およげ！たいやきくん」

Every day, every day / On the griddle / We are cooked / And it's just too much.
—Takada Hiroo, "Swim! Taiyaki-kun[1]"

Introduction: What Is (the Notion of) the Self?

Chapter 2 explores the institution of work, both the labor of the working class and the bourgeois notion of career planning and skilled profession as entered into by women of the middle class, as more of the latter joined the workforce in the 20th century. Specifically, the chapter analyzes works by Taiwanese writer Yang Ch'ien-Ho (楊千鶴, Yáng Qiānhè, Yō Senkaku, 1921–2011) and Korean writer Kang Kyŏng-ae (강경애, 姜敬愛, 1906–44) to explore changing definitions of the woman worker in the empire and how it related to female subjectivity as laborer and professional. While Yang's texts, such as her articles in the ethnographic journal *Minzoku Taiwan*, discussed the conflicts faced by middle-class women about the seemingly "new" choice between work and marriage, texts by Kang and other socialist writers such Tanno Setsu (丹野セツ, 1902–1987) address the entrapment felt by women of the working class throughout the modernizing empire. In seeking and asserting women's rights to be respected as professionals or workers' rights to receive fair pay comparable to men's, how were such modern identities of female workers constructed, both to resist imperial subjugation and also to perpetuate Japan's modernization project built on the

[1] *Taiyaki* is a Japanese version of 붕어빵.

exploitation, racialization, and marginalization of non-normative, ethnic, and other minoritized subjects—in order to bring "equality" to a select, privileged few?

Contradictions of Women's Identity and Positionality in Colonial Modernity

As Japan Westernized and made efforts to stave off invasion by the very powers it sought to emulate, it set about redefining the social structures that had organized the lives of its people for generations. With 1868 marking the beginning of the Meiji Restoration, Japan called for an end to its feudal era and began to implement democratic social reforms to reorganize the previous social system that separated *samurai* classes from other classes such as those of merchants and commoners. This theoretical modernization of the social class system, however, did not smoothly lead to practical success. Individuals could not so easily change their everyday practices with which they had lived since birth, and power dynamics inherent in daily social interactions did not change overnight just because of the declaration of changes in the law.[2]

What was also significant (and not surprising) was the way in which modernization and democratization of society did not immediately translate into economic stability for the majority of those living within the Japanese metropole. As Hane Mikiso writes,

> the new order that was established by the Meiji government failed to improve significantly the condition of the people at the lower levels of the social order. In fact, for many it meant greater hardship and suffering. In particular, the peasantry (already expected to provide the resources and manpower to build the wealth and power of the nation) was asked to sacrifice its lives, material resources, labor, and individual interests for the sake of the nation-state and,

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[2] In his autobiography, Fukuzawa Yukichi relates a story in which he yells at a farmer for getting off his horse upon coming across Fukuzawa on a road. Fukuzawa says to him, "'According to the laws of the present government, any person, farmer or merchant, can ride freely on horseback without regard to whom he meets on the road. You are simply afraid of everybody without knowing why.' . . . This made me reflect what fearful weight the old customs had with people. Here was this poor farmer still living in fear of all persons, never realizing that the new law of the land had liberated him" (243–244). Yet Fukuzawa misses the point that the new government in fact constructed a different kind of hierarchy.

> of course, for the benefit of the small elite at the top of the social pyramid. (11)

Japan's modernization, in other words, was a far cry from its purported establishment of equality among the classes. In its emulation of Western ideas of democracy, Japanese modernization subordinated laborers and women by granting more power to male-dominant authority.

Industrialization and opportunities for people to make a living outside of tenant farming did, however, appeal to those who had lost farmlands or needed a means of livelihood that was not tied to the fluctuations of the market prices of crops. In this way, industrialization led to more people working in factories as laborers. For women in particular, this often meant work in Japan's new silk factories, which promised higher and steadier income for the workers' entire families, though often under strict and unhealthy conditions. Despite the improvement over infanticide or being sold into brothels, such industrialization and factory work only meant that women from the lower classes came to be exploited by the expanding class of factory owners, a situation that continued and worsened as Japan's development progressed.

Such shifts in social classes and the development of industry was seen throughout the Japanese empire as well, as imperial modernization sought to homogenize the empire's subjects from societies with different class systems. In addition to industrialization, the entrance into the workforce for women was also expanded to the women of the middle class throughout the empire, creating sites for them to work in the public sphere while previously they had been expected to pursue few options beyond marrying and becoming a mother. Of course, the promises of liberation by modernity for these women of the middle class were not as simple as the proclamation of an imperial decree: The reality of modernity—both imperial and colonial—was one in which the promise of a new social role was fiction at best,

disappointing discrimination at worst, and persistent contradiction throughout its praxis. The "new opportunities" to which female colonial subjects had access, in other words—through the reform of social institutions such as education and labor—were predicated on those subjects becoming "modernized" as part of a project meant to "[create] a progressive enslavement" (Foucault 163) under conditions that obfuscate such new systems of subjugation.

How, then, do we explicate the ways modernization and colonial modernity influence how the institution of work and labor shapes women's subjectivities and their sense of self? How does the notion of work, carried out by women of different classes and ethnicities, figure into the building of a modern Japanese empire? In his work on the construction of the English working class from the late 18th to the early 19th century, E.P. Thompson describes "class" as something that occurs in human relations, which "must always be embodied in real people and in a real context" (8–9). Although Thompson's work deals with a different sociohistorical context, that the definitions of social roles based on class, regardless of modernization or social edicts, emerge from and among the people themselves applies to other contexts as well.

Furthermore, in her critique of Thompson's work, Joan Scott describes how Thompson "depicts rationalist, secular politics as the only possible form of class consciousness, thereby making its appearance natural or inevitable, instead of the product of struggle and debate" (76). Scott points to the need not only to examine class as a masculine construct that excludes the power relations and productivity of the domestic sphere, but also to politicize the domestic sphere within which many women are forced to labor, regardless of the class to which they belong. She quotes Denise Riley, in a remark that resonates beyond Western constructs of gender and class (and their intersections):

> "women" is historically, discursively constructed, and always relatively to other categories which themselves change; "women" is a volatile collectivity

> in which female persons can be very differently positioned so that the apparent continuity of the subject of "women" isn't to be relied on; "women" is both synchronically and diachronically erratic as a collectivity, while for the individual "being a woman" is also inconstant, and can't provide an ontological foundation. (qtd. in Scott 87)

The modern constructions of gender and class must therefore be considered in these fluctuating terms, in constant negotiation and relation with each other.

In addressing directly the positionality of women in the international division of labor, sociologist Maria Mies also discusses the ways in which proletarian women in 19th century England were "housewifized" and the bourgeois family was also normalized. She describes how

> the state had to interfere in the production of people and, through legislation, police measures and the ideological campaign of the churches, the sexual energies of the proletariat had to be channelled into the strait-jacket of the bourgeois family. The proletarian woman had to be housewifized too, in spite of the fact that she could not afford to sit at home and wait for the husband to feed her and her children. (Mies 105)

The employment of proletarian women to (re)produce for the nation, and the simultaneous valorization of the bourgeois, nuclear family in which women took on primary roles within the home and not outside of it, were characteristic of the modernity marked by capitalism, industrialization, and management by the state of its subjects. While Mies's discussion above is removed from the context of Japanese imperialism, the relationship among modernity and patriarchy remains strikingly similar.

Such negotiations and "housewifization" under colonialism are thus found in women's fiction and nonfiction writings about modernizing social institutions within the Japanese empire as well. In this chapter I focus on works by Yang Ch'ien-ho and Kang Kyŏng-ae, two writers who contrast in their positionalities as well as the ways in which they write about work, productivity, and sense of self. In Yang's fiction and nonfiction writings we see a woman struggle with the contradictions of a modernity that only claims to give her the

freedom to choose how to live her life and establish her own selfhood. In Kang's short story, we witness the persistent struggles of a community of what can misleadingly be described as the lower class. From these two writers of Japanese colonies, we see the stark contrast between a professional and a laborer (though even that label may be a misnomer for Kang's characters). We also see the dark side of an imperialist modernization project, which creates the unfathomable gap between the ideals of constructing a selfhood and the inability even to sustain a livelihood. Somewhere between establishing identities of their own choosing and breaking down their bodies just to survive, these texts mark the points in which the internalization of oppression—of the colonizer, or of the environment itself—drives the writers to assert or to compromise their gendered subjectivities, in order not to have their existence eliminated by modernization.

This chapter examines how writings by Yang and Kang about work and labor constructed notions of self and subjectivity on the printed page. By doing so, it argues that the texts push for definitions of work and self that, in the moment of definition, become already untenable. Gendered notions of the self, as constructed through work and labor under colonial and imperial modernity, is a contradiction that cannot actually be realized, like a hope constantly being postponed. Within the alienation of labor—industrial, professional, or otherwise—women cannot achieve the modern selfhood that they are promised through the rhetoric of modernization. While a bourgeois notion of profession can be seen as an establishment of an identity, and the hard labor of a working class seen as the mere making of a living, in reality, profession and labor do not differ when in the face of masculinist, imperialist, capitalist denial of independence and liberation for gendered and subordinated subjectivities.

Japanese Colonialism and Patriarchy, Essentialized Taiwaneseness and Femininity

To consider the history of Taiwan requires the simultaneous consideration of the histories of several other nations, notably China, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, as well as those of the West. An analysis of Japan as an imperialist nation, spurred on in its efforts by its contact with the West, enhances an analysis of Taiwan as a colony. Japanese imperial practices in Taiwan are also illuminated when compared to similar practices in the colony of Korea and the puppet state of Manchukuo, as well as to colonial practices of Western nations throughout the globe. Yet even an isolated focus on Taiwan reveals the contradictory ways in which Japan attempted to transform Taiwan into a vital part of its empire—and the Taiwanese people into imperial subjects—and also a subordinated colony to increase the status of Japan as a powerful and modern nation, particularly in the eyes of the West. Japanese colonization efforts included the simultaneous trajectories of imperialization and modernization, the production of modern subjects at the disposal of the Japanese empire.

Taiwan, which has had several foreign rulers since the 17th century, served as a convenient territory to further Japan's expansionist efforts. Fujii Shōzō, scholar of Chinese literature, cites political scientist Ito Kiyoshi's description of how "the four hundred years of Taiwanese history, from the Dutch rule during the age of mercantilism (大航海時代) to now, is a chronicle of oppression by foreign regimes and the resistance of its inhabitants" (62). The "foreign regimes" include the Dutch (from 1624), Zheng Chenggong (from 1661), the Qing dynasty (from 1683), Japan (from 1895), and the KMT (from 1945) (Fujii 62–64). The 50-year period of Japanese colonialism (which began in 1895) can be divided into four phases of subjectification of the Taiwanese people: "assimilation…from 1895 to 1919, integration from 1919 to 1930, differential incorporation and coercion from 1930 to 1937, and the subjugation…and mobilization of 'imperial subjects'" from 1937 to 1945, to fight—and die—

for the army and nation of Japan (Liao 2). In the fourth phase, also known as the *kōminka* 皇民化 (imperial subjectification or imperialization) phase, a generation of writers educated in the Japanese language (*kokugo* 国語, literally "national language") published in Japanese for many purposes and under different circumstances. These writings in Japanese serve as artifacts of analysis for understanding how writers responded to the *kōminka* movement and how they attempted to maintain—or establish—their sense of being Taiwanese individuals even through the production of texts written in Japanese.

Literary scholar Leo T.S. Ching discusses "the gap between cultural identification and political discrimination, between becoming Japanese and not having the rights of a Japanese citizen" (7), referring to the inability of the Taiwanese people to become "Japanese" even through assimilation or imperialization. The people of Taiwan, despite the rhetoric of *kōminka*, were never meant to become fully Japanese as "natural" citizens; embedded into the imperialization of colonial subjects was precisely the creation of subjects without the full rights and privileges of citizenship in either the juridical or the social standing sense of the term.[3] Like the mainland ethnic Japanese, the colonized subjects became properties of Japan, belonging to Japan not as true subjects with agency, but rather as subjugated, objectified subjects to be used at will of Japan to serve and fight for the emperor. Yet unlike the ethnic Japanese, they were subjugated and hierarchized by imperial racism relation to other racial and ethnic groups of the empire.

This oppression of subjectification—a contradiction between inclusion into the empire and a demarcation as outsider—weighed even more heavily on Taiwanese women, who were

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[3] Political scientist Nancy Gilson elaborates on the concept of citizenship as having the meanings of both juridical and social standing. State-sanctioned laws, such as the 14th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, may guarantee Equal Protection and Due Process for "citizens," but this may have little relationship to the *de facto* treatment of those same individuals in society or to their place in the social hierarchy according to their social standing.

subordinated simultaneously by patriarchy because of the position they occupied as women in relation to men and also by colonialism because of their "Taiwaneseness."[4] Sociologist Patricia Hill Collins discusses the notion of intersectionality, citing works by feminist writers of color who recognize the inability to compartmentalize individuals into the many categories of identity to which they belong. Often the separation of categories from one another—such as race, gender, class, and sexuality—assumes an additive model of analysis in which categories are dichotomous and can be clearly ranked. Such separations are not only impractical but misleading: In analyses based on theories of oppression, individuals cannot be labeled *either* oppressed *or* not, nor can they be ranked by which identity categories incur more oppression than others (Collins 85). In the case of Taiwanese women under Japanese colonialism, it is necessary to examine their social locations as dynamic positionalities born out of the structural forces that bind and delimit the intersections of their Taiwanese ethnicity and feminine gender, rather than as mere additions of the two categories.[5]

Patriarchy in Taiwan of the early 20th century meant the subjection of women by men by virtue of their gender difference, particularly in the domestic sphere of the home, where "the family, and the authority of the father at its head, provided the model or the metaphor for power and authority relations of all kinds" (Pateman 23). The imperial construction of a patriarchal family institution under modernization further complicated the women's colonized experience. The contradiction between the oppression of imperialization and the promise of liberation from domesticity purported by the Japanese empire's modernization project—like the contradiction of colonial modernity itself—problematized the improvement in the social

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[4] I put "Taiwaneseness" in quotes, not to reify the concept but to point to the ambiguity of being Taiwanese as either a nationality or an ethnicity, and to consider the social construction of such a category. (Of course, terms such as "nationality" and "ethnicity" also need to be defined.)

[5] In addition to the conception of intersection at the individual level, Yang and other women writers also experienced intersection as, as Lisa Yoneyama has pointed out, the confluence of "different forces that constitute subjects—i.e., how gendering process is mediated by racialization or colonialism, etc."

standing of women in Taiwan under colonialism. How did the rhetoric of modernization complicate the emergence of patriarchal structures for men and women?

The source and power of patriarchy reside in its emphasis on different social meanings ascribed to paternity and maternity, the various social roles performed by individuals of different genders that are leveraged by the empire. In the Meiji era, men and women of Japan learned their place in a male/female binary as it was demonstrated through ceremony and ritual by the imperial family (Fujitani, *Splendid* 180). When patriarchy becomes a constructed site in which colonizers can more easily govern its subjects through the rhetoric of gendered liberation, the victims are those without power, such as women, the poor, and individuals who do not fit the normative molds of gender, class, and sexuality perpetuated by social institutions such as marriage and the bourgeois family. Given these conditions, how did the nation-state employ systems of patriarchy in the domestic spheres, encompassed by individuals of various classes and sexualities, for its own establishment and modernity project? Additionally, how can we explore the ways in which the ongoing processes of racial, ethnic, gender, sexual, and political oppressions manifested themselves in the cultural productions of writers, both female and male, during Japanese imperialism?

Yang Ch'ien-ho and the Translations of Modern Selfhood

Let us first look at Yang's writings about the social institution of work in Taiwan, an examination of which enables us to see the conversations that take place *beyond* the binary of metropole and territories, a binary that implies unidirectional domination. In Yang's description of the modern Taiwanese woman, we see her "translate" ideas of other female

writers and assert a Taiwanese ethnicity in the construction of imperial femininity.[6] Yang—as well as other women writers of the empire—negotiated modern femininity through iterative and multidirectional exchanges in the form of writing. Such writings and intellectual translations enabled women writers to participate in gender construction that was not simply top-down or dominated by the colonizers.

Yang herself theorizes this predicament of colonialism and modernity for Taiwanese women within a patriarchal context, expressing and acting upon her desire to write about the experiences of a single Taiwanese woman who has lived through Japanese colonialism. The fact that she, a non-Japanese, must write in the Japanese language is like an unhealable wound of a traumatized subject that marks her as having been born and lived in Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule. In her autobiography, published in 1993—in a time when the people of Taiwan were themselves bringing about a reformation of their government through democratic reforms—she promises herself to write in the Taiwanese language someday in the future. She recounts, in her autobiography *Jinsei no purizumu* (『人生のプリズム』, *Prism of Life*), the story of her life that depicts one woman's experiences under colonialism and patriarchy, which she hopes will illuminate the representations of the experiences, both told and untold, of other Taiwanese women. An exploration of her other works further brings to light the various contradictions in modernity and between the imagined and the real in constructing a modern selfhood for a woman under colonialism. She presents in her works her embodiment of the figure of the "New Woman" of the Japanese empire through its modernization project of the 20th century, not only by writing to be regarded as a professional but also openly questioning the subordinated position of women under patriarchy and of the Taiwanese under Japanese

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[6] Thanks go to the panelists and audience members of the panel titled "Translation" at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies for discussion of these ideas.

imperialism. At the same time, she discusses the fulfillment she feels from embracing her role and wife and mother.

Yang Ch'ien-ho was born on September 1, 1921, the youngest daughter of a middle-class family in Taipei. The practice of Shim-pua marriages was common at the time, and many daughters were given away to be raised by other, financially better-off families and often ultimately adopted by them as the wives of their sons. However, Yang's mother declared that she wanted to keep her youngest child to raise herself even if the child was a girl (Yang C., *Jinsei* 38). Yang thus grew up with both of her parents and, as she describes, enjoyed the attention and warmth of her mother throughout her childhood and adolescence. On many occasions Yang describes in her writings the maternal love and caring that she received, presenting that bond as one of her most significant sources of emotional support and strength. Yang's personal appreciation for a maternal figure thus leads her to place significance on the naturalized, bourgeois family institution. The death of her mother, therefore, was particularly difficult for Yang, who at the age of 15 lost the person to whom she had felt emotionally closest.

In 1941, after graduating from high school, Yang began working at the *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō* 台湾日日新報 (*Taiwan Daily News*) as a writer for the women's columns, becoming one of the first women to become a journalist in Taiwan. It was there that she met editor and writer Nishikawa Mitsuru (西川満, 1908–1999) and, through her own work as a writer, met other members of the Taiwanese literary circle.

The goal for her retrospective autobiography that chronicles the actual choices she made in life, Yang says, is to write a text that offers a narrative that differs from the typical description of the life of one who passively accepts the fate ascribed to her as a Taiwanese woman in the 20th century (*Jinsei* 360). Yang writes about herself as daughter, wife, and

mother with feelings mixed with happiness and sadness, all the while portraying with honesty her experiences as a woman living in Taiwan under Japanese colonialism. Her ambivalent feelings nonetheless speak to her predicament as a woman living under colonial patriarchy: Her efforts to break free of social institutions and do what she desires—to write—are flouted; the duties (and privileges) put upon her as a middle-class woman—who is expected to marry, have children, and stay home to fill her appropriate social position—relegate her to the bourgeois domestic sphere with little possibility to exist outside of the family institution in the colonial moment of transition. Although Yang emphasizes her own choice and happiness in the way she chooses to live her personal and professional life, the contradictions and sense of loss palpitate in the reading of her works.

Yang's publications—her short story and essays published in the 1940s, her autobiography published in 1993—span several decades of her life and form a teleological (though retrospective) narrative of the path Yang takes in her efforts to establish her modern selfhood as an independent individual. They cover a range of gendered topics, with mixed attitudes—the relationship between a daughter and her parents, the marriage institution and the role of a daughter-in-law, the discrimination experienced by young Taiwanese women living under colonial rule, and the significance of friendship and sisterhood as women continue their struggles to construct themselves beyond their expectations, even as subjects of imperialization. A reading of Yang's works offers a unique opportunity to contrast imagined and lived realities, but also to witness the constant reconstruction of a person's identity throughout the course of her life. Mayfair Yang's discussion of the May Fourth women's literature in China—that especially women's literature of the self "provided a public space for women to construct, explore, and strengthen their personal subjectivity as women" ("From Gender" 39)—applies to Yang's writings as well. By including *Jinsei no purizumu* (though

published after 1945), the collection of Yang's works enables explorations of writings about the "self," a shifting positionality that becomes specific to different spatiotemporal points in the individual's life.

Yet this "Taiwanese" ethnicity that Yang represents is itself born out of her dynamic positionality that is relational to the identities of those around her. To "stand on the side of the Taiwanese people" is not an essentialized practice as Yang seems to suggest. In fact, it is through her interactions with the structural forces of colonialism—and her narrative descriptions of those interactions—that her Taiwanese ethnicity is reified as her identity. For example, her discussion of the emotional conflict of wearing a cheongsam, while other young women in Taiwan wear Western dresses or Japanese kimonos, marks a difference between Yang and the women around her, that which points to an aspect of Yang's self in relation to others. It is the recurring experiences of such differences and relationalities that construct identity categories such as "Taiwanese" or "Japanese" ethnicities, "masculine" or "feminine" genders within modernity.

Her works contribute to the exchanges about women's conflicting roles in both colonial Taiwan and the larger context of Japanese imperialism. For example, Yang's short story "The Season When Flowers Bloom" (「花咲く季節」 "Hana saku kisetsu") responds to the ideas presented in *Musume jidai* (『娘時代』), *Girls' Era*), a treatise on gender roles in Japan published in 1940 by 25-year-old Ōsako Rinko (大迫倫子, 1915–2003). Influenced by Ōsako's expressions of her desires for freedom from conventions that define women's social roles, Yang writes about sisterhood, marriage, and family, expressing desires for, and doubts about, the possibilities of creating her own livelihood beyond the traditional roles of daughter, wife, and mother. Yet an examination of Yang's essays, published in journals during colonial rule, and autobiography reveals the contrasts between the utopian visions of female liberation

in “The Season When Flowers Bloom” and the realities of life in her time and space in her nonfiction.

The Writing of One’s Own Life

Yang’s autobiography describes the many joys and trials she encountered as a journalist, as a young wife marrying into the family of her husband, and as a subject of Japan and the KMT government. *Jinsei no purizumu* thus serves as a repository for Yang’s life memories as she recounts the narrative from her birth through her husband’s imprisonment by the KMT government, concluding with her life in the United States.[7] She writes the text of the autobiography originally in Japanese and publishes it in 1993; literary scholar Chang Liang-tse (張良澤) and Yang’s oldest daughter translate it into Chinese and publish it in 1994 under the title <<人生的三綾鏡>>. Three different introductions precede the main text of the work: the first by Nishikawa, the second by Chang, and the third by Yang herself. The main text is interspersed with photographs of Yang and her family, adding a poignant and visual element to the narrative of the autobiography. Throughout the work Yang refers back to her longing for her mother in her writing, citing it, in fact, as the main inspiration for writing *Jinsei no purizumu*. She also recalls in the text how her career as a writer influenced her sense of self at

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[7] Later in their lives Yang and her husband migrate to the United States to live near their children on the East coast. She commences the writing of her autobiography during her stay there; the narrative present at the end of her biography finds her in the summer of 1990, contemplating the joy of watching her grandchildren grow up. The U.S. context and environment of the writing of her autobiography infuses the narrative with a transnational postcoloniality. Nearly half a century after the decolonization of Taiwan, Yang unexpectedly finds herself pursuing her very desire to write in the state that stood as the ultimate symbol of power and advancement at the conclusion of World War II: the United States. Her autobiographical reflection posits her as a subject who was once colonized by Japan—and in writing her autobiography Yang returns to that moment over and over. At the same time, her migration to the U.S., however brief and temporary the stay, places her within the borders of yet another powerful agent of the modernity project. Yang thus ironically achieves the ends of both Japanese imperialism and her own idealized efforts: to become an independent female writer who can testify to the success of Japanese imperial modernization, writing transnationally and translinguistically across Taiwan, Japan, and the United States.

the time: Oh, to have been a female journalist during that time in Taiwanese history, when women could dream new dreams of independence! But she also notes how she would rather have been a lawyer who fought for the small and weak, those who had less power and needed help from others the most (*Jinsei* 135). Yet as a writer Yang contributed to the construction of a new gender identity emerging through Japanese imperialist modernization—and we cannot help but wonder how different an impact Yang would have had, on both her sense of self and Taiwanese society, as a lawyer rather than the writer that she was. I assert that Yang's writings about the social institution of labor reveal the relationalities of gender, ethnicity, and class in the construction of imperial subjectivity in colonial Taiwan, and that her writings point to the contradictions between lived and imagined selfhoods and between liberation into (colonial) modernity and oppression via elimination of Taiwanese, ethnic traditions.

In contrast to the *Jinsei no purizumu*, Yang's short story "The Season When Flowers Bloom" captures a period of Yang's life as fiction. Originally published in the July 11, 1942 issue of *Taiwan Bungaku* (of the realist school), the story is the first work of fiction that Yang published, and it bears a close resemblance to several episodes found in Yang's autobiography (Yang C., *Jinsei* 187). The story centers around Hui Ying, a young woman much like Yang, who is expected to find a husband after graduation from a girls' high school. "The Season" epitomizes the contradictions and double binds that Taiwanese women faced under Japanese colonialism. Specifically for Yang, she witnessed an increase in opportunities to express herself as a writer in the public sphere—itself constructed within a problematic colonial modernity, with its own complex contradictions—yet she also found herself deriving the greatest happiness from the bourgeois feminine ideals and norms—being a daughter, sister, wife, mother, and friend—that most limit her personal freedom and ambitions to inhabit a "modern" and "nontraditional" positionality.

In addition to her autobiography and short story, we examine four essays she wrote and published in *Minzoku Taiwan* between early 1942 and late 1943 of the colonial period: "The Heart of a Bride" ("Totsugu Kokoro"「嫁ぐ心」), published in January 1942; "Cheongsam" ("Tsun-sa"「長衫」), published in April 1942; "Shopping" ("Kaimono" 「かひもの」), published in July 1942; and "A Woman's Fate" ("Onna no Shukumei" 「女の宿命」), published in November 1943. Having been published in *Minzoku Taiwan*—with its tag line of "Research on and Introduction to the Customs of the South" (「南方習俗の研究と紹介」)—these pieces can be seen to record Taiwanese practices while they simultaneously nudge the Taiwanese society and its people toward imperialization and a state of modernization that progresses forward and away from "traditional" and "ethnic" culture. Yet a piece such as "Cheongsam" describes the troubled thoughts of a woman coming to terms with her own self-recognition as a Taiwanese individual and finding pride in that ethnic identity. That such ideas, with their implications of the conflicts that imperialization bred, were printed in *Minzoku Taiwan* provokes thought about the nature and publication practices of a journal such as *Minzoku Taiwan* (Ueno 45), as well as the thoughts and intentions of the writers who contributed to them.

Through her negotiations and translations of other women writers' *ideas* (though not necessarily of *language*), Yang points to the relationality of gender construction, particularly how ethnicity and class play significant roles in the construction of female imperial subjectivity. She establishes her identity as a middle-class Taiwanese woman, which is central to her contribution in the negotiation of modern femininity. By middle class I refer to the class of families in Taiwan where the men worked in business or government, rather than on rural farms or in factories. We see how this positionality that Yang occupies influences the kinds of

texts she read and wrote, in contrast to women of lower classes who had worked for years, even before the colonial modernization of the institution of labor.

Yang's works illuminate how she described both the positive and negative aspects of her life as a Taiwanese woman living under Japanese colonial rule in a realistic and defiant way to establish and express her conflicted identity. Particularly during the colonization period, when "[f]ew female writers wrote as much and continuously to sustain a clear visibility" (Wu Y. 7), women writers such as Yang, Huang Pao-tau (黃寶桃), and Yeh Tao (葉陶) (Lin; Wu Y. 7) contributed to the record of Taiwanese literary thought—not because their cultural productions are essentially different from those of men, but because the sheer inclusion of their works in publications and collections testifies to the diversity and differences among writers and women of Taiwan, whose experiences of Japanese colonialism were in no way homogeneous. While Yang and her works have not been studied in great detail in Japanese or English, critical readings of her work shed light on the implications of being a female Japanese subject of Taiwanese ethnicity under Japanese colonialism and its late imperialization stage.[8] Within the contradictions of colonial modernity, wherein the already complex process of modernization nonetheless fails to bring liberation from colonial oppression, Yang's fiction and nonfiction works traverse the conflict-ridden terrain bounded by colonialism and patriarchy, between public and private, to establish a(n admittedly bourgeois) selfhood in which she believes she can take pride—even if that selfhood is not lived out in reality and remains colonized.

Nishikawa Mitsuru: Writings of a "Japanese Male"

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[8] While several graduate theses in Taiwan have been written about Yang's works, few scholarly works done in Japanese or English seem to be easily accessible. I need to search further for other research done outside of Japan and the United States to better assess various interpretations of Yang's works.

We can say that each individual experienced Japanese imperialism differently, but it is more interesting and productive to ask how such differences were manifested in the works by writers of various ethnicities and genders, who each was constructed to occupy a different positionality in their particular sociohistorical context. Whether they were Japanese or Taiwanese, colonizer or colonized, male or female, older or just beginning to write the world around them, a comparative analysis among such individuals' cultural productions can help examine different representations of Taiwan under colonial rule.

Nishikawa Mitsuru was a Japanese male who, as a writer and editor of several publications, produced many works of fiction and nonfiction as a way to record Taiwan as he perceived it. Nishikawa moved to Taiwan at the age of two and, aside from six years of schooling in Tokyo, remained there until the end of World War II. His family background provided him the financial means to pursue his interests in writing and art (Kleeman 70). As a well-known writer of the time, he was Yang's contemporary but also of a generation that preceded hers. He advocated the integration of Taiwanese culture into Japanese culture, while simultaneously attempting to record, in the form of ethnographies, various Taiwanese traditions that he perceived to be disappearing. Labeled and criticized as a romanticist, Nishikawa produced both fiction and ethnographic writings about the Taiwanese community that contrasted with works of realism produced by other writers, ranging from the proletarian literatures of Lü Heruo (呂赫若, 1914–1951) and Yang Kui (楊逵, 1906–1985) to the depictions of the everyday lives of women which Yang produced.

One short story by Nishikawa illustrates well the writer's sense of attachment to the disappearing art and traditions of Taiwan. In "The Chronicles of Mr. Shu" ("Shushiki" 『朱氏記』), the ethnically Japanese narrator expresses an interest in traditional Taiwanese architecture, asking to see the house that belongs to Mr. Shu of the story title and his younger

sister. The story opens with a description of a game called “Calabash Luck” (“Koro’un” 葫蘆運), which uses dice and calabash gourds (or similarly shaped containers) that represent eight different celestial beings that the narrator describes as deeply respected by the Taiwanese people. From the outset the reader is made to see the familiarity with which this Japanese narrator fluently describes a “traditional” Taiwanese game steeped in spiritual significance. The narrator then goes on to describe his encounter with Mr. Shu’s younger sister, who is the one to first allow him entrance into her traditional Taiwanese house. From the outset the character of the younger sister—a beautiful young woman wearing a bright red cheongsam that stands out against the white backdrop of the rest of the house (Nishikawa 141)—is represented as a sexualized intermediary to the encounter between the Japanese narrator and the Taiwanese older brother within an environment that represents Taiwanese (architectural) traditions.

The character of the older brother is an interesting figure: a young artist who, not wanting to be trapped in the past, repeatedly paints over his own canvas to reset his art to a blank slate and rebuilds his work from scratch each time (153). This cycle of repeated creation and destruction counters the simultaneous progress and preservation that the narrator wants to achieve. Admitted by the beautiful young woman into the house of the creative/destructive artist to, the narrator is at once appreciative and voyeuristic, deriving pleasure from being the one who both preserves what he considers a traditional Taiwan and desires to bring the young artist into modernity. At the end of the story, the younger sister gives the narrator an antique art piece depicting traditional celestial figures—an indication, as the narrator would have it, that the Taiwanese people acknowledge and appreciate the narrator’s efforts to preserve disappearing Taiwanese traditions—beautiful, mysterious, and spiritual, like the younger sister dressed in red.

While Nishikawa is by no means the only male Japanese writer with whom we can compare Yang, his collection of works and the existing criticism of it provoke thought. Kleeman discusses the debates between the cohort of writers associated with Nishikawa's *Bungei Taiwan* (文芸台湾, *Literary Taiwan*) and the cohort of writers associated with Zhang Wenhuan's (張文環, 1909–1978) *Taiwan Bungaku* (台湾文学, *Taiwanese Literature*), typically framed as a debate between the romanticists and the realists, respectively. *Bungei Taiwan* was seen as "the bastion of 'pure' literature [that] devoted itself to romantic poetry, novels, art, and folklore," while "*Taiwan Bungaku* advocated realistic representations that reflected the harsh realities of life for peasants and the downtrodden" (Kleeman 77). The former journal was said to romanticize Taiwanese culture and society, and Nishikawa, as its editor, was seen as the leader of that movement. Realist writers, such as Lü, Yang Kui, and Chen Yingzhen (陳映真, b. 1937), claimed that Nishikawa's perception and representation of Taiwan were patronizing toward, and critical of, native culture out of "cultural chauvinism". They claimed, on the other hand, that the colonized would perceive and represent their own land with "genuine appreciation and pride" (Chen Yingzhen qtd. in Kleeman 79–80). Such criticisms of the romanticized representation of the colonized by the Japanese assert an ethnic basis for the difference between writings by the different movements of writers; they essentialize both the Japanese as being incapable of properly representing Taiwan as well as the Taiwanese as capable of doing so without question. This criticism runs parallel to the rationale that the Japanese must help modernize the Taiwanese while helping to record its disappearing (though backward) traditions.

While Nishikawa's works present an Orientalist view that seeks out "the mystical, exotic side of the colony" (Chen Yingzhen qtd. in Kleeman 79), this tendency may be rooted not so much in Nishikawa's Japanese ethnicity or his status as a member of the colonizer

group *per se*, but rather in his position as a man of power who has the luxury and means (however bound to his status as a Japanese colonizer) to establish himself as one who can desire to record the beautiful Taiwan as he sees it, before the Japanese erase what he sees as quaint and precious Taiwanese traditions—though decidedly *without* experiencing the emotional conflict of that erasure. It is problematic that Nishikawa's contributions to Taiwanese literature stop at merely recording what *he* sees as being beautiful and valuable, rather than standing up to Japanese colonial oppression through other means. The selective nature of his documentation, in both his fiction and nonfiction, is also problematic. In her analysis of Nishikawa's short story "Spring on the Rice River," Kleeman points to the way the protagonist of the story enjoys the *spectacle* of the local festival but cannot respect the "utilitarian aspect" (96) of it. Kleeman argues that "by ignoring or consciously rejecting this cultural import, Nishikawa is committing an act of violence—ripping attractive bits of culture from their context and serving them up to a Japanese audience as tasty exotica" (ibid.). Similarly, his anthropological and ethnographic works that record Taiwanese folklores and customs also yield selective representations and appropriations of Taiwanese culture that in turn enable him to produce his own cultural productions for his own benefit. The limited scope of his documentation efforts and the selective perceptions and representations of Taiwanese culture and its people raise questions about the role of one who writes to record his life and surroundings as he himself experiences them.

It can be argued that Nishikawa treated the Taiwanese people as an exoticized "trope" that was merely interesting to write about; a writer such as Yang Ch'ien-ho, on the other hand, can be said to record and depict the lives of Taiwanese women under colonialism sincerely and authentically. Yet this claim, made more easily because of the identity categories to which the two belong, seems simplified and unproblematized. Rather than considering the identity of

the writers in binarisms—Japanese/Taiwanese, colonizer/colonized—we can consider how the relationalities inherent in the power dynamics among these "individuals" contribute to different cultural productions and their subsequent interpretations.

Considering the ideas regarding authenticity in ethnographic representation, what are some elements to look for or question when reading the works of Yang, Nishikawa, and others? How might Yang's works assert a voice of authority or fall into self-exoticization and essentializing when describing the author herself as a Taiwanese woman? What are the perspectives on the images of the "New Woman" that Yang provides as models to work toward, and how do they relate to or counter the perspectives that Nishikawa had in viewing the Taiwanese people as a nostalgic ideal? A difference between the works of Yang and Nishikawa—as well as the writers themselves—is that whereas Nishikawa desires to sympathize with, study, and record traditions (for whatever purpose or reason), for Yang, being a "Taiwanese" woman is an experience to be *lived*, not studied (or lost or forgotten). Her identity as such is not something to be escaped or shrugged off, to be erased as though it never existed, throughout the Japanese imperialization process. Yet this difference is not reducible simply to the essentialized ethnic or national identities of the two writers; the difference is dynamic—each day the politics of the writers' given sociohistorical moment determine their changing and relational identities and how they represent their perceived worlds on paper.

Yang's works cannot be flattened as simple representations of her life and read only as such. The issues surrounding Yang's publication in *Minzoku Taiwan* 民俗台湾 (*Folklore Taiwan*), closely tied to colonialist and exoticist practices (Wu 359), problematize the interpretation of her works as simply depoliticized chronicles of her everyday thoughts and experiences. The publication of her works and their subsequent encounter with a particular

readership also present the issue that anthropologist Mayfair Yang discusses in her analysis of writings by women in 20th century China: that they "are immediately contained, redirected, and commercialized to appeal to a male voyeuristic readership" (M. Yang, "Introduction" 28). Thus women's writing is inevitably exoticized and commercialized within a masculinist capitalist market, regardless of authorial intent or identities of the individual readers. In such a situation, are Yang's writings just another example of commercialized exotica, however authentic they may be?

Writing As Work: Contradictions of the New Women of Taiwan

Relationalities that organized gender, ethnicity, and class gave rise to a series of contradictions for women under Japanese imperialism within colonial modernity. For the women of Taiwan, the experiences of their country's colonization by Japan from 1895 to 1945, as well as its subsequent governance by the Kuomintang (KMT) 国民党 administration following the conclusion of World War II, were inextricably linked to the intersection of gendering and ethnicizing forces. Structural oppression through colonialism by the Japanese and patriarchy by men (both Japanese and Taiwanese) characterized their lives within the Japanese modernization project of the imperialist period. For middle-class women in particular, having a career as a professional was an opportunity offered by modernity to construct their own sense of selfhood. Yet there persisted an ideology similar to the Cult of Domesticity, which defined the role of middle- and upper-class women as the upholder of the feminine virtues of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Welter 152). This is not unlike Partha Chatterjee's discussion of the role of women in India as upholders of national culture while still becoming "modern" (but "non-Western") (6). These contradicting ideologies as they operated in Taiwan kept middle-class Taiwanese women in the domestic

realm as obedient daughters, good wives, and wise mothers, depriving them of full access to the public sphere of non-domestic work and full control of their private sphere within the patriarchal family institution.

Within modernization, the oppression of Taiwanese women on account of their ethnicity was clear in comparison to the social status of Japanese women in Taiwan—who, despite their feminine gender, still occupied the position of being a colonizer (while themselves also undergoing the project of modernization under the Japanese empire). Japanese women writers such as Nogami Yaeko (野上弥生子, 1885–1985), Sakaguchi Reiko (坂口れい子, 1914–2007), and Sata Ineko (佐多稲子, 1904–1998) wrote about their experiences in Taiwan, noting both the colonized country's exotic customs and its striking similarity to the metropole and describing their own ability to move about as they could not do in their native Japan.

Sata Ineko (who also published as "Kubokawa (窪川) Ineko" during her marriage to Kubokawa Tsurujirō (窪川鶴次郎) traveled throughout East Asia during Japanese imperialism as a journalist. Her four-part travelogue titled *Travels Through Taiwan* (*Taiwan no tabi* 台湾の旅) was published in 1943 and 1944, recounting her experiences during her stay in Taiwan. In it her privileged status as an ethnic Japanese is implied through the description of her pleasurable stay in the colony. Sata enjoys freedom of movement, walking through the streets of Taipei or eating noodles at whatever small eatery she chances upon (Kubokawa 467). Sata and her companions in Taiwan—most of whom are Japanese nationals who have come to Taiwan either to work or to settle down—have access to cars, records, and various other luxuries (ibid.). On one of the few instances in which she describes the Taiwanese population, Sata does so with a sense of wonder at just how well imperialization has progressed: 「女なども支那服をきてはいるが、そしてその話す日本言葉も片言で

はあるが、どこかその感じには、彼ら特有のものが薄れて、言つてみれば私たちに親しいものになつている。」 / "The women are wearing China dresses and their Japanese is slightly stilted, but they give off an aura in which their unique characteristics have faded, and in fact they have become something very akin to us" (464). Her remark points to the difference she marks upon the Taiwanese people. Her first mentions are of the "China dresses" and the "slightly stilted" Japanese. Only then does she acknowledge that "their unique characteristics have faded" (as a violent effect of colonialism), that they are, in fact, "akin" to the Japanese, the same Chinese character used in the phrase *shin'nichi* (親)—suggestive of an intimacy and affiliation with the Japanese imperialist government. As a colonizer, there is nothing strange about the comfort with which Sata spends her time in Taiwan. All of the Japanese empire is her home, while for the colonized home no longer exists (or "[has] faded"). This sense of ownership and freedom, the luxury of simply being a traveler, is lacking in the works of Taiwanese writers, who are daily made to feel their Taiwaneseness in contrast to the unmarked identity of their colonizers' Japaneseness. As a Japanese woman in Taiwan, Sata's writings display the colonizer's privilege, if only for her obliviousness to the colonized state of the Taiwanese people.

Taiwanese women's positionalities, which included an essentialized Taiwanese ethnicity and a feminine gender placed in relation to an oppositional masculine gender, thus yielded experiences that differed not only from those of Taiwanese men—who lived through yet a different experience of Japanese imperialism but nonetheless remained in a privileged position of masculinity even in the context of Japanese colonial domination—but also from those of Japanese women living in Taiwan or Japan at the time as nationals. With such distinctions among the many lived experiences under colonialism—among men and women, Japanese and Taiwanese—the need for community and space of belonging was different and

perhaps also greater for Taiwanese female writers when compared to the parallel need felt by Taiwanese male writers, particularly at a time when few women were able to publish their works to make available to a larger literate audience. The cultural productions themselves of Taiwanese women writers also differed from those of Taiwanese male writers, for they expressed a different kind of quotidian life as Taiwanese individuals experiencing imperialization and modernization. In the production of such pieces of writing, women exercised what seemed to be their agency as autonomous individuals and constructed a sense of their lived identities as writers, all the while remaining trapped within the structures of colonialism, modernization, and patriarchy that influenced their opportunity to write and publish.[9]

Furthermore, within colonial modernity, women faced the contradiction of having new opportunities that were presented as modern (but that also constructed Taiwanese traditions as backward) while simultaneously being oppressed as female, colonial subjects. The potential for a career nonetheless remained a potential ticket for middle-class Taiwanese women to enter a public sphere dominated by male gender and Japanese ethnicity. Although their ethnic marginality was clear in comparison to the positionality of Japanese women in Taiwan[10], middle-class Taiwanese women took advantage of opportunities to work as professionals—in publishing, education, or continuing studies as students (if that can be called a profession)—constructing female subjectivities against gender and ethnic discrimination. Persistent in Yang's works, therefore, is also the contradiction that, while women writers often construct their identities as independent individuals by writing about the effects of

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[9] This is another contradiction to explore: how a subject is constituted to acquire agency and individuality under a colonized condition.

[10] As literary scholar Faye Kleeman says in *Under an Imperial Sun*, "Personal freedom and physical comfort are both perquisites of being a colonizer woman" (65), particularly when the comparison is made between descriptions of daily life in the colonized region written by women of both ethnicities.

modernization on the gendered roles of women in their works, living those roles in a period of transition—in which essentialized "traditions" were being simultaneously constructed and cast aside in favor of "modern" and imperial practices—prevents them from fully devoting themselves to writing as a career in real life and from filling the role of the independent, autonomous individual beyond that of a colonial subject. This contradiction between the real and the imagined—between the day-to-day life under imperialism and the hoped-for ideal of liberty and equality—parallels the contradictions of colonial modernity, in which Japanese colonizers impose modernity on the Taiwanese people while subjugating them as imperial subjects, to further the modernization project of the larger Japanese empire. Both colonialism and patriarchy structurally limit Taiwanese women's freedom and ability to choose how to live in—and between—the private and public spheres, rendering any individual choice into one that is made in service of the Japanese imperialist project, wittingly or not.

Thus while colonial modernity encouraged Taiwanese women to express their desires for independence and personal ambitions (and for writers, both fiction and nonfiction), the structures of ideology and practicalities of everyday life prevented them from escaping the trappings of imperialism and realizing what such desires lead to for the "New Women" of Taiwan. Those very desires and even identities of women such as Yang depended on the relationalities and "differences" that were daily constructed and reconstructed among the gendered and ethnic politics and subjectivities of the empire. To realize, in real life, the abstract desires based in such dynamic positionalities of power relations was at once impractical and impossible. There are thus several "contradictions" at stake in thinking about Yang's works: One, the contradiction between what Yang portrays as an ideal in her life and what she lives in reality; two, between the static and single "identity" of herself which Yang aims to represent in her writings and the dynamic and multiple positionalities she is made to

occupy by social and structural forces; and three, between the supposed promise of more and new opportunities for "women" offered by modernity and the reality of continued colonial rule and a colonial modernity that continues to subjugate people based on their essentialized ethnicities and gender to turn them into subjects and complicit tools within the hierarchy of the Japanese empire. Many of Yang's works, both fiction and nonfiction, thus illustrate how she develops her skills to construct her identity as a writer by writing in Japanese during (and after) Taiwan's colonization by Japan.

Discrepancies Between Colonial Modernity and Its Intimate Realities

Yang writes about the figure of the "New Woman," who is said to have more opportunities to establish her identity outside of what was being cast as the "traditional" institutions of marriage and family with the benefit of modernization. Yet the lived realities for many women in Taiwan differed from the suppositions based on ideological changes in social structures brought about by Japanese modernization efforts. Although Yang builds her career as a writer by treating with earnestness and sincerity topics related to her life as a Taiwanese woman, that same life and identity that she writes about in fact prevent her from continuing to flourish in the public, literary sphere. While her fiction describes a more idealistic world in which modernization gives more options to women in terms of how to choose to live their lives, her nonfiction (her journalistic essays and her autobiography) emphasizes her continued contemplation of a respectable, bourgeois marriage, the subordinated position of women in Taiwanese society (albeit with certain class privileges for Yang), and her ultimate desires to devote herself to raising a happy (bourgeois) family rather than embodying the image of the modern, "liberated" woman who has an identity based outside that bourgeois home. There is thus a contrast between her fiction and nonfiction, a

written and imagined world that contradicts the lived realities of what she—in retrospect—describes to be her actual experience. Yet even in such discussions Yang does not seem cognizant of the ways in which her liberation furthers the modernization project of imperial Japan, with its paternalistic intentions of enlightening the backward cultures of its colonies and occupied territories. Furthermore, the modern Taiwanese woman whom Yang aspires to be can only be found in certain urban areas that are home to women of particular socioeconomic backgrounds; the idealized modern femininity is not, even in Yang's mind, applicable to lower-class, rural, or aboriginal Taiwanese women.

Roles and identities associated with femininity both inspire and hinder Yang in her efforts to establish herself as a writer, whose modernization ultimately serves the ends of Japanese colonialism. In asserting that professional identity separate from her domestic role as wife and mother, Yang continuously embraces and struggles with the intersection of her gender and "Taiwaneseness" under colonialism. She chooses to write about intimacy and women's issues in her fiction as well as essays and autobiography, both as active criticism and as a persistent reminder that grounds her identity in the domestic sphere. In a story such as "The Season When Flowers Bloom," she discusses the figure of the "New Woman" as being caught in the coming of modernity and the transition into the "Girls' Era" (Yang C., "Hana" 94). Within the modernity project, young women—Modern Girl or "Moga"—began to have opportunities to develop their sense of "self," both in opposition to and in line with the state, through methods of conspicuous consumption that were often also tied to sociopolitical struggles (Silverberg 356–357); yet those women continued to live in a society that either 1) did not accept those changing social practices and gender roles, or 2) co-opt the changes in gender roles as proof of progress of imperial modernization.

Yang's writings—both the act and the artifacts—enable her to create for herself a space in which to explore and represent her identity and desires as an individual experiencing the intersection of feminine gender and Taiwanese ethnicity; yet the aspects of "feminine identity" which provide the hopeful and exploratory substance of Yang's works continue to limit her options for a livelihood as a woman within the structures of patriarchy and colonial modernity. Those same gendered roles that Yang works to redefine are ever-changing and depend upon several power dynamics, such as between the colonizing Japanese and the colonized Taiwanese, or between men and women. For Yang, hopes for a public selfhood cannot be sustained in the space beyond the imagined intimacies of her writings. Furthermore, the "liberated woman" whom Yang aims to become is nonetheless a woman that belongs to the Japanese empire as a servant to the imperialist project.

Yet contradictions also emerge between the lived real and the imagined ideal, in addition to that between colonial modernization and ethnic traditions. Like other Taiwanese subjects of colonization, Yang was educated in Japanese, and she uses that language of the colonizer to construct her identity as a professional, female writer. Moreover, she writes about gendered topics of intimacy and the domestic sphere, such as marriage, family, female friendship, and romantic love. Unlike contemporaries like Nishikawa Mitsuru, Yang critiques the colonial gender politics that posited Taiwanese women as mere local women who play limited roles in society until they are modernized—though even then, only as colonial subjects. As a professional writer, she questions the subordinated position of women under patriarchy and of the Taiwanese under Japanese imperialism, constructing in her works the figure of a New Woman. Within the contradictions of colonial modernity, Yang's works negotiate the borders between colonialism and patriarchy, between public and private, to

establish a selfhood in which she believes she can take pride—even if that selfhood is not lived out in reality.

In "translating" ideas from Ōsako's *Girls' Era*, Yang writes about the domestic role of a wife and a mother in relation to her professional role as a writer, revealing the tension between her lived and imagined identities. In "The Season When Flowers Bloom," Yang discusses the figure of the New Woman as caught in the coming of modernity and the transition into the Girls' Era, a time for young women such as herself to be able to choose how to live their lives (Yang C., "Hana" 94). The story echoes the humorous accounts told by Ōsako, who describes her complex, emotional, almost (but not quite) jealous reactions to her friends' marriages and motherhood as she herself remains unmarried in order to pursue a career as a writer (23). Yet we see that, while Yang's fiction emphasizes the optimistic possibilities for young, middle-class Taiwanese women of her generation, she also acknowledges her adherence to the institutional idealization of women's roles as future wife and mother based on middle-class privileges. As a professional Yang writes about intimacy and women's issues, as both criticism and a reminder to ground her writings in her lived experiences.

Throughout this contradiction of the lived and the imagined, Yang's writings reveal her struggles with the Catch-22 of colonial modernity: Follow the imperial dictate of modernization that also erases the ethnic identities of her people, or continue to adhere to patriarchal practices of Taiwanese traditions. For women of Yang's generation, self-realization was posited as modern; yet the real expectation for most of Yang's colleagues after graduation from school was still the tradition of marriage, not a search for individual selfhood through careers or building a livelihood. As the character Hui Ying in "The Season When Flowers Bloom" describes, "for me, personally, the pursuit of marriage alone was not enough"

(Yang C., "Hana" 90). Hui Ying desires something more for herself and her life; "marriage alone" (its prospect, a union with another person, the expectation to have children) is not enough of a fulfillment. In the author's own life, ever since "opening her eyes" to the joys of reading and writing as a student, Yang uses writing as an outlet for self-expression, a narrative of an independent selfhood, in contrast to the construction of an archaic and pre-modern collective away from which Taiwan must modernize. Yang does not want to be forced into marriage, in her view a tragic fate of confinement that offers no excitement or beauty, only boredom and unhappiness (Yang C., *Jinsei* 94). She joins the staff of the *Taiwan Daily News* (*Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō*) instead, taking on the task of proving her ability to write in Japanese just as well as the other, Japanese writers at the newspaper (*Jinsei* 123). Yet in her attempt to become a modern individual, Yang constructs a self that is an instrument of imperial subjugation within colonial modernity: The new opportunities she has—in education, work, access to a public sphere—are negotiated in relation to an ethnicized tradition that is constructed as backward and regressive. Yang's choice to work as a writer, in other words, supports the ends of colonial modernity, just as much as the choice to marry reinforces a patriarchal heteronormativity.

Nonetheless, Yang pursues her selfhood through the modern institution of a middle-class female professionalism, expressing in her writings a desire for access to a public sphere that was only available to men or Japanese subjects. She gains readers and acquaintances through her work as a journalist, establishing herself as a writer on the Taiwanese literary scene. Editors of journals such as *Bungei Taiwan* (『文藝台湾』), *Minzoku Taiwan* (『民俗台湾』), and *Taiwan Bungaku* (『台湾文学』) solicit her contributions, and Yang publishes pieces among other famous Taiwanese writers of her day. Yet she leaves her work at the newspaper for marriage in 1943, just as the main character of "The Season" leaves her

position at the newspaper. Hui Ying explains to her older brother that she felt she "would have lost [herself]" (Yang C., "Hana" 98) had she stayed at her job, also at a newspaper company. While the short story does not explain clearly Hui Ying's thoughts, Yang's autobiography points to discriminations at work for her ethnicity, a difficult romance with a Japanese colleague, and the practical limitations of continuing work given another potential marriage with a Taiwanese man. The conflict between having the opportunity to pursue one's desired profession and facing structural and personal barriers thus complicates Hui Ying's construction of her selfhood: she feels at a loss, as if she cannot choose how to perform the character of her own "self". Yet in the short story there remains a sense of optimism for Hui Ying—for its open-ended resolution does not specify how Hui Ying decides to live the next stage in her life—whereas the author's real life leads to limitations of life outside of the private, domestic sphere.

Yang's choice of the domestic sphere as the source of topics for her writings also reinforces her position as an ethnic female Other, maintaining the contradiction between her desires for both modernized gender roles and a preservation of Taiwanese ethnic identities. Hired to write for the women's pages of the newspaper, Yang purposefully writes about issues that she believes appeal to her audience, constructed to be other women and Taiwanese readers: 「わたしは台湾人の側に立って、台湾の特色を紹介するのが目的の記事を主に書いた」/ "I wrote articles explicitly aimed at introducing uniquely Taiwanese characteristics to the readers while standing on the side of the Taiwanese people"[11] (Yang C., *Jinsei* 129). Even in pursuing a "modern" career as a writer, Yang simultaneously marks herself as a Taiwanese woman who can speak to her "people" by a common cultural and ethnic association. She writes about Taiwanese home cooking, healthcare issues and services,

[11] Translations provided for quotes from Yang's nonfiction works are mine.

and other subjects that she feels are important to her people, particularly Taiwanese women. Yang aligns herself with her construction of the Taiwanese people, maintaining her ethnic identity in the face of colonial discrimination and critiquing the subordination of Taiwanese women in their everyday lives. Her career as a writer, both in and out of her professional work as a journalist, continues in a similar vein of engaged criticism until her marriage in 1943.

Living through harsh conditions of marriage in her husband's house, furthermore, Yang deplores the marriage institution but still stresses the importance for women to gain selfhood *through* it (for, she argues, the modern marriage institution differs from the patriarchal Taiwanese traditions, for better or for worse); to her, modern marriage under colonialism offers a redemptive quality that past practices of Taiwan do not. In fact it is through marriage that she comes to participate in local government. While marriage denies her a career in writing, it leads to an opportunity to assert herself in politics, fighting for issues that concern women, such as childcare, education, and women's participation in agriculture (Yang C., *Jinsei* 293–295). In her platform, Yang emphasizes what she considers women's most important social role:「健全な家庭を築くのが第一」/ "first and foremost, to raise a healthy and perfect family" (*Jinsei* 293). In fighting for changes to help women, Yang reinforces the bourgeois notion of valorizing the nuclear family. Furthermore, Yang's ideas for social reform are limited to heteronormative, middle-class domesticities—such as daycare centers for working mothers with children—which the Japanese empire also posits as modern and acceptable, to the exclusion of non-normative domesticities. In participating in the public sphere as a modern colonial woman, Yang perpetuates the repressive policies and norms advocated by the Japanese empire. Her role as a middle-class wife having denied her access to the public sphere of work as a professional writer, it inspires her, albeit myopically, to fight in the political realm for issues that lead her to assert her own essentialized identity as a middle-

class Taiwanese woman. Yang's lived realities do not resemble what is hoped for as a liberated, modernized ideal by the character Hui Ying; instead, Yang problematically finds intellectual fulfillment in putting into place reforms that valorize normative, exclusionary practices of colonial modernity, complicit with the Japanese imperialist project.

In many ways, Yang contributes to the construction of femininity by both the women themselves and the Japanese imperialist state, whether she knows it or not—itself the contradiction of colonial modernity. Still, as historian Dorothy Ko and gender studies scholar Wang Zheng describe, "The press was one of a handful of modern institutions to which women were able to gain entrance in the early twentieth century—as editors, writers, and readers" (7). The translation and circulation of ideas about modernization and feminism by women themselves were possible because of their increasing participation in the media. Yet at the same time, their very participation in such media institutions contributed to the imperial modernization project. Thus what was presented as opportunities of liberation still supported an imperialist state policy.

Furthermore, we see in Yang's writings how ideological social changes brought about by colonial modernity do not easily change the lived realities of the colonized people, especially women. Although Yang's fiction expresses hope for a public selfhood among the women of her generation, her nonfiction written in the 1940s and later decades shows that sustaining self-chosen identities is difficult beyond the written world of the imaginary, for any self-chosen identity still remains the subject of Japanese imperialization, with all the trappings of colonial modernity. As Hui Ying says of herself and her friends, "All we understood was that we were surrounded by the clash of old customs and the movements of a new world" ("Hana" 94). Furthermore, in her essay Yang describes herself as "an incomplete woman born of her times" /「時代の生んだ中途半端な女性」 ("Totsugu" 33). The conflicts and

contradictions she experiences as a subject within a double-edge colonial modernity make her feel "incomplete". Rather than an effect of subjectification, she feels them to be her own lack and deficiency—something she must overcome by striving to achieve a more clearly defined sense of self. To see the gap between the imagined and the real, to feel the entrapment of modern subjectification without being able to dispel it, concretizes the contradictions of colonial modernity.

Jinsei no purizumu and "The Season When Flowers Bloom" capture moments of transition and change, orchestrated by the colonial government to bring Taiwan out of what it constructed as old traditions, into a modern, imperial Japan. Within modernization—of which equality (though only among some) was one characteristic—Yang mentions several times the discrimination that Taiwanese people faced, in such institutions as education (including the biased administration of school entrance exams and decision-making processes for accepting students) and labor (the guarantee of higher salaries for Japanese employees) that are clear effects of discrimination based on racial hierarchies established by colonialism. For example, when Yang is deciding which school to enter to complete her education, her teacher suggests that Yang take the entrance exam to the most competitive school in the area. Yang declines, not realizing that the teacher had made the recommendation out of consideration for the discriminatory quotas that various schools set for admitting Taiwanese students. When Yang is rejected by the school of her choice, her teacher feels guilty about the discrimination. At a reunion of the teacher and the students years later, the teacher apologizes, on behalf of the Japanese people and to all Taiwanese students, for making Yang go through such a discriminatory process (*Jinsei* 78). His dramatic apology to her—which comes many years after the fact—points to the apology that perhaps Japanese people had made to Taiwanese people on an individual level, but also serves as a commentary on colonialism by hinting at the

"apology" that has been neglected due to the lack of a decolonization phase in the colonial relationship between Japan and Taiwan (Ching 20). Even such an apology, however, serves only to provide a superficial acknowledgement of the effects of Japanese imperialism.[12]

These contradictions—between lived realities and imagined ideals, between the desire for modern liberation and preservation of ethnic traditions—are found in not only Yang's writings but also writings by women writers throughout the Japanese empire. The negotiations in gender construction take place among women across regions, ethnicities, and class, and about other social institutions such as education, marriage, and family. And of course, the construction of femininity within the institution of work and labor also includes the experiences of the women of the working class. We turn now to a short story by Kang Kyŏng-ae, which contrasts with Yang's writings about a solidly middle-class lifestyle by pointing to the way work and labor forced women to reconsider the meaning of their identities—or lack thereof—under Japanese imperialism.

Kang Kyŏng-ae and the Insecurities of Modern Livelihood

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[12] Such discriminatory practices are common in the lived realities that Yang describes in her essays for *Minzoku Taiwan*. Even an activity as simple as shopping can be a process in which Taiwanese women are looked down upon for their backward customs. In her essay "Shopping," Yang describes herself often buying fabric from a vendor who comes to her neighborhood with his products carried on a cart. With her hair still unstyled, Yang runs to the vendor in the morning to pick out her purchases as his cart comes through her neighborhood. Yet this description of a simple practice simultaneously points to the entrenched nature of this Taiwanese vending tradition—Yang describes her mother also buying frequently from such vendors ("Kaimono" 20)—as well as the changing nature of a society undergoing colonial modernization that looks down upon and discriminates against such vendors and their business. Whenever Yang wears clothes made from the fabric she has purchased from the cart, she lies to her friends about where she purchased them. She also witnesses a rude customer insulting the vendor for his products with insinuations about the class of people whom he services. The marginalization of this method of shopping is at once a construction of, and an attack on, a tradition of Taiwanese methods of keeping house and maintaining a livelihood as Taiwanese individuals. The ridiculing of the vendors and their customers, as well as Yang's practice of distancing herself from the method of shopping, are just several of the ways in which the cultural practices of a particular group are turned into merely antiquated traditions that must be first patronized, then eliminated.

Kang Kyŏng-ae's writings often described the plight of the working class under Japanese colonialism. Born in 1906 as a daughter to a poor farmer, she attended a Catholic boarding school in Pyŏngyang through support of her wealthy stepfather. She later attended Tongdŏk Girls School, from which she dropped out, relocating to Manchuria to work as a substitute teacher. She later returned to her home in Hwanghae Province to become a writer (Perry x). Her first novel, *Mothers and Daughters* (《어머니와 딸》, 1931), gained her recognition as a "new woman writer". *In'gan munje* (《인간 문제》, 1934), perhaps her most well-known novel, has been translated into English, with the title *From Wŏnso Pond*. After she married communist Chang Ha-il, she moved to Yongchŏng (龍井), Manchuria (Perry xi). Like many writers during the colonial era in Korea, she worked for a newspaper company, in her case the Manchurian *Chosun Ilbo* (조선일보, 朝鮮日報).[13] In much of her works Kang had to exercise self-censorship, which was only a prelude to the censorship that the state would enact (Perry viii).

Her short story "The Underground Village" (《지하촌》), published in 1935, is perhaps her most famous and most frequently anthologized story, appearing in English and Japanese translations and in such collections as Iwanami Shoten Publishers' 1984『朝鮮短篇小説選』(*Chōsen tanpen shōsetsu sen*, *Selected Korean Short Novels*). It is a portrayal of what can be described as abject poverty, similar to her other works which often focused on the lower class and the proletariat. The story, which is told by an omniscient narrator from the point of view of a young man named Chilsung, describes the struggles of one family as its members work in various ways to eke out a living, all the while questioning their very

[13] Such writers include Kim Il-yeop and Kim Myeong-sun. Other famous female writers from the colonial era include Ch'oe Chŏng-hŭi, Paek Sin-ae, and Pak Hwa-sŏng.

existence on earth. In particular, we see how the characters are gendered in ways that strip them of their agency or self hood. We can see in the character of the mother, for example, how she denies herself—and is in turn denied—any sense of self that is separate from that of the caretaker of the family through her productive and reproductive labors.

Chilsung, a young man who is in love with the beautiful, blind young woman living next to his family, makes his living—and earns his contributions to the family sustenance—through begging. Having become crippled and lost the strength of his limbs due to an illness during childhood (itself the result of a lack of proper medical care offered to the poor), Chilsung fails to fit the mold of the healthy, strong male; he is feminized, cursing the heavens each time he is confronted with the poverty of his family and his powerlessness to do anything about it. He feels that, ever since his father left, his mother has relied on him as the pillar of the family (Kang 125). Yet we are made skeptical of this comment by Chilsung, who from the beginning refuses to share with his family what he has been given from passersby for his "labor" as a beggar, instead fantasizing about what it would be like to "give Kunnyun the most delicious unbroken biscuits that he had garnered that day" (96). In fact, throughout the story Chilsung cares not for his family—his mother, his younger brother, and his younger sister, all of them nearly starving—but only for the beautiful Kunnyun next door. As his mother comes to offer him food to eat at the end of his long day of laboring as a beggar, he feels only contempt for her: "His mother pulled at the door. He felt as if she were pulling at the door to ask for biscuits or for money. He thought he hated his family and all" (100). Rather than the pillar as which he believes his mother perceives him, he is a cold presence in the family, believing that his family members and his own crippledness are what stand between him and happiness—a marriage with Kunnyun.

The character of the mother is the one who is most self-effacing in the story, and Kang portrays her as one who denies her self in order for her children to survive—and perhaps even achieve happiness. When we first encounter the mother, she is figuratively without a face, almost a mere disembodied voice: "'Is it you, Chilsung?' It was his mother's voice. He looked back. Her face could not be seen under the big bundle of brushwood, which made her neck tilt until it seemed about to break" (98). Without a face to be discerned, she is without an identity, without a self, nearly broken and unable to have her existence and subjectivity recognized. She is the one who truly labors in the family, leaving her second son (a child himself) to watch over the youngest baby girl while she goes to weed during the day and to cut wood during the night: "She had weeded all day and at night had gone up to the mountain and gathered wood. Although she was dead tired, she had to look after the baby at night. Every night she felt she wouldn't be able to wake up again once she fell asleep" (109). To carry out her daily labor, she must attempt to regain her strength through a sleep from which she feels she cannot wake up—a figurative death each day for her worn out body. Furthermore, she is not only a worker, she is also a mother—and while being one exhausts her to the extent that it prevents her from being the other, her efforts are not recognized: "Chilsung hated his mother for not looking after herself" (ibid.). For the mother (who remains throughout the story without a name, unlike her three children), laboring means that she is to have less and less of an identity as herself; her efforts, moreover, remain unacknowledged by her own children.

Yet what is she to do in her condition? And why such lack of consideration from her own family? The lack of recognition for each other's selfhood continues, like poverty, in a vicious cycle. When Chilsung hears that Kunnyun may be betrothed to a wealthy man from town, he becomes furious and can only think of things to offer her—materials for clothes, sweets, money—so that she will choose him instead. In the midst of all this fantasy that

requires the fruits of more labor (of begging) than he is able to perform, the mother must beg him to have pity on the rest of his family (112). Yet Chilsung is adamant; he leaves his family to work as a beggar, finally managing to collect enough alms to purchase fabric for a new skirt for Kunnyun. Throughout all this labor that he performs for the sake of the girl, he fails to recognize the work that his mother puts in in order to support her family. He does not see her hands stung all over by insects during her work, how "[s]he would have liked to take a look at her hands, but restrained herself and caressed the baby. She bared one of her breasts" (99). Chilsung is too concerned about the beautiful Kunnyun to be able to see that his mother is breaking down and alienating herself from her own body in order to ensure the survival of her children. No longer does either the mother's body or the labor that it produces belongs to her; that body has become an instrument through which to provide for her children (even if she cannot). Her self-effacement thus contributes to Chilsung's blindness toward his mother's selfhood (or lack thereof) as well, one inability to see leading to another's same inability.

We also see, however, that Chilsung's inability to recognize his mother as a human being comes from his frustrations with his own crippled, unproductive body. For a moment toward the beginning of the story, he prays that he would be able to gather wood instead of his mother—yet this is only for a moment (108). Later we also learn how Chilsung envied the other children for their healthy bodies when he was young:

> He envied them so much that he sighed and looked at them like a mindless boy, thinking, when will I be all right again and be able to go up the mountain to gather wood like those boys, with a staff stuck in the pannier slung over my back? And he thought that when he grew up he would climb the mountain and split thick boughs and bring down more wood than the pannier could hold. (117)

Labor, thus, is a sign of accomplishment for Chilsung—and because of his inability to carry out any labor, to "bring down more wood than the pannier could hold", his own sense of self is shattered, and he is unable to establish his positionality as a human being in relation to

others. This leads also to his inability see the humanity in others, making him unable to recognize the identity of his own mother as well. His having his body marked with a disability and his inability to provide for his family (as much as he believes he despises them) is a denial of his masculinity, just as his mother's excess labor is a denial of her femininity. This figurative blindness comes from Chilsung's distaste for his own body and his inability to labor in relation to others—as a beggar, he might as well be invisible to those who make his wage-earning possible.

The end of the story finds the mother emotionally distraught, her "eyes full of tears" and weeping aloud (126). She is exhausted and worried about her three children—her oldest because he had not come home, and her younger two because they are both ill without access to medical help. Her femininity and maternal instincts are taken to the extreme, as if to call attention to fact that she is supposed to possesses them, even if she must disown everything about her body in order to labor for her family. She rambles on with her concerns and her complaints, describing a benighted way of curing sores that ends in the tragic death of the youngest child (128).[14] The mother, who had to swallow her own words of retaliation when Chilsung yelled at the baby for being fussy, has lost her child because of the same oppressive environment that forced her to overwork herself, that made her run out of breast milk for lack of liquids and nutrients, that made her rely on dangerous treatments to care for her children. In her condition of poverty, when her body and the products of her labor barely belong to her, her act as a concerned mother causes the death of her child, the product of her (re)productive labor and the extension of her own flesh and blood.

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[14] In trying to treat the sores on her youngest child's head by wrapping rat skins over them, the mother unwittingly causes the child's death instead. When Chilwoon, the second child, notices that there is something wrong with the baby, it is already too late: "The cloth wrapped round the baby's head was about half torn off, and maggots as big as rice grains were crawling out of it. . . . The rat skin came away and from it dropped masses of maggots bathed in blood (128). That is the end of the story, with Chilsung glaring up at the sky in silence.

Thus in Kang's story we see another dimension of the institution of the work, wholly different from that about which Yang wrote. For Kang, labor is not a modern professionalism. As Koonz describes in her discussion of the role of women within Nazi politics and the building of the Nazi regime, women employees in factories in the late 1920s and early 1930s "did not have careers; they had jobs. A paycheck did not buy emancipation" (46). For the family in Kang's "The Underground Village," there is not even a paycheck of which to speak, even a hint of possibility for emancipation or social equality. Within colonial modernization under Japanese imperialism, their bodies are forced to labor, exploited for the benefit and advance of the rich and the elite, both Japanese and Korean. It is a condition of modernity that strips them of their identities and even of their livelihoods. It is a betrayal of the deceptive promises of the rhetoric modernity, but precisely the exploitation that makes the building of a modern empire possible.

Happiness and Gratitude in the Context of Colonial Modernity

Yang's works can be classified as colonial literature and also feminist literature—yet to do so relegates her works to categorizations that further reinforce the differentiations and marginalizations that drove colonial modernity. Furthermore, the desires and hopes Yang portrays belong to a woman who experiences both joy and sorrow (as well as entitlement and disfranchisement) during the colonial period. In reflecting on a time when the modernization project was changing the conception of gender, giving women more avenues for personal fulfillment and imperial servitude, Yang genuinely considers the role of women in the society and the home (*Jinsei* 352–353). For this she can be seen as a writer with feminist ideals. More interestingly, Yang desires to write one day without consideration for others, thinking only of herself (*Jinsei* 356). It is this desire, in fact, that the character of Hui Ying echoes in Yang's

short story: "I wonder if life is not about the pursuit of happiness" ("Hana" 102). Yang's conception of happiness, therefore, remains rooted in the self-centered, liberalist notion of the self that only furthers the ideological rhetoric employed by Japanese colonialism (which she does not pursue in life).

Within the colonial context, Yang maintains as her focus that which is most important to her—love for her family. Ultimately her autobiography is a self-proclaimed work of gratitude, first and foremost to her mother, who instills in her the values of a good (read: affluent, heterosexual, physically able) Taiwanese woman, and equally to all the people who are kind to her throughout her life. The love and longing she has for her mother, whom she loses at a young age, and for the rest of her family sustain Yang in her efforts to construct her identity as a writer. In the second introduction to *Prism of Life*, literary scholar Chang Liang-tse conveys to Yang's oldest daughter that the autobiography is a history not just of Yang's family, but of the Taiwanese people, before and after the war. To Chang, Yang is "everyone's" mother—an epitome of the maternal and nurturing Taiwanese feminine (Yang C., *Jinsei* 9), as promoted also by the imperialist regime. Toward the end of the autobiography Yang refers to her work as a "gift" to her grandchildren, something by which to remember her; at the same time, she considers their gift to her, which comes in the form of the inspiration that Yang's family—parents, siblings, husband, children, grandchildren—has given her in her process of writing (*Jinsei* 358). Her main source of strength as a liberal individual is her family, the same bourgeois, patriarchal institution that creates the obstacle between her and her independence as a modern woman writer.[15]

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[15] At the same time "the family" was a site wherein Yang was able seemingly to resist the contradictions of colonial modernity (despite the fact that it was, in actually, still an agent of Japanese imperialism).

In the context of colonialism, even the liberal values which are assumed that all humans can expect—love, freedom, happiness—become tokens for which one should be "grateful." What do we do with this condition, in terms of establishing and expressing a "self"? If Yang herself is happy with her life as a daughter, sister, wife, and mother, then does that nullify the fact that she is colonized (which she has faced daily throughout her life, even after the end of Japanese colonial rule)? These questions are perhaps unproductive, yet it is at least interesting to think about the relationship between happiness and gratitude within the context of colonial modernity. While modernization is often a side effect of colonization, the modernization of Taiwanese society had both positive and negative effects. Its colonial context relegated the Taiwanese people to be constantly one step behind their colonizers; yet the social changes meant to make more opportunities available to women—however incomplete, uneven, and unrealized those opportunities; however exclusionary and normative the definition of "woman"—enabled bourgeois women like Yang to discuss publicly these ideas about a "self."[16] Perhaps, as Yang and Hui Ying say, finding one's own happiness is a legitimate way to measure the worth of one's lived reality, even when blind to the contradiction and oppression engendered by a modernity that continuously shifts one's positionality and the experience of that very happiness.

Conclusion: The Extent of the Productivity of Imperial Women's Writings

The contradiction and collaboration between the imperial project of modernity and the lived realities of women under imperialism persist among women writers in Taiwan, Korea,

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[16] I am unsure how to frame the discussion here: I want to point to the "happiness" on which Yang insists in her autobiography—not in an uncritical way, but so as to discuss the problematic nature of the "incomplete" modernization that may, at the same time, be the indication of subjectification. I need to figure out how to do this without resorting to a simple/simplified "it's both positive *and* negative!" trick.

China, and other territories within Asia, as well as Japan itself. The discrepancies between new opportunities and oppression through colonialism, patriarchy, and modernization itself are a pressing issue for these writers, often that of life and death.

As we focus on the dynamic identities and positionalities of women under Japanese imperialism, we can examine how colonial modernity influenced writings from the colonies and how their representations of any given reality contrasted with the changing hopes, dreams, and desires of the writers themselves. Writings offer fruitful sites of knowledge production as records of both lived experiences and imagined lives during this historical period, particularly in terms of how the definition of "woman," as put forth by both the empire and the women themselves, furthered both the liberation and continued oppression of modernity. By examining knowledge thus produced, we can continue to ask: How did the imperium and women writers put forth different definitions of "woman," and how did those definitions further or fight colonial modernity's simultaneous liberation and oppression of its subjects?

Chapter 3—Wife, Bride:

Happiness and the Contradiction of Everyday Life

> It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife.
>
> —Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*

Jane Austen wrote these quotable words in her novel published in England in 1813, nearly a century before, and a continent apart from, the Japanese colonization of the Korean peninsula in 1910. Yet another century beyond that, the questions on some people's lips today remain the same: what *kind* of wife does such a single man want? And how can *I* become that?[1]

Yet we can step back from the excitement of graduating from bachelor-/bachelorette-hood to ask more fundamental questions: what *is* marriage, really? Who defines it, and how? Why, moreover, the constant struggle still for the right to marriage for couples constructed as being homosexual? Marriage is both personal and social, involving traditions and emotions of two individuals entering a union conceived to last for a lifetime—yet it is also a form of oppression via structural management carried out by the state over its subjects and their practice of sex, economies of labor, and (re)production. It is bound not only by romantic love but also by webs of the patriarchal family and normative practices of gender and sexuality constructed as venerable traditions.

Introduction: Let Me Not to the Marriage of True Minds / Admit Impediments

[1] And where all these single men in possession of good fortunes who are looking for wives, single, heterosexual women want to know?!

Chapter 3 explores how the social institution of marriage was redefined in the Japanese empire through social movements—feminist and otherwise—in the first half of the 20th century. To frame that exploration, I outline the history of marriage in both constructions of "West" and "East", leading into a focused discussion of how Western feminist thought (by theorists and activists such as Ellen Key (1849–1926), Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928), and Margaret Sanger (1876–1966)) influenced the conception of marriage in East Asia. In particular, we examine how East Asian feminist theories—many of which came from the "West" (or at least the West as it was constructed in that Orientalist relationship between not only the Occident and Asia, but also Japan and its colonies and territories)—intersected with imperial ideologies in reshaping the marriage institution. In the process, the chapter draws out the contradictions inherent in such feminist theories and practices, particularly within colonial modernity. The chapter then analyzes writings from the metropole and the colonies, focusing on works by Hani Motoko, to delineate the ideological convergences and divergences that call into question notions of modern, liberal, and feminist.

Ideas of Western liberal feminism from the late 18th century, such as those described in British writer Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1791), asserted that women should—and could—liberate themselves and gain independence and equality with men. Social theorists and feminists who leaned toward principles of liberalism also argued that marriage should be a relationship and agreement based on love and personal choice. Since the 1700s increasing significance was also placed on the constructed notion of modern, romantic love, with particular acts and items becoming associated with the display of the (supposedly)

authentic emotion.[2] These ideas of liberal feminism and modern romance affected ideas about the institution of marriage in the Japanese empire as well.

Yet these emergent ideas about marriage based on liberal feminism (about romantic love, personal choice made out of liberty about one's own life course) contradicted the institutional nature of marriage itself. This is not unlike the simultaneous construction of knowledge and ignorance in the institution of education, or the difficulty of having a career and living it too under the labor institution. This chapter thus examines these contradictions, as they were refracted through the marriage institution.

In such an examination, I begin by briefly discussing two "Western" writers—Mina Loy of England and Marianne Moore of the United States—to use their texts as an entrance into examining texts from the Japanese empire. The chapter then takes up Hani Motoko's work *Fūfuron* 『夫婦論』, her treatise on marriage published in 1927 and influenced by her liberal thought and Christian faith.[3] Hani encourages women to have with their male spouses a relationship not of subordination, but of symbiosis; yet her theory reinforces the ideology in which subordination merely transforms into an already ascribed role for a woman to fill as a wife in a heteronormative, capitalist society. By bringing to the fore and problematizing the influence of Western feminism, liberalism, and Christianity on the contradictions in Hani's theory on marriage, we are able to recognize similar contradictions in other writers of the Japanese empire, such essayist Ōsako Rinko and poet Takamure Itsue. Furthermore, by looking at the relationship between Japanese feminist ideologies and feminist works written in other parts of the empire, this chapter explores how shifting relationships of marriage for

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[2] The cause of this shift was both economic and philosophical. As Stephanie Coontz (2008) describes, wage labor within the market economy as well as Enlightenment ideas of "the pursuit of happiness" facilitated individuals gaining independence from their families more quickly and enjoying the increased acceptance of marriage for love rather than for economic or political gain.

[3] Hani is her last name, Motoko her first name.

heterosexual couples within the Japanese empire complicated the liberatory assumptions made about the empire's social reforms surrounding the institution. Through an analysis of writings on "modern" marriage, this chapter argues that, while many works by feminist writers in the first half of the 20th century called for self-realization and self-improvement through the institution of marriage, such notions of the "self" were possible only as a newly subjugated version of the "self", a (lesser) half of husband-and-wife relationship—just as an imperial subject in the colonies was possible only as a (lesser) version of a "real" Japanese subject from the metropole. In other words, the modern (bad faith) promise of liberation and romantic marriage was a way to produce subjects that continued to desire love and happiness even when they were unattainable in modern society.

Marriage in the Context of Liberalism, Feminism, and Colonial Modernity

As I have discussed in the Introduction, the construction of East and West, of Orient and Occident, was just that: a construction. That construction enabled the identification of one in relation to another, as well as the reaffirmation of the self as one of a higher (or lower) position on social and political hierarchies. This playing-off of the "East" and "West" against each other influenced the dialogic modernization projects in the East, particularly under Japanese imperialism and the establishment of Japan as a modern nation-state, as Stefan Tanaka has described.[4] Theorizations of equality and marriage by East Asian feminists, influenced by Western liberal feminism, also argued for liberation of women within the parameters of a modern empire.

To discuss the modernization of marriage in the East due to its interactions with the West, we must first discuss liberalism and the sexual contract. In the second of his *Two*

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[4] See Tanaka, Stefan. *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts Into History*. Berkeley: U of CA P, 1993.

Treatises of Government, John Locke explains how man can, by his own consent, earn protection from the government of his state in exchange for his liberty to inflict harm upon others. By "signing" the social contract and agreeing to follow the state's laws, man becomes a member of a politic society and can expect both protection and equal treatment by the government while still reserving certain rights as a liberal member of that society.

Already in this context, not all individuals became full (or equal) members of politic society. Marriage, in particular, had traditionally been a tool to bring together tribes, clans, and families for the benefit of the males of the community, through the use of the female body as a commodity of exchange. Gayle Rubin has discussed the oppression of women as a social, rather than a biological, phenomenon (175). By putting in conversation Claude Lévi-Strauss and Marcel Mauss, she elaborates how the act of gift giving (which "expresses, affirms, or creates a social link between the partners of an exchange") taboos incest by creating links *between* (rather than within) families through the "giving" of the woman from one family to another, and furthermore, benefits the *men* who are the agents of that gift giving—the "partners of [the] exchange" (Rubin 172–174). Thus the kinship system gives power and rights to men as exchangers, while women (who are the objects of the exchange) are not entitled to those same rights. In other words, "subordination of women can be seen as a product of the relationships by which sex and gender are organized and produced" (Rubin 177).

This tradition in which marriage benefited men at the expense of women was built into Locke's construction of the liberal social contract in the 1600s. Women were able to partake in that contract and enter civil society *only* through marriage (Pateman 180). In what Carole Patemen describes as the "sexual contract", marriage was first an exchange of a woman between two (equal) men, and then an establishment of the marriage contract within the

couple of (unequal) man and woman. The marriage contract was built into the sexual contract thus, in which men reserved the right to both exchange and marry (and own) a woman: "The (sexual) contract is the vehicle through which men transform their natural right over women into the security of civil patriarchal right"; a woman is the (objective) *subject* of the contract, but can "have no part in the original contract" herself (Pateman 6).

We now return to the question from the beginning of the chapter: who/what is a wife, and what is a marriage? As Rubin theorizes marriage based on her observations as an anthropologist, and Pateman develops her theory on the Lockean ideology of Western Liberalism, there is both room and need to consider the role and history of marriage (as well as of filial and romantic love) in the context of East Asia, noting its distinctions from the Western practice and institution of marriage—distinctions that exist across regions within East Asia as well.

Feminist theory in the West challenged the subordinate nature of women in marital relationships. Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* was a landmark in the discussion on women's rights; nearly a century later, works such as Henrik Ibsen's play *A Doll's House* (first published and performed in 1879), Kate Chopin's "The Story of an Hour" (1894) and *The Awakening* (1899), and writings by feminists such as Key from Sweden and Pankhurst from Great Britain inspired much discussion among feminist thinkers and writers in the West about issues related to suffrage, marriage, and birth control.

In the turn of the century between the 19th and the 200th in East Asia, feminism was seen as an ideological import from the West, and theories and ideologies of Western liberal feminism influenced conceptions of gender relations that were articulated in different ways, in different national contexts. In Japan, the rise of feminism paralleled the rise of nationalism and the construction of a modern nation-state (based on a model conceived by the West). This

construction of consciousness as modern subjects affected many aspects of the lives of people in Japan, including the social construction of gender, subjectivity/subjecthood within the context of the nation, the relationship between modernity and modernism, and feminine sexuality.

In such changing times, women writers took advantage of the burgeoning print culture in Japan. In Tokyo, Hiratsuka Raichō founded a feminist magazine titled *Seitō*, which ran from 1911 until 1916, by which point Itō Noe had taken over the reigns of editorship. A number of female writers contributed to *Seitō*, engaging in dialogues about topics related to marriage, divorce, and abortion among each other, both in published writings and informally.[5] As Kanō Mikiyo notes, the women of *Seitō* were themselves going through life stages—and thus the significance of keywords such as "motherhood" (母性, *bosei*) and "self" or "ego" (自我, *jiga*) shifted over time in their discussions (301). Though it had a smaller readership, *Seitō* provided space for more radical, literary women to publish their writings, in comparison o other women's magazines of the Taishō era, such as *Shufu no tomo* and *Fujin kurabu* (Hane, *Reflections* 20–21).

Furthermore, for women throughout the empire, the intersection of their gender and Japanese imperial subjectification gave rise to unique concerns of intimacy and gender roles, particularly within modernity. Hani Motoko, who was perhaps the first female journalist in Japan as well as a prominent educator, performed the role of the ideal (perhaps even wise) mother through her writings in her magazine, while also running a school that espoused the notion of treating each individual, even young students, as responsible members of society who can be entrusted with responsibilities for the greater good of the community. Hani's life

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[5] These writers in Japan familiarized themselves with a wide range of intellectuals and thinkers, in addition to those already mentioned. Many of these were women writers from the West, including anarchist Emma Goldman (1869–1940) and Olive Schreiner (1855–1920) from South Africa.

and work thus offer examples of how some Japanese women established their sense of individuality, inclusion, and belonging in a patriarchal and modernizing—and thus West-oriented—society. Hani writes on many topics, including how to run a household and manage a family and how to ensure a proper education for children, in order to guide women and men of a nation in transition. Yet the audience for her writings were middle-class subjects or those aspiring to the middle-class, and Hani's philosophy endorsed the idea that women need not fight for "liberation," but rather develop more symbiotic relationships with their male spouses by embracing a prescribed role within the domestic sphere of the household.

In addition to calling for female liberation, works by many feminist writers during the first two decades of the 20th century also depicted the different relationships between the constructions of gender and the experiences of modernity by people of various nations. Issues surrounding "the Women's Question"—the roles and rights of women, including those that are political, economic, and social—played a significant part in the modernization (or "Westernization") of many nations, particularly those of the Third World.

Yet how did these ideas and theories about gender and feminism take shape as practical actions in reality? We have seen how modernization created contradictions in praxis, between liberation and subjugation. Such contradictions took many forms, seen in the realization of women's roles in various social institutions, certainly not unique to the institution of marriage. Beginning with the contradictions between theory and practice, there also were contradictions between the imagined life depicted in fiction and the real life depicted in nonfiction (however that "reality" was depicted); between modernity and colonial modernity; and between the myriad different philosophies held by individuals.

The idealized notion of modernity took the form of a supposed break from the past, shifting the economic, political, and social terrain of many nations in the West at the end of

World War I in 1918, a moment constructed to serve as a closing bookend to a series of changes that included the Enlightenment, secularization, the spread of democracy throughout Europe, and industrialization and the rise of capitalism. The collection of these changes became tied to the notion of modernity and progress, and this construction of the end of the "old" and the beginning of the "new" destabilized social and aesthetic practices of the West and elicited a variety of reactions from political figures and artists alike. One strand of these reactions was characterized by the increase in discussions surrounding a feminist consciousness, an example of which was the passage in 1920 of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, granting women the right to vote. Women writers throughout Europe and the United States (such as Jean Rhys, and Gertrude Stein, and Virginia Woolf) also rose to prominence during the modernist era, writing in reaction to a modernity that was being unfolded before them.

Two equally arbitrary "breaking off" points exist in modern Japanese history as well: the 1868 initiation of the Meiji Restoration—which led to the creation and establishment of the "Modern Time"—and the Japanese surrender to the Allied powers on August 15, 1945, an event that concluded the Pacific War of World War II, and in theory, Japanese imperialism. The development of Japanese imperialism hinged on the Meiji Restoration and its modernization project, itself spurred on by Japan's contacts with the West (e.g., Matthew Perry's invasion in 1853, Russo-Japanese War in 1904–05) after centuries of isolation save contacts with Portuguese and Dutch merchants and missionaries in the 16th century. Each of the three historical periods marked by the two breaking off points saw the rise of different types of women writers and literary themes within the Japanese empire. For women like Hani, who wrote during the period roughly between 1868 and 1945, being a Japanese woman entailed the experiences of the intersecting construction of gender and emergence of

nationalism, which presented itself as a contradiction: In order to be recognized and respected as a nation-state by the West, the Japanese government mobilized its female subjects to be modern, educated, and "civilized"; yet at the same time, the government held women responsible for anchoring its future subjects in national traditions through the their responsibilities as mothers, the essential instruments of reproduction (Jayawardena 14). So we see that, as Western modernity—both ideological and aesthetic—reorganized gender relations and ideologies, it influenced the way the institution of marriage became a key social institution to help advance the causes of Japanese imperialism.

Writings by Women of "the West"

To analyze writings by Hani, I first examine writings by Hani's contemporaries in the West, women writers who present their own views on gender relationships that aim for "equality" (in the Western liberal feminist sense of the term).

The "Feminist Manifesto" (1914) by British writer Mina Loy (1882–1966) presents a theory on the identity of women and the social institution of marriage that differs significantly from Hani's theory on marriage. Loy's manifesto criticizes the relationship of domination between men and women, providing a framework for analyzing writings by other women writers during the early 20th century. We find that, while Hani and Loy both write about marriage from "feminist" standpoints, they arrive at different conclusions on how marriage should be understood, challenged, and experienced. Hani's nonfiction essays and Loy's creative piece illuminate a third text that also addresses marriage: a poem by the American poet Marianne Moore (1887–1972) titled "Marriage" (1923). The poem critiques the inequalities inherent in the institution but nonetheless maintains hope for finding emotional fulfillment through that union. The analysis of these texts—as performatives of both theory

and practice of marriage—suggests that, while the conception of gender within modernity called for liberation among some women and interdependence among others, women writers were most concerned with the establishment of a sense of self that enabled personal growth and an assertion of a unique and individual identity. Such identities, however, were denied through the social institution of marriage: within the empire's frameworks of expansion and subjectification, the goal of modern marriage was to manage and homogenize the subjects, rather than to enable the establishment of their "selves".

As women of England and the United States, the historical backgrounds of Loy and Moore present a different narrative of the intersectionality of gender and nationality. While no more simple than femininities in the Japanese empire, femininities in the West often required a different type of negotiation between the women's efforts in feminism and the people's efforts in nationalism. The differences among Hani and the two Western writers influences the treatments of marriage and self-realization in their respective pieces. Loy's "Feminist Manifesto" offers a framework for the analysis of Moore's poem, which in turn leads to understanding an alternate framework provided by Hani's essays.

Loy provides an interesting feminist theory on the social institution of marriage.[6] Roger Conover, editor of *The Lost Lunar Baedeker* (a collection of Loy's poetry and prose works), dates Loy's "Feminist Manifesto" to 1914, a time of shifting definitions of marriage and gender roles for Loy and the women of Britain. Written shortly after her divorce from

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[6] Born Mina Gertrude Lowry, Loy left her birthplace of London to study art in continental Europe, where she met photographer, writer, and artist Stephen Haweis. She later married Haweis at the age of 21, during her return to England. The couple had three children, though their divorce in 1913 ended their 10-year marriage. She moved to New York in 1916, where she met Futurist poet—and all-around character—Arthur Cravan; the two married in Mexico City in 1918 and had one daughter together. Their marriage, however, ended in nebulous circumstances soon after, when Cravan disappeared without a trace while sailing from Mexico to Argentina (perhaps capsizing and drowning in a storm). Throughout her life Loy wrote, painted, performed in the theater, and supported herself and her family through her work at her lampshade design studio. She became acquainted with many modernists, including Gertrude Stein, Filippo Marinetti, Marcel Duchamp, and James Joyce (Rainey 417).

artist Stephen Haweis, the manifesto critiques relationships between men and women and the inadequacy of efforts by women to establish their own identities, urging them to abandon their need for an "Other" to reaffirm who they are. The biographical fact of Loy's own two marriages complicates the use of her manifesto as a framework of analysis for Moore's poem. The manifesto, with its unique use of typography—variations in font size, use of underlining and capital letters, changing alignments and space width—conveys dynamism and passion to its readers. The piece opens with "The feminist movement as at present instituted is Inadequate" (153), expressing Loy's desires for, and expectations from, feminism. Written while she was residing in Florence, Loy criticizes the complacency with which women accept the "[p]rofessional & commercial careers" that "are opening up for" them: "Is that all you want?" (ibid.). She demands more from both life and the feminist movement.

Loy's manifesto calls for women to "seek within [themselves] to find out what [they] are" (154), in a critique as much of the institution of marriage as of feminism mired in modern capitalism. Relationality with men to establish their identities is not enough—the female sex is not merely "a relative impersonality" (ibid.) that can be assessed only as a lesser counterpart to the male sex. In fact, Loy's emphasis on the women's need to find their own identities sets her manifesto within the context of both Western liberal feminism and other modernist texts: Resembling Viktor Shklovsky's idea of "estrangement," Loy states, "Women must destroy in themselves, the desire to be loved—" (155); they must distance themselves from both their male partners and their desire for love and companionship, in an effort not only to "estrange" themselves from their partners but also to reduce their emotional dependency into an unrecognizable "initial element" (156). Women must maintain their will, courage, and health in order to establish their sense of self. They must also understand that sex as an act makes "social regeneration" possible (ibid.), negating any assertion of its impurity, regardless of

whether it takes place in marriage or not. Ironically, of course, these ideas directly serve the needs of the state.

The manifesto questions the limited mistress-mother dyad that is the only option available for women's roles within the context of middle-class British society. Loy in fact states that "Nature has endowed the complete woman with a faculty for expressing herself through all her functions" (154); she encourages her (assumed female) audience to embrace both mistress *and* mother roles, stating that the former should not be vilified because of its relation to the sexual act outside of marriage, and that the latter should be a right for every woman regardless of marital status. While Loy critiques marriages in which women are supported by men in exchange for giving their virginity and the (chance) conception of children (155), the foremost concern for Loy is the desire for women to assert their own identities: "if you want to realise yourselves…the only method is Absolute Demolition…desire to find your level without prejudice" (153)!

The self-realization and empowerment through estrangement that Loy asserts operate in interesting ways in Moore's poem.[7] Her poem "Marriage" (1923) pushes forward the theories of Loy's "Feminist Manifesto", yet it also points to the conflicts between the positive and the negative aspects of marriage. Moore's poem, while recognizing the inequalities inherent in the marriage institution, settles for its ambiguities and hangs on to the possibility of "'Liberty and union / now and forever'" (lines 290–291) and the idea of achieving both autonomy of the self and commitment to their male partner for women in marriage.

Like Loy, Moore notes the trivialization of marriage (123–124) and the devaluation of women as they are reduced to their sex and biological ability to reproduce. Moore notes the

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[7] Marianne Moore was an American poet who edited the *Dial*, a well-known literary and artistic magazine of the 1920s. She was known as an eccentric individual, who wore a tricorne hat, loved the Brooklyn Dodgers, and remained unmarried throughout her life (Rainey 646).

constructed second-class citizenship of women: "'some have merely rights / while some have obligations'" (236–237). In marriage, men are charged with the "obligation" to tame, protect, and civilize their wives, while the women as the emotional creatures have the privilege of being married to men with power.[8] Her language evokes a sense of patriarchy, capitalism, and colonialism. As the female speaker in the poem critiques,

> "'Men are monopolists
> of stars, garters, buttons
> and other shining baubles'
> unfit to be the guardians
> of another person's happiness." (204–208)

Men are portrayed as striving toward hegemonic masculinity, in which possessions, property, and "other shining baubles" display their high status to other men. (Women, objectified by men into "stars, garters, buttons / and other shining baubles," are not even included in the audience of this display.) Marriage is a business, a heteronormative "enterprise" (2), in which men are monopolists and women commodities.

Yet Moore also recognizes that the redeeming (or at least attractive) possibilities of marriage coexist with its shortfalls, using diction that intertwines the positive and the negative. Although flawed, marriage is a "crystal-fine experiment, / this amalgamation which can never be more / than an interesting impossibility" (44–46). Marriage, despite its "impossibility," remains "the choicest piece" (50) of one's life, desired and idealized by many. The poem steps away from the idea of estrangement as emphasized by Loy: Moore does not outright declare that (heterosexual) women should rid themselves of their desire and longing for men and a union with them in marriage; she recognizes the contradictions in the marriage institution—

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[8] The modern(ist), feminist ideas forwarded by Loy and Moore apply to a particular class, namely the bourgeois or middle class. Working-class marriage did not afford women the luxury to stop working, which doubled their responsibilities as a laborer both outside and inside the home. The female addressees of Loy's and Moore's theories on marriage are thus middle- to upper-middle-class female subjects. "Whiteness", at least a whiteness that marks women as imperial or colonizer, is also assumed.

the "public promises / of one's intention / to fulfill a private obligation" (6–8)—but also insists on its redeeming qualities and attempts to remind men "that there is in woman / a quality of mind / which is an instinctive manifestation" (84–86) of her identity and self. Rather than complete alienation, Moore posits that marriage can be "that striking grasp of opposites / opposed each to the other, not to unity" (264–265). In a sense, Moore walks the line between Loy's call for estrangement from men and marriage, and Hani's call to find self-improvement through marriage and union with a male husband.

Ultimately, however, Moore's poem aligns itself with Loy's theory of women's liberation, rather than the interdependence that Hani suggests in her theory on marriage, as we shall see. Moore's male speaker in the poem says,

> 'a wife is a coffin'
> that severe object
> with the pleasing geometry
> stipulating space and not people,
> refusing to be buried
> and uniquely disappointing. (215–220)

According to this (straw man of a) staged viewpoint, the female partner in marriage is merely an object, an empty box meant to hold a cadaver as it is buried underground upon the arrival of death. While it has a pleasing "geometry" and shape to be seen and enjoyed at the will of the male husband-spectator, the "coffin" is but a void, an empty signifier with no meaning or identity; neither the woman herself nor the corpse can have any meaning. Moore's female speaker refutes this viewpoint: being alive, the wife—a breathing, thinking human being—refuses to be buried, thus causing disappointment from the perspective of the husband.

Moore's chilling commentary on marriage, despite her ambiguous hopefulness, contrasts with the works by Hani. In the context of the Japanese feminist and nationalist movements of the time, Hani experiences a different type of intersection of gender and nationality from what Loy and Moore experience. It is Hani's unique intersection of female

gender and Japanese imperial subjectivity that leads her to recognize the contradictions that Moore raises in her poem, but also the benefit of husband and wife forming a strong, interdependent relationship.

Modernization as Context for Marriage in Japan

The two texts about marriage by Western, modernist female writers contrast with texts about marriage written by women in the metropole and the rest of the Japanese empire. Texts from the metropole often grapple simultaneously with questions of liberal modernization and imperialism when theorizing marriage. Modernity in Japan came as a reaction to its contact with Western powers, both as a need to respond to the threat of invasion—military, economic, or otherwise—and as a desire to achieve comparable levels of technological and industrial advancement. This contact brought about Japan's own aesthetic reaction to modernity, taking the form of works by Japanese modernists, as well as the parallel emergence of nationalism and feminism. In the metropole, the government attempted to establish a manageable social institution of marriage under its imperialist project in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, intended to empower the nation and the empire, by strengthening family ties that bound the component units of the empire and the nation under new systems of patriarchy.

Marriage and love in Japan have a history distinct from their Western institutional and practical counterparts, ideas that were reorganized starting in the late 1800s. During the Edo period (1603–1868), marriage was often an exchange to tie two families together; there also was a sentiment of a bride or a groom exiting her or his own family and "entering" a new one, in a process of *yomeiri* (嫁入り) or *mukoiri* (婿入り) (in which the word *iri* (入り) with the

Chinese character commonly used for *hairu* (入る) meaning "entrance" or "to enter").[9] The event of a bride being given from her own family to the family of the groom was an occasion for displaying wealth, with carriages loaded with the bride's dowry, which included pieces of furniture and kimono. The brides were also seen as "laborers" (労働者) who were to enter the grooms' family in order to work for her new family, particularly for her new in-laws (for free).[10]

The Meiji period (1868–1912) saw reforms in the Civil Code. The 1871 law strengthening the *koseki* family registry system (戸籍法) and the family system of *katei seido* (家庭制度), for example, ensured that national subjects were bound to the emperor as children in his family (天皇の赤子, *tennō no akago*). Furthermore, based on the Meiji Civil Code of 1898, women's roles in the family were recast as staying in the home and maintaining their faithfulness and loyalty both to their husbands and to the other male members of the family.[11] Many women, whom modernization meant to integrate into and employ for the nation-building process, contested the new definitions of male-female relations in institutions of marriage and family: modernization (or Westernization) in Meiji Japan reinscribed women into new positions of subordination. In an advice column published in the *Miyako shinbun* (『都新聞』, *Capital Newspaper*) in December 18, 1909, one male reader asks:

> I was introduced to two potential bride candidates at roughly the same time. One is the daughter of a wealthy family and quite a beauty, but she has completed only grade school. The other is the daughter of a low-ranking

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[9] It is said that one of the symbolic meanings of the white kimono that the bride wears in the Shinto marriage ceremony in Japan (referred to as *shiromuku* (白無垢), though this word refers to any kimono of which both the outer and inner linings are made of white fabric) is that of the bride entering her new family to become dyed in the color of her new family.

[10] Morishita Misako (森下みさ子) discusses marriage in the Edo period in *Brides of Edo* (*Edo no hanayome,*『江戸の花嫁：婿えらびとブライダル』。東京：中央公論社／中公新書、1992).

[11] While loyalty had been important before the Meiji Civil Code of 1898, the law denied women rights to property, granted all decision-making powers to the husband, and prescribed that women bear children and take on the principal role in raising them

> official and has completed high school, but her looks would rank 10th among a group of 10—though I hear she has a positive attitude. What should I do? (79)[12]

A difficult situation indeed. Yet even with the modernization effort of the Meiji Restoration, higher levels of education for women were only just beginning to become widespread. In 1875, seven years after the start of the Restoration in 1868, only 18.6 percent of girls went to school; and while that figure had risen to over 90 percent in 1900, the percentage of girls attending middle school (中等教育) in 1905 was only 1.7 percent. An 1899 edict formally established secondary school education for girls (高等女学校令) and was later revised in 1908 to extend secondary education to 4–5 years, for girls 12 years or older; yet many wealthy girls did not attend secondary school (高等女学校) after primary school, for they did not need to be educated in order to marry well and be a good wife (or even a wise mother).[13]

In the midst of discussions about feminist works from Asia and beyond and challenges against the ideology of the Good Wife (a prerequisite to becoming the Wise Mother), many Japanese subjects in the Meiji era earnestly considered what makes a "good wife". Another reader, this time female, sent in her own query to the same newspaper on November 23, 1908:

> I am 18 years old and became a wife three months ago. My husband works at the ministry and is quite busy. I await our conversations after he returns home, so I prepare dishes that I think he enjoys and do my best to be a good wife—yet he gives me not a single kind word. Sometimes I want to be spoiled by him as a newly-wed, but he just looks upset and doesn't say anything. I believe this is because he doesn't love me. What can I do to make his cold heart burn with passion? (199)

While some may sympathize with the young bride, the advice columnist advised that she must learn to cook better dishes if she wants him to remark positively about her cooking. He adds

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[12] Translations of Japanese texts in this chapter are my own, unless otherwise noted.

[13] The advice columnist advised that the reader choose the more educated bride, despite her looks, however. His reasoning was that one would prefer a bride who can be a good mother to his children by supporting them in their education, and a pretty face cannot necessarily accomplish that. The columnist also chastised the groom for hoping for any type of assistance from the pretty bride's wealthy family.

that, if he does not feel passion, warmth, or kindness toward her, then it must be her own fault (200). We can never know the marital situation of the couple involving the 18-year-old bride, but during the Meiji era the columnist's response to her concerns had its own logic.

Attitudes toward love and marriage began to shift during the Taishō era (1912–1926), as more young people openly valorized notions of free love (自由恋愛) with influence from its Western counterpart. Free marriage (自由結婚), or marriages based on free love, remained few, however: the practical problem remained that marriages, if it were to be considered proper, came to be arranged by parents and families, rather than the individuals in question; marriage was a joining of two families (the gift-giving described by Rubin) that involved consideration of social status and financial wealth. Even during the Taishō era, many bride and groom did not meet each other until the day of their marriage. Brides were expected to be "Good Wives, Wise Mothers", to bear children (especially boys), and obey their parents-in-law. In a collection of personal advertisements placed in the August 1925 issue of *Fujin sekai* (『婦人世界』, *Ladies' World*), we see how individuals (most likely with consultation from parents and family) sought to make the most of opportunities for romantic love before (or "for") marriage. Both men and women placed ads; like today's Match.com profiles, they indicate the city in which they live, age, education level, nuclear family structure, occupation and assets (for men), other notes (such as height, health status, marital status, hobbies, and level of attractiveness), and finally, their hopes for their potential spouse. These hopes include age, height, educational level, health status, smoking and drinking habits, and personality traits. (It is noticeable that one of the ads placed by a 22-year-old woman seeks a husband who is a virgin—and *not* a pale-skinned pretty boy.) With another poster requesting a period of dating before the marriage, we can see from these ads the different ways in which people took control of the kinds of spouses they wanted to marry (though given certain restrictions). Throughout

Japan, depending on regions in which people lived and the social classes to which they belonged, marriage practices varied widely. For example, Robert Smith has suggested, in his republication of notes on the women of Suye Mura collected by Ella Lury Wiswell, that "To an extent not suggested by the literature on Japanese rural society, the women of Suye displayed a remarkable and quite unexpected degree of independence in the matter of marriage and divorce" (149). What is interesting to note here is the collection of practices that became constructed as popular and "modern" in the first half of the 20th century.

Imperialist ideologies influenced the changing conceptions of marriage through this modernization, with modernization reforms reinforcing the patriarchal subjectivity among women called for by imperialism. While both men and women were subjectified by imperialization, women in particular were tasked with child-bearing, which was seen as a way to strengthen the empire. Imperialization itself was also seen as starting in the home, where mothers were expected to raise their children into respectable subjects. In addition to the patriarchal nature of the family, the nation-state of Japan itself was also seen as a family (家族国家, family state), with the emperor as its head.[14] In other words, while ideas about free love and the ability to have a say in the choice of a spouse was becoming a more common rhetoric for both young men and women in the first half of the 20th century in Japan, the mutual reinforcement between modernization and imperialization maintained subordinate gender roles for women.

Discussions from the late 1910s on were also fraught with questions about the relationship between marriage as an institution and marriage as an ideal. In modernity, how can a woman be a *(be)love(d)*—with a Modern Girl characterized by her sexuality and a New Woman by her opportunities to participate in the public sphere as an active subject—only to

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[14] The family institution and the notion of the family state are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

be transformed into a *(house)wife* within the institution of marriage, expected to cook, clean, and reproduce for the husband (and, indirectly, the emperor)? And how can she and her husband maintain the intimate romance that had become increasingly emphasized when qualifying "modern" relationships in the context of liberalism? The roles ascribed to women under modernity and imperialism, in other words, negated the freedom in matters of personal intimacy that was emphasized in the rhetoric of a modern marriage institution.

Japanese women writers during this time, however, in contrast to women writers of the West—many of whom supported ideas of liberal feminism and women distancing themselves from the private sphere of the home to enter the public sphere of work and positive citizenship—also created a sense of feminist consciousness and a space of belonging *specifically* through their discussions of, and writings about, the domestic space of "home" and family. While many feminist writers in Japan called for the liberation of women through participation in the public sphere and access to education, many also emphasized the empowerment of women through their contributions in the home and the support they gave to their husbands, particularly in the context of vigorous nationalist and imperialist developments.

Of course, women's responses to the modernization of marriage varied according to the writers' positionalities. As I discuss later in this chapter, femininity in different parts of the Japanese empire (advocated by both the state and some of the subjects) implied a particular role of creating a private space of belonging and being "home" in the expanding state. Japanese imperialist expansion and involvement in World War II nonetheless complicated the intersection of being a "Japanese" and a woman: While the citizenship granted to male Japanese nationals differed from those granted to male subjects from the Japanese colonies and territories—who were naturalized as Japanese through imperial subjectification—women

were denied full citizenship regardless of whether they were Japanese nationals or colonial subjects. This condition problematized the definition of Japanese femininity and created groups of individuals who were marginalized for the intersections of the various identity categories to which they belonged.

Given this context of modernization and imperialization, Hani Motoko asserts that in marriage, a relationship of symbiosis, rather than of subordination, with their husbands is what is most important for women. Yet in her theory, which she puts forward in *Fūfuron* (1927), that symbiotic role is merely an ascription for women to fill as wives in a classed, heteronormative society. As works by other writers suggest, the reality of marriage within the empire was not one of love and equality, as promised by discourses of modernization, but of domination by both the husband and the state, which modernity itself engendered. Writings about marriage, by women of disparate cultural and personal backgrounds—contained within an empire that was, however regionalized, nonetheless a spatial and temporal continuum—thus negotiated and illuminated the common struggles across geographic regions, among social classes, and between the lovers themselves, as well as the impenetrable borders that separated them. The women's lived knowledge of marriage—and the writings through which they performed and recorded that knowledge—complicated the liberatory assumptions of modernity in the Japanese empire.

Hani Motoko

Her life and work made Hani Motoko (羽仁もと子, 1873–1957) a thoughtful commentator on marriage and women's empowerment. Though she never called herself a feminist, she was an educator, writer, and mother, who was deeply concerned about the accessibility of education to women and young girls in Japan. Having gained experience as an

editor of *Jogaku zasshi* (*Women's Education Magazine*,『女学雑誌』)[15] while a student, Hani[16] went on to become the first female journalist in Japan, writing for *Hōchi Shinbun* (『報知新聞』) beginning in 1896. Having been baptized in 1890 while still a student, she incorporated her Christian faith into her writings and policies on education for the remainder of her life.

Figure 3.1. The *Myōnichikan* (明日館) building, which is the main hall of the Freedom School. It was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright and his Japanese student Endō Arata (遠藤新) and built in 1921.

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[15] Rebecca Copeland discusses this magazine at length in *Lost Leaves*.

[16] I shall make it a point to refer to Hani Motoko by her last name (Hani), although there are other famous members of the Hani family: her first daughter Setsuko (writer, 1903–1987), her son-in-law Gorō (Marxist historian), her third daughter Keiko, her grandson Susumu (film director, b. 1928), her granddaughter Kyōko (music education theorist, b. 1929), etc.

Her first marriage at the age of 23 lasted for six months, at the conclusion of which she felt she had failed herself by not realizing and pursuing her own intellectual and professional responsibilities, instead allowing herself to be pushed along mindlessly in her marital relationship. After marrying her second husband Hani Yoshikazu, a fellow journalist who was to be her partner for the remainder of their lives, she and her husband opened their own educational institution in 1921, a private high school for women called *Jiyū Gakuen* 自由学園 (Freedom School) (Rappaport 289). The couple also went on to establish the *Fujin no tomo* publishing company (婦人之友社), creating such magazines as *Fujin no tomo* (『婦人之友』) and *Katei no tomo* (『家庭之友』). This, of course, was a time in which the magazine industry provided a site for constructions of the modern Japanese woman, particularly as an active subject within capitalism (Sato 7). Yet despite these accomplishments (many of which still endure[17]), compared to other Japanese feminists of the time, such as Yosano Akiko (1878–1942) and Hiratsuka Raichō (1886–1971) (of the *Seitō* magazine), less has been written on Hani in Western scholarship. Historian Sharon L. Sievers mentions her in the introduction to her scholarly work *Flowers in Salt*, only to make the point that she has not included Hani in the scope of her research (xiii). Chieko Irie Mulhern provides an English translation of one of Hani's autobiographical pieces, "Stories of My Life," in addition to devoting a chapter on Hani in *Heroic With Grace*. Mulhern describes Hani's personal goals as well as the goal of *Jiyū gakuen* as "the cultivation of individuals endowed with self-awareness, a sense of mission, and a spirit of independence, all of which at the time were discouraged in women, if not positively denounced as character failings" (208).

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[17] The school is still in operation today, although it relocated to its current location in Higashi Kurume City in Minamisawa in 1934. The publishing company is also still in operation, with the *Fujin no tomo* magazine still in print and circulation.

As a journalist and an essayist, Hani wrote about issues of employment, well-being, maintenance of the home, healthcare, and education for women and children (Rappaport 290). In 1927, at the age of 49, she published the first edition of the 20-volume collection of her works, the *Hani Motoko Chosakushū* (*Hani Motoko Collection,*『羽仁もと子著作集』). She also published another book, initially in 1908, titled *Katei kyōiku no jikken* (*Experiments in Home Schooling*,『家庭教育の実験』), which chronicles the development of her ideas for home schooling based on her experiences with her own children. These topics indicate Hani's preoccupations with issues that can be described as being "domestic" and feminized, those that deal with the home and its welfare.

In comparing Hani's theories on marriage with those of Loy and Moore, the eighth volume of the *Hani Motoko Chosakushū* provides clear indications of what Hani considers an ideal marriage.[18] Volume Eight, subtitled *Fūfuron* (*Theories on Husband and Wife Relations*), deals specifically with marriage and how a couple ought to move from love, to engagement, and on through marriage. Through these essays, Hani describes what she considers the ideal methods of developing a loving spousal relationship, creating and maintaining a home, and educating children in nurturing environments. Both Hani and Loy write to achieve the goal of women's self-realization; yet we see how Hani's ultimate point differs from that of Loy: Hani urges women to embrace their position in the home and to cultivate a loving environment in collaboration with their husbands, particularly for the sake of the children. Although both aim to improve themselves, Loy does so through independence while Hani does so through spousal interdependence.

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[18] The other volumes in the collection also deal with related topics, such as Volume Two, which deals with the home, and Volume 12, which includes children's fairy tales written by Hani herself.

I identify four main philosophical threads running through Hani's works, including her school, the magazines her company publishes, and her own writings: 1) to think, live, and pray in a meaningful, continuous cycle (思想しつつ、生活しつつ、祈りつつ); 2) the reinforcing dialectic between the real and the ideal (現実と理想); 3) an emphasis on daily life (日常生活重視); and 4) the idea of husband and wife forming one being (夫婦一体). These ideas are influenced by her Christian faith, which values the daily evaluation of one's actions and service to God. In addition to this Western religion into which she was baptized as a student, we also see the influence of Western ideas of liberal and modern democracy that contribute to her establishment of the Freedom School. These principles, simultaneously conservative and forward-thinking, form the basis of the ideas that she extrapolates in her theory on marriage.

Hani makes two main points in her theory on marital couples: the importance of the conception of the couple as a unit that surpasses the individuals themselves, and the constant need for self-realization and self-improvement for women through marriage. She discusses at length the concept of *fūfu ittai* 夫婦一体 (husband and wife as one being) (Hani 1). The word 夫婦 in Japanese contains two characters, the first meaning "man" or "husband," and the second meaning "lady" or "wife." These two characters combine to create the word that means "husband and wife." The word *ittai* 一体 literally means "one body." Thus Hani's use of the phrase *fūfu ittai* implies the need for the husband and wife to become one being, in which both individuals work not for the benefit of only one or the other, but for the benefit of the being conceived by the merging of the two individuals. This idea opposes Loy's insistence on the estrangement of women from men, in which women distance themselves from their male partners and rid themselves of the heteronormative longing to be loved by men, as women. Hani is aware of the changing conceptions of gender within a modernizing society. She states

that, whereas previously in a married couple the men were seen as the body (the dominant part of the couple) and the women were seen as the limbs (the subordinate part, the part that labors), the ideal couple in fact lives for and by each other, needing each other to create a higher being (3–4).[19] Marriage, in essence, focuses on the transformation of a couple into one being, rather than remaining separate individuals (6). This relationship is meant to be one of interdependence and symbiosis that ultimately functions for the benefit and happiness of both parties.

The idea of the two members of the couple forming one unit together (一体, *ittai*) is reminiscent of imperial ideologies of uniting the metropole with its colonies. These ideologies are crystallized in such notions as *naisen ittai* (内鮮一体), *naigai ichijo* (内外一如), and *mansen ittai* (満鮮一体). Particularly during the colonial era, Hani's work speaks to the

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[19] Though Hani does not make explicit mention (despite her Christian faith), this idea of *fūfu ittai* is reminiscent of the relationship resulting from the creation of Eve from Adam's rib in the Old Testament. In Genesis 2:21–23, God causes the man to fall asleep, then takes one of his ribs, out of which He forms a woman. The man responds, "This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; this one shall be called Woman, for out of Man this one was taken." The creation of the woman, however, is mired in the rhetoric of subordination, with the reason for God's creation of the woman being that "for the man there was not found a helper as his partner" (Gen. 2:20). As both helper and partner, having been born of the man's rib, the woman is not man's equal, despite the fact that "they become one flesh" (Gen. 2:24).

One response to this doctrine of female subordination is Ursula K. Le Guin's short story "She Unnames Them", in which (the unnamed) Eve unnames herself and returns her name to Adam (which he gave to her in Genesis 3:20). Eve does so because of the state of their "marriage", a relationship with no conversation, only barriers. When after her resolute act Adam "said only, 'Put it down there, O.K.?' and went on with what he was doing", the woman explains:

> One of my reasons for doing what I did was that talk was getting us nowhere, but all the same I felt a little let down. I had been prepared to defend my decision. And I thought that perhaps when he did notice he might be upset and want to talk. I put some things away and fiddled around a little, but he continued to do what he was doing and to take no notice of anything else. At last I said, "Well, goodbye, dear! I hope the garden key turns up."
> He was fitting parts together, and said, without looking around, "O.K., fine, dear. When's dinner?" (27)

The interaction leads to disappointment for the woman. Although she tries to buy time by "fiddl[ing] around a little" to see if he would want to have a meaningful conversation with her, he continues to concentrate on his task at hand, not noticing what is amiss. When she finally gets up to make her exit, he only calls after her to inquire about dinner—the preparation of which is her task. In his eyes—as he performs a masculinized task of "fitting parts together"—her role is to "put some things away" and to prepare dinner. The woman, coming to terms with the hopelessness of the "marriage", leaves.

pervasiveness of such philosophies: the unification of disparate parts for the supposed good of the whole, obfuscating the exploitation and oppression of one party. The effects of having such philosophies govern the family institution may be similarly oppressive.

Nevertheless, in this symbiotic relationship, no longer are women content to be controlled by their husbands as wives, says Hani (69). In fact, she asserts, in the changing times of modern Japan, the emergence of the "new woman"—one who is educated, with ambitious goals and an established sense of self—is necessary for the advancement of society (ibid.). Women must make a habit of "working," by which Hani means a full devotion to housework and maintenance of the home (48). The wife must be competent and skilled enough for the husband to be able to leave her in the home and concentrate on his own work outside of the home, to the improvement of the couple as a whole (Hani 76)—a "sticking to one's own territory" idea, so to speak. She bases her idea on the middle-class assumption (which had also become common in Britain and the United States during the 19th century) that men work in the public sphere of labor, while women remain in the private sphere of the home (where it is assumed that she does not labor, either for pay or as a housewife). In Hani's mind, that is what makes a good husband and a good wife: Each concentrates on work in his or her own domain, so that the members of the couple can successfully reach their goals together, as one unit. This also holds the woman responsible for being a good housewife—for even if a husband is a good husband, what wife wants to be made suggestions in the area of the "home," the only territory that is her own domain? (Hani 75)

Hani's theory here provokes thought, in that she emphasizes the need for women always to be improving themselves, to become "new" (8), yet she describes an ideal wife as one who devotes herself to the development of the married couple through the domestic sphere (although she also expects the husband to devote himself equally to it). A woman must

be educated, but she must be educated *in* and *about* the domestic sphere. Yet to Hani, this limited meaning of education is not a contradiction. Marriage, according to her, is not "forever"; it is but a step forward for both the man and the woman: "Marriage is not just for 'eternity' of one's life; it bears a great responsibility for one's progress forward" (65). In order for the marriage to be a continuous progress forward and a process of improvement for both parties, women must continue to work (in the home) and maintain their curiosity and thirst for knowledge so as not to let their already-acquired knowledge go to waste. In addition, husband and wife must learn from each other throughout their relationship but also maintain their respective senses of the self, particularly for the wife who is in an easier position to become out of touch with knowledge and both formal and informal education (Hani 46). Constant learning and education contribute to a happy marriage and to the development of the woman's character. To learn from each other and to acknowledge each other's faults is to love each other more fully and with more kindness (Hani 49). This ability to exercise caring and devotion improves not only the individuals but also the couple as a unit. Thus, Hani argues, the most successful couples put the needs of the couple before the needs of each individual. Furthermore, this interdependence only works if the woman has and continues to develop a strong self of herself through constant acquisition of new knowledge throughout the course of her marriage.

The irony of this emphasis on the woman's responsibility for self-improvement, however, is that this goal is possible only with the presence and support of the male spouse: "There are still New Women today who have not entirely woken up. … A husband should help the wife to become fully awakened to her potentials, for that is the source of both his and her happiness—that is the manly thing to do" (ibid. 69). So the modern, liberal notion of

female self-improvement as an individual rides on the presence of the heteronormative "Other" of the patriarch within a traditional marriage.

The myopia, as well as the metropole-centric nature of this call for self-improvement, is troubling. I refer here again to writer Ōsako Rinko (大迫倫子), whom I discussed in Chapter 2 with regard to her work *Musume jidai* (『娘時代』) that inspired Yang Ch'ien-ho to write about her own ambivalence about marriage. Ōsako, who was born in Riverside, California, had an international and liberal upbringing, as well as a relationship to Christianity through her father, who studied theology in the United States. Her Westernized thinking is reflected in her works about femininity, in which she states that she prefers to remain single in order to be able to live her own life. To contrast with Hani's philosophies, I point to one of Ōsako's texts called "Some Stories of Travel from Huazhong" (「中支・旅のこぼれ話」), published in 1943 in a collection titled *Paper Bullet* (『紙弾』, *Shidan*) that was edited by the department of the government that sent journalists to China during the Pacific War (支那派遣軍報道部). Granted, "Some Stories" was published 16 years after *Fūfuron*; but it nonetheless points to the kind of awareness for *other nations* that Hani's works seem to lack. In the piece Ōsako describes a trip she took to the central part of China, visiting Japanese soldiers stationed there. Describing the depression she "picked up as a souvenir" while in China, she states,

> During my trip through Central China I was made to understand my lack of mental strength. I also understood that this condition would not do. To be frank, in this day and age, rather than be equipped with intellectual knowledge, women are much more lively and suited to the times if they were like the "moms" who danced around with passion for life in the downtowns. This lack of mental strength is not worth anything in the mainland or in the southern islands.
>
> 私は中支の旅で、自分の神経の衰弱さを厭と云ふ程思ひ知らされて来た。これではならないと云ふこともはつきり知つて来た。色々考へてみて、平たくこれを唱へて言ふならば、今の時代はいくらむづかしい

> 学問的智識をそなへていても、女は、日常茶飯事の中にくるくる舞ひをして生きることに夢中な下町のおかみさん連中の方が、より時代的であり、生活的であると云ふことが言へるやうに、こんな神経は大陸や南には一文の価値にもならない単なる感覚にすぎないと言へるのではないかしら。(209)

Despite seeing the benefits of modern liberalism and having familiarity with "Western", progressive customs, Ōsako identifies the lack of significance placed on women's intellectual pursuits (or "self-improvement", in Hani's words). Instead, what is more suited and valorized is the ability to be "lively" and "dance around" in the difficulties of wartime. Ōsako grasps the larger East Asian continent, the geographic span of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, and contextualizes her claim within it. Hani's claim for equality in marriage and opportunities for self-improvement, in contrast, seems limited in scope.

Hani also presents her idea of what real freedom for women and married couples is, which contrasts with the misguided happiness of one who is trapped in a backward society without freedom to choose. In a piece titled "The Freedom and Joy of Daily Life," she states:

> Happiness in the countryside lies in not having to think or make any effort; at the same time, it is not the happiness of being able to acquire according to our desires. The society in which we can achieve our hopes and desires freely is the civilized world, and the people's lives are gradually progressing toward that freedom. The metropolis is as free as it is open, and because of that, the cost of goods increases. (『生活の自由と愉快』, 1918, 335–336)

There is a necessary step implied here: to close the gap between the ideal and real, we must work to adapt to capitalist practices of having options and paying for the "best" commodity. She continues several pages later: "We want to progress more tomorrow than today, to foster households of good structure and create a happy society, so that we may become people who can live in such a happy society. Delightful living happens in such a world" (ibid. 343). Thus this freedom and happiness rides on having options, as well as the financial freedom and resources to afford for oneself and one's family the commodities of capitalism that imply both progress and happiness. A modern marriage, one in which women pursue self-realization and

self-improvement, however nestled in the patriarchal marriage institution, is what Hani proposes as a modern woman's true happiness.

Hani and her husband's publishing company continues to publish monthly (『婦人之友』『かぞくのじかん』) and bimonthly magazines (『明日の友』), and their school now offers education from kindergarten to college levels. *Jiyū gakuen*, like the *Fujin no tomo* magazine, is marketed toward members of the middle class and above—or those who aspire to be middle class. In a sense, the philosophies about marriage and self-improvement that Hani put forward in her works are expensive, meant for consumption by those who can afford them. Hani's philosophy on "free", or "liberal", marriage recasts the marriage institution by incorporating the achievement of women's (and men's) self-improvement through that institution. Yet the "happiness" of a self-improving marriage is derived from a woman being helped into her (teleological) state of awakening by her husband, wherein she is to remain in the domestic sphere, to manage the household and its finances, and live the kind of life that enables choices as subjects and consumers in a modern, liberal, capitalist society. That kind of marriage may be well and good for those who can achieve it, but it normalizes middle-class heteronormativity without regard for those who cannot, or do not, aspire to it.

Marriage, Modernization, and Colonialism

In the works by writers from the metropole, we see different thoughts about marriage that all take issue with the "traditional" ideal of marriage, that of absolute subordination to the figure of the male patriarch that prevailed in the period before modernization in the Meiji era. In works by writers from the colonies and territories we see the challenge against patriarchy also combine with resistance against colonial oppression. While marriage is an expectation, it is simultaneously a privilege, particularly to "marry well". Among the student essays written

in Manchukuo that were discussed in Chapter 1, for example, the essay about the girl renamed "Fusa" includes a line in which the family who has hired Fusa discusses Fusa's future. The mother and the older sister of the household says that Fusa has been a good girl (i.e., a useful servant), and that if she continues to work hard until she is older, then the family will help her make preparations for marriage as well—and they say this with satisfied smiles on their faces (*Geibun* 154). So, while women are expected by society and the state to marry, the *ability* to marry or the *means* of marriage depends on the class and ethnic identifications of the individuals within their hierarchical social contexts.

Kimberly Kono has investigated how, within colonial literatures written by Japanese writers, the metaphor of creating a "family" was used as a way not only to legitimize colonization, but also to naturalize relationships of subordination and obedience. Frequently the rhetoric of (inter)marriage or (re)unification was employed to discuss the racialized and gendered nature of hierarchical relationships among the colonizer and the colonized.[20] Marriage was thus a trope in the modernization project, in which the colonized would achieve modernity through marriage to the Japanese empire—not unlike the way Hani advised that women and men would achieve self-improvement through their marriage to each other. As Gayatri Spivak has described, however, the acceptance of such naturalized relationships of hierarchy, of legitimized colonization, suggests the epistemic violence not just of imperialism, but of power in society in general (287). In accepting the organization of individuals through such modernized institutions as marriage in a colonized society, the ultimate victims are women, whose figures "[disappear], not into a pristine nothingness, but into a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the 'third-world woman' caught between tradition and modernization" (Spivak 306). This "greater than the sum of its parts" idea might lead one to

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[20] Kono, Kimberly. *Romance, Family, and Nation in Japanese Colonial Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

romanticize and idealize marriage. While that in and of itself is not bad, we must ask: *to what state* are we expected to improve, and by whom? And why can we achieve that only through marriage?

Yang Ch'ien-ho on Marriage in Colonial Taiwan

These conflicts of marriage under colonial modernity—is it liberation and (or through?) love, or is it patriarchal oppression?—appear in writings by Yang Ch'ien-ho of Taiwan, whom I discussed in Chapter 2. In her writings, we see how twists of fate lead to Yang's marriage with her husband, although she considers that she may have escaped into marriage so as not to choose writing fully as a career (Yang C., *Jinsei* 204)—for Yang had been the first female journalist in Taiwan, like Hani had been the first female journalist of Japan—another consequence of living in a society in transition into the modern, with its rhetorical opportunities and discriminatory practices that contradict each other. In Yang's short story titled "The Season When Flowers Bloom", Hui Ying says, "I wanted a period of quiet to return to myself and catch my breath. I wanted to know myself. To find myself" (Yang C., "Hana" 92). Yet Hui Ying finds that if she does not choose a job, society expects her to choose a husband instead. The option of marriage to maintain a livelihood differs from the prospect of working to earn one's living, yet it is still an economic exchange: especially within the context of modernity, women continued to be traded like goods to enter into the patriarchal institution of marriage, exchanging free domestic labor (and sexual intimacy) for financial security. Hui Ying's aunt describes one potential suitor as "a good deal" (Yang C., "Hana" 90), making explicit the transactional nature of the business of the modern bourgeois marriage institution. Although Yang herself enters her marriage to her husband with conviction of their mutual love, she finds that married life is miserable under the scrutiny and

abuse of her mother-in-law and that it offers no time for her to read or write, activities of her personal leisure (Yang C., *Jinsei* 241).

In her essay "The Heart of a Bride," published in the journal *Minzoku Taiwan*, Yang discusses her thoughts about marriage from the point of view of the colonized. Yang considers marriage as a way to begin a new life, though her thoughts about how she wished for her mother to have seen her as a bride makes Yang express sadness at the absence of an integral member of her nuclear family. She continues by describing a Japanese man she has met who, despite her professional career and the time she has spent *not* thinking about marriage, makes her consider the option once more. In this essay, Yang describes the traditional customs surrounding courtship and marriage for young Taiwanese couples. As she writes about the Japanese man she has met, however, she points to the distance she feels between them and their cultures:

> そんなあこがれのやうなものが、何かの拍子にしばらく忘れていた結婚のことにふれると、私はその人の知らないうるさい結婚の形式をおもつてさびしくなつた。こんな機会にうるさい習慣からぬけるのだとはおもつたが、やはり片隅にそれを守つていたいというあまのじやくが残つていた。
>
> When by chance my thoughts about this almost ideal man touched upon the nearly forgotten topic of marriage, I thought of all the bothersome formalities of marriage with which he was unfamiliar, and I felt lonely. I had thought of using this opportunity to escape such troublesome customs, but somewhere there remained within me a contrarian and hypocritical longing to preserve such rituals. (33)

The Japanese man she refers to is presumably the man whom she meets at work that she refers to in her autobiography, the man who creates one of the reasons for which Yang leaves her job. Here she points to the interactions between imperialization and modernization: She wishes, by becoming simultaneously "Japanese" and more modern, to rid herself of the customs that detail the ritual processes that surround marriage in Taiwanese society—at once posited as old and traditional in contrast to modern, Japanese practices of marriage. Thus

Taiwaneseness is constructed and emphasized in relation to Japaneseness, each occupying a different place within the hierarchy of colonial modernity. In secretly desiring what she constitutes as "troublesome" and traditional (and thus backward), Yang feels she is betraying her own modernizing self (and missing an "opportunity to escape"). Her emotional conflict of being "contrarian and hypocritical" points not only to the dynamics of shifting identities but also to the way in which Japanese colonialism privileges particular cultural practices by positioning them in direct opposition to those of the colonized society. Yet regardless of the pressure she feels from her extended family about marrying (32), even if she were to choose marriage over pursuing her career as a writer for the long term, she faces yet another conflict of submerging her desire to maintain her Taiwanese customs in order to pursue a relationship with a Japanese man who does not share her culture. Yang sees these ethnic differences as natural rather than naturalized—thus under colonialism she cannot realistically choose to marry across the ethnic divide. The intimacy of heteronormative romance gained through a traditionally accepted livelihood of marriage may not be worth suppressing what is a meaningful part of Yang's identity under colonialism[21]: her Taiwaneseness in contrast to the young man's Japaneseness.

In another *Minzoku Taiwan* essay titled "A Woman's Fate," Yang writes about the practice of Shim-pua marriages (新婦仔 or 媳婦仔), an institution in which a young girl is adopted and becomes both servant and future daughter-in-law to her adoptive family by later marrying one of the family's sons. Yang—who, because of her mother's determination, was never adopted herself—criticizes this institution for both its gender and class discrimination: The adopted girl suffers victimization both for her disposability as a daughter (unwanted,

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[21] In other words, the "troublesome customs" which Yang describes emerges as the "Taiwanese" element being made to disappear under Japanese imperialism. She does not, however, extend the significance of those customs to the point of colonial resistance.

unnecessary, valueless) as well as for her lower-class background compared to the financial background of her adoptive family. Yang in fact identifies the biological mother, who has to bear the loss of her own daughter and watch her become the property of another family through this marriage practice, as the ultimate victim of such an institution. Yet if the mother chooses to raise the daughter herself, people in her surroundings—described by Yang to be other women—make her the target of their animosity for her indirect display of wealth, suggesting that she is able to afford such a wasteful and unproductive choice ("Woman's" 42). Even in an essay for a journal designed to chronicle Taiwanese customs and practices, Yang argues that, beyond merely saying that the institution is cruel, society needs to critique the Taiwanese marriage and family institutions; the system of Shim-pua marriages only perpetuates the oppression of women, both mothers and daughters. While the other essays about this topic in the same issue are less directly critical about Shim-pua marriages, Yang astutely criticizes Taiwanese practices related to the treatment of women (Ueno 46).

In describing both her parents' relationship and her own relationship with her husband, Yang refers several times to the threads of fate controlled by the gods, the threads that draw two people together. Yet in the era of modernity, in which women are given new opportunities and personal responsibilities, Yang also cites her own sense of agency and responsibility that she believes affect the trajectories of her life (*Jinsei* 214). She states that in the past, women were given little choice in the matter of marriage: 「結婚が本人よりも家庭内の重大事だった時代では、当事者の悩みや迷いは無視されてきたのだ」/ "In an era when marriage was more important for the family than for the individual herself, the concerns or anxieties of the woman in question were ignored" (Yang C., *Jinsei* 221–222). Yang suggests that marriage in her era has improved; like Hani, she states that she can aim for "mental improvement" through her life and marriage. Yet she also repeatedly justifies her

unhappy marriage with her husband, saying that all she should be concerned with is the "warm marital love" that he provides her (*Jinsei* 221). In writing her autobiography in retrospect, Yang still limits herself to the patriarchal paradigm in which women should be *grateful* for having a husband marry her, rather than demanding that women have the freedom to choose for themselves the kind of life that makes them happy, whether in or out of marriage—or even within the categorical confines of gender, ethnicity, class, or sexuality.

The premise of marriage as a business transaction still means that women, who have more difficulty maintaining a livelihood without the support of their husbands, are forced to find happiness in a married life that curtails their freedom and thwarts their desires. Even beyond the scope of modernization under colonial rule, Yang feels she has no other option. The freedom and choice for which she believes her generation has become modern—and thus better off—are a false freedom and choice. The emphasis on individual will or desire, in choosing whom to marry or whether to marry at all, obfuscates the oppression that presents itself in colonial modernity, the reorganization of society that makes subjects better able to serve the needs of the state. For women, the freedom to marry a man of their choice limits them to a heterosexual marriage institution in which they are praised—and used—for their maternity; the freedom to become unmarried professionals limits them to a sense of selfhood in which that very "freedom" serves as a testament to the successful modernization of the subjects by the state. As much of her work is devoted to theorizing the roles of daughter, wife, and mother, Yang writes herself into the only space that she knows: that of the domestic realm, one in the public realm which she would have wanted to call her own.

Conclusion: From Self-Improvement to Self-Polishing

In these texts by writers such as Hani and Yang, we see individual women asking and answering the question of how to make marriage work, how to find happiness, and how best to live their lives in ways that fulfill them. Many of these ideas were influenced by ideas of Western liberal feminism, which further complicated the women's experiences of modernization under imperialism. In the colony of Korea as well, we see women writers deal with similar issues, for those who became feminist thinkers in Korea often received their education in the Japanese metropole or abroad, in European countries such as France, an experience which influenced the way they thought about the institution of marriage.

Regardless of marriage or motherhood, Loy's "Feminist Manifesto" stresses the point that sex as an act is not impure and declares that women must stop desiring to be loved (155). Loy calls for an "estrangement" of women from men in the true sense of the word: To be equal with men—or to be able to define themselves not in relation to men, but as individuals of their own—women must abandon their emotions, distancing and alienating themselves from their male, heterosexual partners. Hani, on the other hand, emphasizes the creation of a being that is greater than the sum of its parts. Husband and wife must together comprise a unit that embodies the mutual goals of the couple that is loftier than the goals of the individuals. In this way, Hani and Loy present contrasting views on the topic of feminine empowerment and masculine-feminine relationalities. While Loy urges women to separate from their emotions and their male partners, Hani, and other women from the Japanese empire, choose to cultivate their identity as women in relation to domesticated spaces. In contrast to Loy's manifesto, Hani expresses the inability to separate emotional intimacy with family members and the women's own liberation. For Hani, maternity is both a right and a privilege—and the desire to love and be loved as a woman, a wife, and a mother is central to the definition of "woman".

This also gives significance to understanding the connections that women are expected to share with each other through their participation in the marriage and family institutions.

Positioned between these two theories is Moore's poem "Marriage," in which Moore describes her ambivalence about marriage. While recognizing the inherent inequalities in power that comes with the patriarchal institution, she also sees the potential for both liberty and union. Ultimately, Moore's poem leaves us "still in doubt" (20) about what marriage is or can be. Yet despite the differences in the writers' attitudes about marriage, all three emphasize the significance of the women's ability to realize their potential and assert their own identities, either within or without the patriarchal institutions of marriage.

The construction of East and West enables negotiations and dialogues among theorists of various regions about supposedly modern, new, and better ideas for the benefit and improvement of their societies. This idea of "modern" and teleological progress maps itself on to the rhetoric of self-improvement and self-realization, a reconstruction of one's identity in order to fulfill a gendered ideal dictated by the imperial government. The writings that this chapter has examined point out how "modern" marriage was in fact neither modern or liberatory, but rather an ideal, the antithesis of a dialectic that has yet to lead to a synthesis. Even for Hani's works, which assert that marriage is a source of cooperative happiness, the liberation and liberty she speaks of are problematic in that they emphasize freedom of choice and bourgeois access to financial resources. How, then, do we make marriage "work" in a way that it synthesizes the real and the ideal, thought and action? How can marriage, in all its trumpeted romance and happiness, separate from modern patriarchy, imperialism, and colonialism? These women writers, I argue, are calling for women to fulfill themselves first and foremost. Women must do this with or without getting married, with or without finding a partner who "completes" them; they must determine how to respond to bourgeois,

heteronormative expectations that valorize the women's role in the domestic sphere (and nowhere else). They must strive to do this even if, in real life, this is easier said than done.

Bandō Mariko—bureaucrat, critic, and President of Showa Women's University in Tokyo—wrote in her 2006 work *The Dignity of a Woman* (『女性の品格』) that since before gender equality was guaranteed by law, mothers, particularly the mothers of the patriarch, have thrown their weight around (so to speak) and bossed around the brides who married into the family (190). This says as much about the "mother(-in-law)" as it does about the "bride," as well as the legal and social institutions that necessitate, legitimize, and even naturalize the relationship between the bride and her husband's family, in a patrilocal Japanese society. Bandō's work is problematic overall, as it essentializes a traditional ideal of Japanese femininity—women must be good at cooking, appreciate the beauty of flowers, etc.—but it brings to light the oppressive nature of modern marriage in Japan, the various reframings of the institution, and a nostalgia for such patriarchal households. Bandō herself has claimed that such ideas are attractive in a time when romantic relationships between heterosexual couples in Japan have changed to make *neither* the man nor the woman be a dominant (or domineering) caretaker of the household, making relationships directionless and unfulfilling.[22]

To further disillusion young women of 21st century Japan (and beyond), Bandō states that even the passion of a love once professed as being undying will fade—"And perhaps that is why people created the marriage institution, so that even after the passion has faded, a couple will help each other to raise the children, take care of each other, and help each other" (195). A bleak outlook on marriage indeed.

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[22] This appears in an English profile of Bandō and her work by Norimitsu Onishi http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/29/world/asia/29bando.html (retrieved 2014 Feb. 19).

A casual glance (or a guiltily long perusal) today through the *Woman* magazine published by Nikkei Inc., a large—and notably conservative—media company in Japan, reveals that ideas about the need for women to "polish" and improve themselves has only gained more traction since the Taishō period during which Hani was writing. The areas of "self-polishing" (自分磨き), as it is called in Japan today, include "Career & Skill," "Health & Beauty," and "Life" (a broad topic).[23] In similar magazines targeted toward women, there are articles that give advice on how to prepare meals within a certain budget, how to be attractive to a husband even after having children, and how not to throw away one's sense of "woman" (「女を捨てる」)—because such a thing can be thrown away if women are not careful. And still of vital importance is being a good mother to one's children, which includes spending large sums of money on their education—whether for regular schooling or night schools. The Hanis' *Jiyū gakuen* is just one example of a well-respected, but expensive, private school. Similar ideas for how to simplify (or improve) life, again directed toward women, appear in U.S. magazines such as *Real Simple*, which features categories such as "food & recipes", "home & organizing", "beauty & fashion", and "family & work". This and many other "women's lifestyle" magazines abound, many of which are published in different languages and in international versions. The media thus continue to valorize and normalize (bourgeois) women's self-improvement within the domestic sphere (while such self-improvement is rarely expected of men or people of the working class), in various parts of the world.

According to Hani's writing from nearly a century ago, we are progressing toward "delightful" living in a society ruled by modern capitalism, a society in which things are

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[23] These topics include subtopics, such as personal finance, cooking, and fashion. The effort for "self-polishing" is gendered, in that the topic is much more commonly discussed for and among women than it is among men.

expensive but we are happy as long as we have the good fortune (as Jane Austen says) necessary to acquire them. But if what Hani describes really is true freedom, then happiness—marital or otherwise—may be something that admits quite a number of impediments indeed.

Chapter 4—Mother, Nurturer:

Individual and Communal Inverse of Feminist Nationalism

Introduction

A woman who had gone through childhood and adolescence in the Japanese empire was, in the traditional and naturalized course of life events, expected to make something of herself as a productive and reproductive imperial subject. For a woman, the labor of childbearing—which would lead to the logical fulfillment of the heterosexual duty of reproduction and motherhood, the creation and sustenance of a patriarchal family—followed the prospect of marriage (the ritual of union with a male partner) and was also inseparable from the notion of labor or work, for either basic living (or survival) or professional status and achievement. This chapter deals with the social institution that follows marriage and motherhood: the institution of the family, and its significance for women of the Japanese empire, which often differed according to their class and ethnicity. Through an examination of works by female writer Chang Tŏk-cho (장덕조, 張德祚)—who wrote over 90 novels and 120 short stories in the span of her 60-year career in Korea—this chapter argues that Chang emphasized the institution of "family" in opposition to other social institutions such as marriage and law, valorizing individual actions and experiences that construct female gender roles in families based not on blood and legal ties, but on belonging and community. Furthermore, her works complicate the labels of feminist, nationalist, and anti-imperialist, calling for a reading of them that does not flatten the subjects' daily, lived experiences in an empire that was more than a binary of colonizer and colonized.

Analyses of Chang's fiction works (many of which deal with issues of womanhood generally and family and motherhood more specifically), particularly in relation to works by

the male Korean writer (and her contemporary) Yi Kwang-su, bring to light how her works unsettle the patriarchal, modern family institution by asserting that it is neither blood nor law that matters when serving or saving the family, and that power dynamics based on gender and age can be overturned if one can make oneself useful to one's "family" (which may not necessarily be the nation, though perhaps it may overlap with it). Chang's works give insight to the changing understandings of nationalism and feminism, not as lofty ideologies but as a collection of individual actions that, only after being performed, begin to construct the subject. In "The Path" (『行路』, "Kōro"), published in Japanese in 1944, the female protagonist concludes that in order to remain on the titular path to happiness, she must resist seduction by ideas of independence or modern sophistication (read: Western feminism), and furthermore, make an effort to stay away from potential hardships related to being an independent woman by instead becoming a good mother and raising her children well. In contrast, Chang's story "Battle Cry" (『喊声』, "Hamsŏng"), written in Korean and published in 1946 (within a year of the end of the Pacific War and the nominal end to Japanese imperialism) features a group of women whose roles in life—both embedded within, and extending beyond, that of "mother"—is to protect their daughters (and daughters of the other women in the village) from sexual slavery under Japanese imperialism. Thus the actions of the protagonist to protect her family and community contribute, perhaps unintentionally, to Korean ethnic nationalism and resisting Japanese colonial oppression. Furthermore, "Battle Cry" features a unity among poor farming women that excludes men, an intersectionality of class and gender that brings fulfillment to the women while redefining the family institution. In the story, a "family" is not a top-down patriarchal ideology, but rather a series of day-to-day choices and actions within a community of people related not by blood or marriage but by a common cause of protecting those who are important in their lives. These texts point to the way the act and object of writing construct

gender both within and beyond the texts, for such a "construction is neither a subject nor its act, but a process of reiteration by which both 'subjects' and 'acts' come to appear at all" (Butler 9).

The two stories by Chang, published before and after Japan's surrender in World War II, suggest how one author's representation of women's roles within the empire or the nation can shift according to the realities of her lived life—unrelated, perhaps, even to overt ideological pressures—as well as the language used to describe the female gender roles made possible within modernizing sociopolitical contexts. Thus we see that to describe these authors, their works, or their characters is not as simple as labeling them as *shin'nichi* (親日)—pro-Japanese empire, or literally, one who is intimate with Japan—or not. What matters is not such labels, but rather the reality of the writers' and characters' lived, everyday lives. These constant performatives of gender and sociopolitical affiliations may contradict each other, or go against the writers' beliefs, or even change over the course of their lives, just as their views on family and parenthood may change. Under the circumstances of oppression and imperialism, how might attitudes toward family or as family members change and be reflected in written works? As historian Norman Smith writes about women's writings from Manchukuo, a place which maintained the idea of the Good Wife, Wise Mother (賢妻良母, *xiánqī liángmǔ*) during modernization,

> Women-authored texts provide a powerful conduit into how colonial governance and patriarchal ideals structured the life choices available to women and, more particularly, women writers. Only by extricating the lived experience of individual women from colonial and nationalist ideals of womanhood can one understand the real impact of colonial society. (15)

Similarly, it is by learning about experiences mediated through writing, rather than by affixing sweeping and reductive labels, that we can gain insight into how womanhood was conceived by writers such as Chang. This chapter argues that writers and their works simultaneously

embrace and challenge labeling and ideals—*shin'nichi* or not, feminist or not—for such labeling yields the same constraints as does the vacuous construction of the male/female binary, but that nonetheless govern our lives. The writers, their works, and their characters cannot be expected to fit either a hegemonic or an ideological ideal, but rather can mold to human desires for communal acceptance and intimate bonds. The context of imperialism and modernization complicates everyday realities of family and motherhood, for they present at once a veritable desire—a happy household—as well as a condition of colonial subjugation of living and dying for the empire.

The Family Institution in the Japanese Empire

Since the Meiji era (as well as before) the family institution in Japan had been characterized strongly by Confucianist ideals of loyalty among family members marked by the division of sex. The Meiji government drafted its civil code in 1871, modeling it on the French civil code[1], making the nuclear family the legal family unit, rather than the extended family (Hane 9). An even more conservative code was adopted in 1898, commonly known as the Meiji Civil Code, and—through such mandates as the requirement for women to take their husbands' family names and the expectation that the priority for providing support be given to parents of the patriarch first, then to his children, and only after to his female spouse (ibid.; Kinoshita 49)—its enactment essentially made legal and structural women's subordinate social position within the patriarchal family system (Sato 5). By 1899, regulations set for by the education ministry "decreed that study of domestic science in segregated middle and

[1] The model for Japan's family institution itself has a long history, taken from what was assumed to be the modern model of marriage from around the world (generally in the direction of the West). Such kinship systems provided certain rights to men while depriving women of the very same (Rubin 177). As Friedrich Engels describes in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, rough classifications of the family system stemmed from associations between communities, groups, and individuals.

higher schools preparing women for careers as 'good wife, wise mother' (*ryōsai kenbo*) would form the cornerstone of women's advanced education" (Uno 49). Such an educational curriculum denied women access to working in the public sphere related to matters of the state or the economy.

Furthermore, in a condition in which the state ideology supported the "nation-state family " (*kazoku kokka*, 家族国家) (Fujitani, *Splendid* 190), the expectation for loyalty within the family institution was extended to the expectation for loyalty within the state, with the emperor serving as the symbolic patriarch of the national family.[2] The Japanese nation-state thus changed the relationship between the family and the state, wherein the state had more say in what took place *within* the family, with the logic that it affected the well-being of the nation-state as a whole (Uno 12). As historian Stefan Tanaka describes,

> To establish emperor worship as the Japanese national ethic, Inoue [Tetsujirō, professor of philosophy at Tokyo Imperial University] distinguished between two types of family systems: the nuclear (*kobetsu*) family and the national (*sōgō*) family system. This distinction of social structures enabled him to merge loyalty (*chū*)—which implied the object of that loyalty, the head of a moral family (*kazoku dōtoku no kunshu*)—with the Confucian concept of filial piety (*kō*), a combination that facilitated the connection between Confucianism and the emperor, head of the family-state of Japan. (132)

Under imperialism the relation between the *ie* (家, the family of the state) and *katei* (家庭, the family of the household) was strengthened even more (Silverberg 159), and even between writers of the empire and their readers, "the Japanese nation was an extension of the Imperial family, the emperor was its head, and the readers, as subjects, were subservient family members" (Silverberg 166).

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[2] The imperial family also served as the *model* for the kind of family that should make up the nation-state family. As Takashi Fujitani describes in *Splendid Monarchy*, the binary construction of the roles of the male and female were demonstrated to the Japanese subjects through the outward display of the masculinized and feminized behaviors of the emperor and the empress, respectively, in the Meiji era.

This is not to say that similar ideologies of the family did not predate Japanese colonization in parts of East Asia and beyond. Japan leveraged its family state ideology, however, to establish its superiority over the rest of East Asia (and even Europe), claiming that a nation-state of the (figuratively and symbolically) larger Japanese family with the imperial family as its ancestor was better than a mere collection of individual nuclear families (such as in China), and that the emphasis on family ethics was superior to an emphasis on law (such as in Europe) (Tanaka 133). The Japanese model of the family established in the Meiji era was thus transferred through imperialization to Korea, Taiwan, and other Japanese territories. In Korea the idea of the Wise Mother, Good Wife (현모양처, *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ*) was an integral aspect of its culture (Yoo 32). The practice of *samjong-chido* (삼종지도, 三從之道) also dictated that women should obey their fathers when young, their husbands when married, and their sons after the death of their husbands (Yoo 30). This idea was also pertinent in parts of Southeast Asia, such as in Vietnam, where the four virtues of women were often thought to be work, modesty, soft language, and faultless principle (*Surname Viêt*). In China as well, Confucianism stressed the importance of the family institution as the foundation for moral learning, as well as the belief that women belonged in the private realm of the family and the home. This practice extended to the construction of a series of binaries that separated male and female, public and private, and powerful and powerless. These divisions, however, intersected with social class, as many women of the gentry along with poets and artists in China, even from the 18th century, enjoyed relative degrees of freedom of movement in their daily lives (Jayawardena 170–172).

Against the backdrop of such shared and modernizing family ideologies, Chosŏn became a Japanese protectorate in 1905, and in 1910 became one of its official colonies. While they became Japanese colonies 15 years apart, both Chosŏn and Taiwan remained

under Japanese imperial rule until the end of World War II in 1945. Imperialization (皇民化対策, *kōminka taisaku*) efforts were made by the empire to shape the residents of Taiwan, Chosŏn, and regions such as Okinawa into loyal Japanese subjects, and as Kō Ikujo describes, many people and texts of the time argued that "imperialization starts with the women" /「皇民化は婦人から」(350).

The people of Taiwan and Chosŏn also displayed paradoxical reactions to imperialization: despite the fact that they were dominated by the Japanese people (whom they could never become), and modernization and Westernization was orchestrated by the colonizers to fit Japanese ideals of an advanced empire, a number of people (particularly among the elites of Chosŏn) nonetheless had ties to the Japanese government as pro-Japanese (親日家, *shin'nichi-ka*) subjects. For example, *shin'nichi* Koreans like writer Yi Kwang-su, who had already changed his name to a Japanese name after the 1939 name-change ordinance (創氏改名, *sōshi kaimei*), pushed other Koreans to learn the Japanese language and to acquire the Yamato spirit (大和魂, *yamato damashii*)—the spirit of the Japanese people.[3] Such actions and movements were not rare in daily life in colonial Korea, and many Koreans who received Japanese imperial education took similar action (Lie 9–10). During this time, a number of Korean writers received their education in Japan and Europe, and in addition to Yi Kwang-su, many writers wrote in Japanese under their Japanese names, such as Noguchi Minoru (野口

[3] The first ordinance in 1939 called for Korean people to establish family names for each family unit. The traditional Korean practice was to use a family name that indicated the patriarchal clan based on blood, rather than the belonging to each, new nuclear family unit. The second ordinance in 1940 called for Korean people to change their given names. *Sōshi kaimei*, therefore, was one measure by which 1) to change Korean practice to one that more closely aligned with the family system (家庭制度, *katei seido*) of Japan and 2) to make the organization and management of Korean subjects easier for the purposes of their mobilization for the empire.

稔).[4] This was a precarious situation for the women, however, for the gender stratification that was promoted by Japanese imperialization often reinforced some of the already established Korean traditions, further complicating women's social positions in the colonies. As imperialization and colonial modernization combined to restructure social institutions within the empire, many women experienced firsthand the contradictions between ideological theory and real-life practice.

The Choice of Community Over Family as Act of Resistance

In the midst of the Japanese colonial government's imperialization efforts to drive its colonial subjects to embrace its state ideology, Korean nationalism was also spreading among the people of Chosŏn. After World War I, the March 1 Movement of 1919 marked the start of large, public displays of anti-Japanese sentiments, as many people in Chosŏn began actively to resist colonial occupation. Linguistic and administrative oppression under imperialization continued in Taiwan and Korea over the years, including the imposition of Japanese as the official language and the aforementioned policy of *sōshi kaimei* in Korea, and until the end of the Pacific War in August 1945. Yet on the day of the war's end, while many people in Chosŏn felt themselves to be ethnically Korean, the number of people who, as a result of imperialization, felt that the defeat of Japan was also their own loss was not few (Lie 10), pointing to the complexity of lived life in contrast to one's ideological associations.

Under such circumstances of imperial oppression, recognition and developments of nationalism and feminism occurred in tandem. An important context for the discussion of family and motherhood, the relationship between nationalism and feminism has been explored

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[4] "Noguchi Minoru" and "Noguchi Kakuchū" are the Japanese names of Chang Hyŏk-chu (장혁주、張赫宙).

in Third World and colonial contexts, leading to the proposition, albeit problematic, that the rise of nationalism often parallels the rise of feminism, both of which are integral to a nation's modernization process. Feminist scholar Kumari Jayawardena has written that in Korea during the 1900s, especially before the end of World War II, the people of Korea struggled to assert their nationality, that feminism was an important part of nationalism, and that the women's liberation movement was a significant part of modern Korean history (213). Yet literary scholar Kyeong-Hee Choi also has stated that,

> in the early decades of the twentieth century, women were suddenly invited to become equal members with men in a modern nation-state, a state that failed, however, to materialize under colonial rule. Since then, far from having too little, Korean women perhaps have had too much of the nation. In fact, they have lost their face as women in order to wear the mask of nationality, only to find that in everyday life they must function only as women. (223)

Nationalism and feminism in Korea thus signified liberation from Japan, while they also represented a movement to modernize and Westernize through the efforts of the Korean people themselves, rather than the oppressive model of colonization. Colonial modernity, however—"the way in which modernity was imposed in colonial contexts and utilized by colonized people" (Grewal 139)—was yet another way for the modernized subjects to contribute to the imperial motives of the Japanese state. To feminists in Chosŏn, for the women of their nation to receive an education, to have rights concerning marriage, divorce, and remarriage, and to be able to own property as men could—these rights were not only steps forward toward equality of rights between men and women, but also steps forward for the nation of Chosŏn—but only if the context of the colonization of Korea were disregarded.

We must also consider the validity of the following statement: "If nationalism is important, then so is the women's question also important." This statement has been used to justify the use of women's bodies in nationalist movements in many Third World and formerly colonized nations and states. In the case of Korea, to be recognized as a respectable,

modern nation-state, it cannot remain a Japanese colony (or anyone's colony, for that matter), and it must be able to declare both its men and women to be modern subjects. This problematic conflation of nationalism with the installation of modern subjugation among its women in particular is problematic, and in the literary works produced in Chosŏn under Japanese imperialism, themes such as these are not infrequently developed and explored.

As we shall see, however, the conclusion that the character in Chang's "The Path" reaches is in a way a variation of the earlier statement: In not forwarding particular arguments about nationalism, the story also refrains from forwarding particular ideas about feminism. "The Path" is a curious (and problematic) work when read through the nationalist/feminist framework. The theme of many of Chang's works is that for a woman, her principal role is to marry, maintain a healthy family, and raise and protect her children well. At the end of their conversation, the two main female characters of "The Path" (who have reunited on a train) reach the conclusion that a woman's happiness is to raise a child who will devote himself (the initial expectation and hope that the child is male is no accident) to the cause of the Japanese empire. Such ideas of the Good Wife, Wise Mother contradict the ideas of Western liberal feminism, in which bourgeois women are encouraged not to tie themselves to marriage or family in order to seek liberation and independence. Given this definition of feminism, the conclusion of "The Path" suggests, "If nationalism is not important, then so is feminism also not important." What is more, when we compare "The Path" to "Battle Cry" and Yi Kwang-su's short story "Fly" (『蠅』, "Hae"), the significance of the two writers' various literary responses to the Japanese government deepens. The protagonist of "Fly" is someone who may be seen as a double of the author; it is a story of a man who, although he cannot perform heavy labor because of his age, can still kill the flies that live in the houses of the younger men who do labor. In Chang's "Battle Cry," the characters break the institution of the law in order to

save someone who is not a part of their family by either blood or marriage, in the name of defending their community. Within such intriguing stories, the question of what contribution to, or resistance within, a nation under Japanese imperialism means begins to surface. In these three stories, given the environment in which their authors lived, the protagonists seem to be building their lives as they tell—and then cast aside—what they saw as the logical "inverse" of modernization, nationalism, and feminism.

All three of these works pose an alternative to the strict family state ideology of Japanese imperialism; what is emphasized is not hegemonic or ideal gender roles and notions of the family institution, but rather a subversion of such institutions through an emphasis on belonging and community. Calling it the "radical secrets of women's liberation," Angela Davis writes in her discussion of the tasks that surround the family institution: "Child care should be socialized, meal preparation should be socialized, housework should be industrialized—and all these services should be readily accessible to working-class people" (232). The move here from the delimitation of the nuclear, patriarchal family—with its associated expectation of heteronormative motherhood—to the openness of socialized practices is applicable both in the context of Davis's discussion of the black community in the United States as well as in the colonies of Japanese imperialism: Rather than being bound to the Meiji model of the family institution, dependent on its classed ideals of women's availability as childcare provider, the tasks of maintaining a family—or a community, or even a nation-state—can be shouldered by all who is willing to contribute, regardless of gender, age, or blood relations.[5] This echoes Engels's idea of decentering the individual family as the economic unit of society, which would lead to the distribution of tasks such as childcare to the

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[5] There is a problem in equating such terms as "family", "community", "nation-state", "nation", "state"…for that is precisely the rhetoric of the family-state ideology under Japanese imperialism. What I am interested in exploring, however, is the *possibility* of such community-building. This may be inherently impossible with the involvement of the state—but then, perhaps at least a "family-nation"??

community as a whole (81). While Engels's discussion focuses on questions of class more than it does on questions of gender, he points to the stigmatization of pregnancy outside of marriage and its financial and practical consequences as problem that can be solved through such communal caregiving. Can we label, then, these writers or works as being *shin'nichi* or not? I argue that such teleological determination via the labeling of these writers' works loses sight of the day-to-day living and performatives of gender and ideology that they describe. Thus what we must do is not to ask about logical propositions (or their inverses) that connect these ideological labels, but rather to assert the impossibility of such labeling in real life.

The resistance of significance, then, is the assertion that the reality of how a "family" lives and survives—by bonding as a community rather than through Confucianist blood ties or patriarchal marriage—differs from the idealized notions of the imperial family and modernized gender roles. Lived life is more complicated, and perhaps richer and myriad in its possibilities, as the works by Chang and other writers show.

The Works, Family Style

In May of 1944, a year before Chosŏn was freed from Japanese imperialism, a book titled *Hantō Sakka Tanpenshū* (『半島作家短編集』, *Peninsula Writers Short Works Collection*) was published by Chosŏn Publishing (朝鮮図書出版, *Chōsen Tosho Shuppan*). The collection included works by eight Korean writers and was published in Seoul—for a Korean audience, in other words (Shirakawa 1). The eight writers included Chang Tŏk-cho and Yi Kwang-su, among others[6]. Yi Kwang-su[7] (이광수, 李光洙), whose Japanese name

[6] The other six writers are (in order of appearance): Chŏng Bi-sŏk (鄭飛石, 정비석), Chŏng In-taek (鄭人澤, 정인택), Cho Yong-man (趙容萬, 조용만), Takano Zaizen (高野在善), Yu Jin-oh (愈鎭午, 유진오), and Yi Mu-yŏng (李無影, 이무영).

was “Kayama Mitsurō” (香山光郎), was born on 1892 March 4 and is known as one of the principal writers who fostered the development of modern Chosŏn literature. He is also a writer symbolic of Japanese imperialism for his pro-Japanese activities (Lee 2), writing many pieces in both Korean and Japanese and serving as the representative of the earlier *shin’nichi* literature. He was among the writers and artists who “tried to show in their works that becoming Japanese through such acts as soldiering offered the surest avenue for self-determination and happiness” under colonialism (Fujitani, *Race* 27). His work included in the 1944 collection, titled “Fly”, tells the story of how one man in his 50s contributes to the empire in a peculiar way. Given Yi Kwang-su’s positioning as a *shin’nichi* writer, we can read the protagonist of “Fly” as a man loyal to the empire who, regardless of his circumstances, devotes himself to the Japanese government.

Chang is the only woman writer whose work is included in the 1944 collection, and her work “The Path” tells the story of two women who reunite by coincidence after having lost touch for years.[8] While Yi Kwang-su was well-known for penning works that supported Japanese imperialization of the Korean people, Chang wrote many works that explored issues of women’s roles in Korean society under Japanese imperialism. Unlike Yi Kwang-su, who wrote many works in Japanese, Chang wrote her works primarily in Korean. Born on 1914 October 13, she left Ehwa Women’s School (梨花女子専門学校文科) before graduation but began writing and publishing her works around 1932, and by the time *Hantō Sakka Tanpenshū* was published in 1944, she had already been active as a writer for over 10 years. International cultures scholar Shirakawa Yutaka, who is the editor of the 2001 republication of *Hantō Sakka*

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[7] Since he is introduced in *Hantō Sakka Tanpenshū* as Kayama Mitsurō, I will use his Japanese name here as well.

[8] Chang’s name is Romanized in the McCune-Reischauer system as Chang Tŏk-cho, but it is also frequently Romanized as Jang Deok-jo or Chang Duk Jo’.

Tanpenshū, states that the fact that Chang's work is included is itself a "novelty" (3). Although Chang had published more than 30 pieces of writing by 1940, including historical novels, her only work published in Japanese on record is "The Path."

In addition to novels, Chang wrote film screenplays and works that would become the basis of many films. From 1957 until 1970, at least six film screenplays have been recorded as works in her career.[9] Many of the films' plots deal with relationships between men and women, or with worries that women have about engaging in such heterosexual romantic relationships. The most recent work she has on record is the 1970 "Underground Women's University" (『지하여자대학』,『地下女子大学』), a story about a female university student who work as a bar hostess in order to earn money for her tuition. Her part-time work is discovered by the school administration, and because of her violation of the school policy prohibiting part-time jobs—and as a bar hostess at that—she is expelled from university. The character nonetheless makes the most of her artistic talents and becomes a successful singer. The story tells of her regret that nonetheless remains in her heart for the fact that she was unable to complete a university education. In fact, the story of this film, like the story of "The Path," treats the question of how women should better themselves and build their own lives.

Chang's story "Battle Cry," which this chapter also explores, deals with the notion of family and the task of women to protect each other as a community, regardless of marriage or blood ties and the expectation that men are meant to protect the weaker sex. All three works by the two writers are short, and while the writers share not many commonalities, the content of the three stories deals with the question of how to live life fully under Japanese imperialism; they describe how individual men and women live as subjects under Japanese

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[9] Information on works by Chang's as a screenwriter has been taken from either the Korean Movie Database (KMDb) or the International Movie Database (IMDb).

imperial colonization while carving out safe spaces for belonging. The chapter explores criticisms on issues of colonialism, imperialism, nationalism, and feminism found in these works. All three stories—the two included in the 1944 collection as well as the second story by Chang—deal with issues of gender, age, nationalism, and striving to contribute to the empire; Chang's works, in particular, deal with the question of family and how women deal with responsibilities of caring for their family members, individual or communal.

One Face of Chosŏn Literature: Yi Kwang-su Changes Into Kayama Mitsurō

Although the two writers seem to share only few commonalities, their stories all explore the complexities of nationalism and living up to ideals of gender and belonging. I place the two authors' works in conversation with each other to question the labeling of Yi Kwang-su (who has been described as the founder of modern Korean literature) and Chang Tŏk-cho according to binaries of male/female, pro-Japanese/anti-Japanese. In the November 1940 issue of *Bungei shunjū* (文芸春秋), Yi Kwang-su published an essay titled "Faces Change" (「顔が変る」, "Kao ga kawaru"), in which he called on the people of Korea to incorporate Japanese cultural values and practices into their daily lives, which would then come lead to their faces changing (Fujitani 329)—in other words, internal imperialization leads to external imperialization. One's outward "face", therefore, indicates the degree to which one has become "Japanese", and furthermore, both the external and the internal can change over time, presumably in both directions.

Yi Kwang-su's "Fly" begins thus:「私ほど腑甲斐ない男は稀であらう。大戦争のこの時節に、何一つお役に立つことも出来ない」/ "A man as cowardly as I must be rare.

In this time of great war, I can do nothing to make myself useful"[10] (Kayama 38). This protagonist, who is over the age of 50, wants to make himself useful to his community and the empire, no matter what it takes. Since only men under the age of 45 are hired for labor service, however, he is disappointed. Because of his age, he no longer fits the mold of hegemonic masculinity, the ideal of strong, heterosexual male (if he ever did). Seeing off two young men heading off to do roadwork, the protagonist is troubled by his age:「後ろに取り残された私は、ほんとうに、人生に取り残されたやうな気がした。私は急にふけたやうで、若者たちの愉快に働いているのを遠目に眺めている親爺の気になつた」/ "Left behind by the young men, truly I felt as though I had been left behind by life itself. Suddenly I felt old, like an Old Man to the young ones, farsightedly watching them go merrily off to work" (45). In a sense, he has lost his place in the "family" of his community as the strong and able-bodied patriarch. He is being left behind by his "children", the younger men around him, who no longer need the help of an old man like him.

We see here that only certain individuals are seen to be able to actively contribute to the empire. They are people with a particular kind of power, often men, and are accepted only if they have physical strength and are not too old. Those who do not fit such a mold—the elderly or women—must contribute to the empire in a different way. The protagonist thus comes to his decision of how he can contribute to the empire despite his deficiencies of old age:『君たちは汗水垂らして働いているのに、僕だけが安閑としているわけには行かないんだ。僕は今日一日、班内の蠅を取るとしよう』/ "'While you are all pouring out sweat from your hard work, I alone cannot sit idly about. For today, I shall go around catching the flies pestering the living quarters of our group.'" (44). Those around him begin to laugh at

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[10] Translations from Japanese into English are mine. For citation purposes I will use Yi Kwang-su's Japanese name, under which he published this story.

his idea, but the protagonist—who does not even have a name—is serious. And truly, while the younger men work, he goes around to all 13 households from seven in the morning to nearly five in the afternoon, exterminating a total of (exactly) 7,895 flies. He goes about his task of exterminating flies pondering the thought that flies, too, are living creatures, full of the desire to live. But since flies, on top of being bothersome, have killed numerous people by transmitting illnesses, the protagonist reaches the resolution to exterminate every single fly in the area while going through several pages (of the story) of self-questioning. At the end of the story, the protagonist is thanked by the young men for enabling them to eat a meal in peace without being bothered by any flies, for the first time in a long time.

How shall we interpret this story? One interpretation is that, regardless of identity or environment, individuals should do what they can within their power to do something for Chosŏn and Japan. Regardless of their age, as Koreans under Japanese imperialism, "to be of use" (with its multiple meanings—even *to be used*) is the most important thing. Even if one cannot do roadwork, he can at least swat flies. It feels almost as though Yi Kwang-su is writing a story to channel such an extreme and humorous loyalty. At the same time, however, we cannot easily explain whom the protagonist represents, as well as whom the (7,895) flies symbolize. The silliness of the exactness of this number is almost a reflection of the silliness that the young ones see in the old man's actions, yet the gravity of the casualty—whether they be flies or oppressed Korean people—is something with which to take pause. Once we begin to consider the issue, it seems problematic to categorize this work as "*shin'nichi* literature" simply because it is a work written by Yi Kwang-su; the symbolism in the old man's desperation to belong to the "family" of his community, the methodical extermination of the bothersome flies, seem emblematic of the complexity of living under, and desiring to contribute to, colonial oppression.

One Woman's Face: Chang's "The Path"

A story similarly difficult to interpret yet wistful in a different way is Chang's "The Path." The story has three characters: the protagonist Kin Juntoku (金順徳, 김수덕); her young son, whom we do not see often; and the protagonist's friend from her schooldays, In Aira (尹愛羅, 성애라). The reader is first introduced to Juntoku traveling alone with her son. She has one knee propped up in order not to stir the head of her child who has just fallen asleep (Chang 89). Although it is a gesture that seems natural when a child is sleeping with his head on one's knee, that figure of Juntoku that we see first has a powerful impression of a "mother," a woman concerned with the comfort of her child. Because of that impression, the contrast we find between her character and that of Aira, with whom Juntoku reunites on the train, is particularly stark.

Aira was a classmate of Juntoku during their schooldays, and she was also the object of Juntoku's admiration. Juntoku herself graduated from a women's school, and as was expected during that time, married within a year. She is nearing 40 in the narrative present of the story, and she says that she has seven children. Having accepted her role as a mother, Juntoku feels she has lost her own sense of existence. Aside from being called "Mr. Kan's wife" (『韓先生の奥さん』) or "Eigyoku's mother" (『英玉のお母さん』), she no longer thinks about who she herself is or what she should do in her life separately from those labels of wife and mother (92). As literary scholar Nalini Natarajan points out, "Motherhood, which could be a privileged site for women and also a potential challenge to patriarchal systems through its admitting of, in Kristeva's terms, an 'otherness within the self,' is appropriated for nationalistic purposes" (83). In a sense, Juntoku's identity as a mother has surpassed her own identity, to be used for the promotion of the future generation of imperial subjects and the

support of her male spouse, who occupies, even under colonial rule, a position superior to her own.

Comparing to herself to Aira when she was a student, Juntoku felt that Aira was one to look up to as a model of feminine independence. Stated simplistically, Aira was a feminist of the time, a Modern Girl. In contrast to Juntoku, who married soon after graduating from school, Aira proceeded down a completely different path. As Juntoku remembers it,

> 愛羅は、私達、女学校同窓生の中でも所謂有名女性になつた人であつた。在学時代から、美人で音楽が好きで、まだ能弁でもあつた彼女は、私が学校を出るとすぐ平凡な家庭生活に埋れてしまつたのに反して内地の上級学校へ、またその専門学校を出ると、女流文人として、その声名を謳はれたのであつた。
>
> Among us classmates, Aira was one who became quite famous. Unlike me, who became buried in an ordinary home life immediately after leaving school, she, being beautiful, a lover of music, and also eloquent even from the time we were in school, went to an upper-level school in Japan, and after graduating from that technical college, became praised as an authoress. (93)

From the standpoint of a feminist of the time, what Aira did was all "correct." Rather than simply marrying, becoming a mother, and living an "ordinary" life, to receive a proper education, to become independent, and to be able to contribute to society as an individual other than a wife and mother (to which Aira was relegated) was thought to be important for the modernization of Chosŏn. In other words, the characters of Juntoku and Aira symbolize binary constructions of women in colonial Korea, if not East Asia more broadly during the first half of the 20th century. They seem almost to present the reductive personifications of the two propositions about nationalism and feminism.

The last time the two character spoke to each other before the reunion on the train was 14 years prior, when they had also encountered each other by coincidence aboard a train. At that time Aira is holding a newborn boy. When Juntoku asks Aira about the boy, thinking Aira had married, Aira answers thus:『あら、結婚しなくつても、子供は生まれるわ。でも、

こんな子供、私、活動するのにとても邪魔でね。今、釜山にいるその父親んちへかへしにいくとこなのよ』/ “Oh, you can have a kid even if you don’t get married. But a kid like this just gets in the way of my work. Right now I’m on my way to his father’s in Busan to give him back to him” (95). The child who is expected to be seen as adorable by a mother only “gets in the way” for a modern woman like Aira. When Juntoku says that a mother should take responsibility for raising her own child, Aira responds,『いいえ、何を犠牲にしても、私達女性は自分自身から先づ活きなければならない』/ “No, no matter what the sacrifice, we women must live our own lives first” (ibid.). Aira wants to contribute actively as a feminist to her nation—and live her own life as well, beyond the nation’s call of duty. She does not want to be bound to the home just because she is a woman, and she also would not want to spend her days attempting to contribute to the empire through silly ways, carrying out tasks like exterminating flies as does the elderly male protagonist of “Fly,” an unfulfilling job regardless of its nobleness. Unlike Juntoku, the character of Aira expresses the desire to be independent as, and despite being, a woman.

Perhaps if Chang had meant for her work “The Path” to propose a feminist thesis, then the character of Aira herself would have become happy as well (although perhaps the kind of lukewarm, questioning happiness felt by Juntoku); yet the story does not proceed thus. In the narrative present, Juntoku and Aira reunite, their second coincidental reunion on a train. Yet unlike their previous encounter, Juntoku cannot recognize Aira because Aira now appears before Juntoku as a nun. It is little wonder that Juntoku cannot recognize her—there is no trace of the old strength and fire in Aira’s attitude, for she has become meek, with all her rough edges rounded off. Aira tells Juntoku that, the son whom she herself abandoned is now in his second year of middle school, beginning to train so that he can fight for his country—the Japanese empire. Aira has aged, has had little luck in love—she seems to have spent many

painful years, lonely and unhappy as a woman. In other words, the feminist efforts that Aira both symbolized and made have failed. What she hopes for ultimately is neither liberation nor independence, but only to see off her own son with pride as a mother (100). However, having relinquished him years ago along with her maternal responsibility and no longer existing in society as a "woman"—symbolized by her taking of the veil and choice not to marry a man and have additional children—she is unable to fulfill even that simple hope of taking on the mother role again. Upon seeing such a figure in Aira, Juntoku realizes that there is no need to become independent as a woman; in fact, true happiness is to "leave behind a beautiful name as a mother"—「美しい母性の名を残す」. In "The Path," feminism and Korean nationalism are neither correct nor necessary; it is sufficient as long as one serves the empire and lives (and reproduces) as one can for the sake of Japan and Chosŏn. That is both the role and the happiness of a woman. Neither nationalism nor feminism is important—this is the ultimate conclusion that the character of Juntoku reaches in the story.

Just by standing face to face, Juntoku believes that her feelings will be understood by Aira, a silent agreement between two women living in colonial Korea. For Juntoku, to be a "woman" and a "mother" who raises a family enables one to win any battle. What the two women seek, the story concludes, is "an ordinary happiness"—『平凡な幸福』(97). Rather than the "temporary inspiration or excitement"『一時的な感激や興奮でなく』(105) such as modernity or feminism, a woman's certain and straight path—"the path on which one must travel, the direction in which to proceed" /『行くべき路、進むべき方向』 (101)—is to live for a country to which one's son or husband also has given his life (102). In doing so, the characters conclude, a woman must raise and nurture the "Chosŏn" that is a colony under Japanese imperialist rule.

Yet the conclusion of the story does not seem to be so simple. While the two characters may silently agree that this is the case, Chang problematizes the impossibility of achieving happiness under the feminist framework of modernization and independence. Within a patriarchal society being pulled into colonial modernity, the story seems to argue, a woman cannot easily find happiness: either she, like Juntoku, will lose her own identity raising her family, or she, like Aira, will lose what little hope of social acceptance as a woman she could have desired. "The Path," thus, is not so simple—in the story Chang complicates the easy happiness being claimed by those who assert the traditional gender role of wife and mother to the Korean women.

Another Face of Chang: "Battle Cry"

The historical conjuncture of life within colonial modernity is complicated to articulate in writing, particularly the aftermath of Japanese surrender in World War II. In "Battle Cry," Chang shifts the positionality of her work from that of *shin'nichi* to that of motherhood. This motherhood, however, was in contrast to that which was assimilated to (and mobilized by) the normative, heteropatriarchal family ideology at which Japanese imperialism and Korean nationalism converged—it was, rather, one that emphasized community and the strength of non-blood-related ties. Yet even this shift is not to be noted as a conscious choice made by a subject with agency, but rather as a description of "Battle Cry" in retrospect. In this 1946 story, "being useful" is not for the sake of the state (as a subject) or for the sake of the members of a patriarchal, monogamous family. Rather, the emphasis is placed on belonging and both providing and receiving support from relations that are separate from either the state or the social institution of the family, in the struggle to live under colonial oppression.

To support the people whom she cares for, a mother can bring herself to break the institution of the law, stealing food for her family or rescuing a prisoner from confinement. In the small village near Banghak-ri (방학리), the mother who is the protagonist of the story is referred to simply as "Jŏm-sun's mother" (점순어멈), as though her motherhood is the only identification that she has. Jŏm-sun's mother has been known to break the law in order to feed her family—she has stolen chickens from the district chief several times and fed them unhesitating to her family. Rumors immediately spread about her deed, however, and her husband, Chun-sam (춘삼), must go and apologize on her behalf to the district chief—yet the Mother herself does nothing. Her lack of contrition flies in the face of the practice of *samjong-chido*, of which the middle tenet is to obey one's husband. This tradition, combined with the Japanese imperial policy that mandates obedience to the emperor in addition to the patriarch, makes the Mother guilty of violating the practices of both the law as well as the family.

The reality for Mother, however, is that she has a family to feed—and in order to provide care for that family, she must break the law. The choice of living according to imperial ideology or breaking the law (in order to live according to that very imperial ideology)—this is the conundrum that Mother faces, yet for her the choice is clear. Because of her drive to fulfill her duty as Mother, she looks down upon her husband, who goes around the village apologizing for her deed and making up for it by doing extra work: "그러나 아내는 이같은 남편을 언제나 마음속으로 경멸 하고 비웃었다. 그 약하고 비굴한 성미를 발을 구르며 안타까와하는 것이다" / "But in her heart, the wife despised and laughed at her husband who was this way. It was as though she wanted to stomp out that fearful and self-pitying nature of his"[11] (504). Contrary to the idealized family with a strong, masculine

[11] Translations from Korean into English are mine.

husband who takes charge and a kind, gentle wife who looks after her family, the character of Mother whom Chang writes is a woman willing to go against the law—and defy her husband—in order to do what she believes in, regardless of what the state ideology may be.

When her daughter Jŏm-sun is selected (by a lottery, though perhaps one that is neither fair nor random) to be one of two girls from the village to be taken away to provide services for the Japanese military (most likely through sexual slavery) Mother is devastated, crying uncontrollably on her return trip from leaving her daughter in the care of the authorities. While Chun-sam seems resigned to the fate of his family and daughter, Mother cannot sit and not do anything in order to save her own daughter. The solution, she ultimately finds, is not to rely on the help of a nonexistent strong patriarch—who should ideally be the one saving the family—but rather the other women in the village who recognize the situation to be one in which they may one day find themselves: "'오늘은 남의 일이지만 내일은 곧 내게 닥쳐올 일이아니유. 부디 남의 일이라 생각들 말구 들어 주시유.' 그 소리가 가장 깊어 사람들의 심금을 울렸다." / "'This may be someone else's matter today, but the same may be upon us tomorrow. Please listen as if it were not another's problem.' These words struck the deepest chords of the people's hearts" (515). The solution, therefore, is not to rely on blood and legal ties, but on the whole community (of women) instead.

In the story, rather than a reliance on the patriarch, the collection of matriarchs who have been charged by the state to take care of the family is, in fact, the group of people most cut out to save their daughters. The Japanese empire, like other modern nation-states, institutionalize women's subordination by regulatory processes and induction into positions of subservience, "the discursive formations that construct and discipline citizen-subjects" (Alarcón et al. 12)—yet local, community practices can subvert that process of discipline and subjectification. In "Battle Cry," the community of women comes together to do just that.

Ultimately the people who save Mother's daughter are not her husband (who would have been Father to the daughter), but rather the other women of the village who may face the same fate as Mother one day and have their daughters taken away to sexual slavery or military service by the Japanese state. The women gather together, and letting out an astounding battle cry, they call out for the release of the girl taken from the village: "우리 점순이 도루 내보내 주서유, 우리 점순이…" / "Please send us back our Jŏm-sun, our Jŏm-sun…" (519). Here in this story the linguistic choices Chang makes add to the complexity of the story. As the women cry for Mother's daughter, they call out "our Jŏm-sun"—typical of the way in Korean, objects of intimacy are given the first-person plural possessive, "우리" / "our": 우리 집, 우리 학교—our home, our school. In the plot this linguistic practice melds into the battle cries of the women—give us back *our* Jŏm-sun, for we are a community of women who form a family that takes care of her, takes care of each other. At the same time, the Japanese soldier who finally responds to the women speaks in Japanese, which Chang writes out in Hangŭl and then translates into Korean—"다시데 야레(내놔줘)" / 「出してやれ」 / "Let her out" (ibid.). The Korean spoken by the soldier is also questionable: "무신 일이야 무신?" (instead of 무슨), "아즉도 여기 있나" (instead of 아직), calling Jŏm-sun "조무순" instead of "점순", mixing Japanese words (such as 고라 / こら / hey, 나니 / 何 / what, 아레 / あれ / that) with Korean words. Unlike "The Path," which she wrote in Japanese and in which she expressed a message that supported the imperial family institution, "Battle Cry" finds Chang putting Korean (and Japanese) into the mouth of the imperial soldier to comic and somewhat belittling effect. It is almost as if Chang is using her linguistic skills to overturn the power structure that was in place less than a year prior to the publication of the story.

The women still recognize that they are slaves to the husbands, who do not do anything to save Mother's daughter—yet this is how the story ends, a return to the fiction of a family institution in which the women obey the patriarch and maintain peace within the private space of the household. Yet through "Battle Cry," Chang demonstrates the potential of writing as a social function (Minh-ha 10): Just as the story illustrates an incident in which the community comes together to help a proverbial family member in need, Chang's story seems to be written in order to *do something* for the Korean community after the end of Japanese colonization. It is itself a battle cry, though perhaps a quiet one, to express that the family is not the only institution to rely upon for living in (post)colonial Chosŏn.

Conclusion

According to the introductions of the authors in *Hantō Sakka Tanpenshū* itself, Chang "entered home life and is the mother of two sons, three daughters," living in Seoul at the time of the collection's publication. Compared to Yi Kwang-su, alongside whom she was published, literary criticisms of her work are few. Even a cursory search in Korean, Japanese, and English do not yield many discussions of her or her work. Why is there such a difference between the treatments of the two authors, when Chang arguably was just as prolific as was Yi Kwang-su in terms of publications?

We can think that, in all three stories, the conclusion is, in fact, for an imperial subject to "do what one can," whether that is to kill flies, to be a good mother, or to defy the law to protect one's (and others') daughters. If a woman cannot become independent, if a man over the age of 50 cannot perform physical labor, then one should do everything possible within one's limits, regardless of how sad or funny those prospective alternatives. In these three works, nationalism, feminism, and modernity are not the issues. What is important is the

happiness and the roles that are much closer to the self. To label this attitude *shin'nichi* and call it a day is a limited way of thinking. Happiness that we can truly grasp, the satisfaction of having been able to be of use for someone, for something—that, particularly for the marginalized (the women, the poor, the elderly) is perhaps the very ordinary and small happiness in life that we seek.

Yet the reality that Chang paints, in both "The Path" and "Battle Cry," is that colonial modernity and the difference between feminist theory and feminist practice reinforce the contradictory conditions under which women still struggle to maintain their identity and achieve that which she believes is her desire. One would like to be a mother, but then one becomes caught up in housework and loses her sense of self; one would like to be independent, but then she misses her child; one would like to be able to rely on a strong patriarch, but in reality he is a weak man who only obeys the orders of those more powerful than him. Whatever the circumstances may be, the reality is not as simple as embracing one ideology or another and solving all—or any—of one's problems. This, perhaps, is part of the reason why works by Chang never achieved the kind of critical status that Yi Kwang-su's works did—because, as a woman, the barrier to such a status as a writer was much stronger.

In a similar vein, South Korean female writer Pak Wansŏ's (박완서) short story titled "Mother's Stake 1" "addresses what it meant for a traditional Korean mother to modernize her daughter and what it was like for a Korean girl to be modernized during the colonial period by a mother who was neither strictly traditional nor wholly modern" (Choi 224). A comparative analysis of the processes of identity construction for women in multiple contexts—directed by both the state and the women themselves—can illuminate the struggles faced by many women within colonial modernity and how it differed between regions, as well as how the Japanese empire appropriated women's liberation as yet another tool for its imperialistic ends—or

attempted but failed to do so. It is thus interesting to compare how and to what extent women throughout the empire constructed their identities and created spaces of belonging by writing, in both the oppressor's language and their own. We must also consider how these issues of identity, positionality, and selfhood were embodied by women in metropolitan Japan, for these struggles were based not only in ethnicity, but also in power relations based on gender, class, and sexuality. Among the "New Women" and the "Modern Girls" in Japan, how did cultural productions represent and influence their struggles with modernity and imperialism, even outside of an explicitly colonized context?

The family-state ideology of the imperialist era, an integral teaching during the colonial era that the whole empire and nation-state of Japan was a single family headed by the emperor, persists in Japan even decades after the supposed end of Japanese imperialism. The irony, of course, is that many families are dysfunctional—and the Japanese empire was no exception. Writers such as Chang recognized this reality, and constructed gender roles through their writings that unsettled the assumption that the Japanese imperial family was one from which one could expect to receive love and support. That, expectedly (but nonetheless unfortunately), was something that had to be found elsewhere, beyond the restrictive institution of the patriarchal family.

Chapter 5—Citizen, Subject:

Traveling and Surviving in Writings About Belonging

Introduction: Relational Construction of Identities

By exploring notions of movement, mobility, and nationality, this chapter examines how one's position of privilege is engendered by the structural oppression of another, whether knowingly or unknowingly. In an attempt to explore the relationships among notions of diaspora, sinophone literatures, East Asian feminism, and Japanese imperialism, I analyze texts written by two women in and about Manchuria before and during the period of Japanese occupation of Manchukuo from 1932 to 1945. These texts speak to their descriptions of (very different) "everyday experiences", as they perform and construct the writers' identities and positionalities. In juxtaposing *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia* (『満蒙遊記』, *Man-mō yūki*) by Japanese writer Yosano Akiko (与謝野晶子, 1878–1942) and *Market Street: A Chinese Woman in Harbin* (〈〈商市街〉〉, *Shangshi jie*) by Manchurian writer Xiao Hong (蕭紅, 1911–1942), we see the problems inherent in discussions of sinophone literature and diaspora, as well as the processes by which these women constructed in their works their identities as Japanese or Chinese women by contrasting themselves against an "Other" that was determined by (the lack of) mobility as well as material and cultural capital.

Being Japanese or Chinese nationality carried with it the associated privileges and burdens that structured life in the Japanese metropole and occupied Manchukuo in the first half of the 20th century. These ethnic and political identities were relationally constructed, as were the various class and gender identities that intersected with the nationalities of those individuals: In order for one to be Japanese—or rich, or female—one had to establish that identity in relation to another identity, regardless of whether that relationality was consciously

acknowledged or not.[1] In the works by the two writers we see how they express their feelings about being nationals of Japan or China and how that nationality intersects with class or gender in a process that enables them to tacitly condone, or actively speak out against, the Japanese occupation. In this chapter I show how, by putting the two women's works in conversation with each other, we can read how the silence of one about the injustice of the occupation is filled in by—or emerges hand in hand with—the explicit description of the hardships experienced by the Chinese nationals of the occupied territory. The two women's writings, in other words, present a seesaw of privilege and hardship that points to how the ability to move about freely through Manchuria for someone like Yosano Akiko, a Japanese woman writer, is made possible by the entrapment and displacement within a homeland (that has ceased to be one) as experienced by someone like Xiao Hong, a Chinese woman writer. Particularly for Yosano Akiko and Xiao Hong, their class differences augment the relationality of their positions in society, further expanding or delimiting their identity and mobility as women of Japan and China. The chapter thus argues that the institution of citizenship and sociopolitical belonging are constructed by the degree of mobility that a subject enjoys (or not), based on her positionality within various structures.

Citizenship, Home, and Diasporas

The life course of a woman—which the previous chapters have traced—overlies the construction of her imperial subjectivity through interactions with various social institutions. Under Japanese imperialism, the government's notion of citizenship—who had what rights, who belonged to the empire and in what way—formed an umbrella over the lives of imperial

[1] Of course this is merely an expansion of Said's theory of Orientalism—that the Orient emerges in the eyes of the Westerner, as he establishes his own Occidental identity in relation (or contrast) to that of the Oriental Other.

subjects. These individuals lived their lives as best they could while being governed by various social institutions, participation in which was granted to, or forced upon, them as citizens (or not). This chapter examines these ideas of citizenship and belonging by looking at writings from the 1920s and ’30s by Japanese writer Yosano Akiko and Manchurian writer Xiao Hong, writings that describe both personal and national sentiments of sympathy for, or resistance against, the Japanese imperial forces that influenced the Manchurian region from the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 to 1945. These writings also relationally establish their writers’ identities across the continuum of “citizens” and “non-citizens”, particularly in terms of their senses of mobility and belonging to an imagined community of shared authorship and readership.

By examining theories related to citizenship and belonging, this chapter examines how one Japanese woman writer’s work reflects the experiences of those who live as citizens of the occupying nation of the Japanese metropole, and in turn how one Manchurian woman writer contributes to sinophone literary productions as a subject under that Japanese occupation. It explores the answers to questions that interrogate how movement of people and their mobility are linked to nationality, class, and gender, bearing in mind discussions and debates surrounding the notions of sinophone literatures and diasporas.

Citizenship

What, first of all, does “citizenship” point to and include? Anglo-American political theory often associates citizenship with the right to vote, as well as the right to participate in the politics of one’s own government. But citizenship, when taken as a cultural concept, can also be considered an authenticity of “belonging” (or a lack of it), and it can span the continuum from full (or first-class) to second-class citizenship (Rosaldo 402). The relationship

between citizenship and belonging is illustrated in the conclusion of Xiao Hong's *Market Street*, as her fictional alter ego and her lover leave their "home" in the city of Harbin (133)—which has essentially become a "non-home", with the characters having lost their "citizenship" in Manchukuo under Japanese occupation. As political scientist Nancy Gilson elaborates, the concept of citizenship can include the meaning of both juridical and social standing;[2] state-sanctioned laws in the United States, such as the 14th Amendment of the Constitution, for example, may guarantee Equal Protection and Due Process for "citizens," but this *de jure* guarantee may have little relation to the *de facto* treatment of those same individuals in society or to their place in the social hierarchy according to their social standing. Similarly, Etienne Balibar describes "two tendentially incompatible types of racism" in the European context:

> on the one hand, a racism which tends to eliminate an internal minority which is not merely 'assimilated', but constitutes an integral part of the culture and economy of the European nations since their beginnings and, on the other hand, a racism which both *de jure* and *de facto* continues to exclude a forcibly conquered minority from citizenship and from the dominant culture, and therefore to 'exclude' it indefinitely (which does not by any means prevent there being paternalism, the destruction of 'native' cultures and the imposition of the ways of life and thought of the colonizers on the 'elites' of the colonized nations). (42)

The various types of racism, in other words, work together to continue to exclude and displace subjects within the geopolitical realms in which they are located.

We can question, of course, whether theories of 18th-century Anglo-European legal philosophy apply to a discussion of subjectivity under Japanese imperialism; I choose, however, to use these theories as the starting point for framing such a discussion. The idea of citizenship (its Japanese translation including *minken* 民権 or *kokuminken* 国民権) has its

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[2] This was discussed within the context of U.S. constitutional history, for the section on Justice in the Dimensions of Culture Program's three-quarter sequence.

own historical significance in Japan, one that may have little in common with ideas of belonging and social standing that this chapter addresses (which themselves are extensions of the commonly understood definition of citizenship).[3] Yet the Meiji Restoration and the Meiji era, which commenced in 1868 (with the restoration of rule by the empire to replace the shogunate (Jayawardena 227)) and continued until 1912, when the Taisho era began, was partly fueled by individuals who believed that an integration of Western philosophical thought was integral to Japan's achievement of modernization. While the supposed egalitarianism of the Meiji Restoration meant more the "'samuraization' of the commoners" rather than the "'commoner-ization' of the samurai class" (Ueno 78–79), the stated goal of some reformers was equality and inclusion among the disparate elements of society. After a group of such (male) reformers, led by political figure Mori Arinori (森有礼, 1847–1889), formed the intellectual society called *Meirokusha* (明六社) in 1873 (the sixth year (六) of the Meiji era (明)) (Jayawardena 231), several of its members supported the modernization of Japan and its sociopolitics based on Western liberalism and Enlightenment.[4] As the basis for certain strands of thinking on the modernization of Japanese subjectivity, therefore, the Anglo-European idea of "citizenship" serves as a productive starting point for analyzing the same signifier under Japanese imperialism—and from there we can expand to untangle the various pieces of writings that dwell on the idea of citizenship as belonging and home.

How, then, can we consider "citizenship" as the idea of inclusion in the political activities of one's society, but also as that idea of social (not simply juridical) standing, in the

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[3] I thank Ohkubo Akio and Hashimoto Yuichi for discussions on the application of the Western notion of "citizenship" to the context of Manchukuo. As Hashimoto has mentioned in a personal correspondence, the Japanese word 国民権 in Japanese fails to capture the complexity of the shifting ideas of nation and state in 20th century Northeast China, lacking clarity in terms of either dominant powers or time periods. I thus make my case with slight insistence and some tweaking of definition.

[4] There is a wealth of scholarship on *Meirokusha* and its founder, Mori Arinori. See, for example, Hall, Ivan Parker. *Mori Arinori*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1973.

context of Japanese imperialism? For example, under imperialism, the people of Taiwan were never meant to become fully Japanese as "natural" citizens, despite the rhetoric of *kōminka*; they remained imperial subjects without the full rights and privileges of citizenship in either the juridical or the social standing sense of the term. As Leo T.S. Ching has noted, the Taiwanese were encouraged to become Japanese, "all the while being continuously denied access to political representation and economic advancement" (104). As imperial subjects, the Taiwanese were merely objects of exploitation by Japanese colonialism (Ching 106). In a sense, with forced occupation and colonization, the people who were subjected to, and subjectified by, Japanese imperialism can be said to have been displaced in their own homeland, losing a nation and a home to which they could belong, and being denied a government in which to participate without burdens or restrictions.

From Displacement to Diaspora

Given such conditions of occupation and displacement, I theorize the idea of citizenship under imperialism by considering how it relates to the idea of diasporas and of peoples who have been forced away from their home, into a condition of always looking back toward a nostalgic representation of it. At stake often in the question of diaspora is self-perception and representation, in which the classification of a diaspora is made possible by the existence of an imagined home community to which a particular group *does not* belong—in the sense of either community or society. As such, the identification of a group as a diaspora rests on the relational existence of an "Other" that occupies and remains in the homeland. As Khachig Tölölyan notes in his essay "Rethinking *Diaspora*(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment," "A diaspora is never merely an accident of birth, a clump of individuals living outside their ancestral homeland, each with a hybrid subjectivity, lacking

collective practices that underscore (not just) their difference from others, but also their similarity to each other, and their links to the people on the homeland" (30). As Ping-hui Liao also notes, "The general consensus finds the term [diaspora] useful as a concept so long as we take into consideration the complexities of diaspora experience and attend to the historical conditions that produce diasporic subjectivities" (505).

While the idea of "diaspora" is historically associated with the Jewish community, Edward Said theorizes the Palestinian diaspora and frames it in terms of exile, the expulsion from one's own homeland. He describes the Palestinian condition as a "community built on suffering and exile" (5)—a tie that connects people both within Palestine and abroad.[5] Yet Said maintains a kind of hope against the marginalization of the Palestinians within a semantic battle—"the main features of our present existence are dispossession, dispersion, and yet also a kind of power incommensurate with our stateless exile" (6)—and this is the same kind of power that we encounter in the works of writers such as Xiao Hong, as she describes her efforts to write against Japanese occupation of Manchukuo during the 1930s and '40s at the cost of her and her lover's safety while living in the city of Harbin in northeast China and beyond. While colonized subjects in the Japanese empire may not fit the definition of a diaspora, their condition shares with it a notion of looking for, or back toward, a homeland and a place to which to belong. Thus we see how the notion of "belonging" and "home" become crucial when considering the institution of citizenship, both juridical and social, within the Japanese empire.

Chinese Diaspora and Sinophone Literatures

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[5] In Said's view the concept of diaspora is inextricably tied to (and also emerges relationally to) American Zionism, which is "a far different phenomenon" from the statelessness of his people (115).

Colonialism as well as geopolitical and religious conflicts form the thread that connects the notion of, say, a Palestinian diaspora with the potential notion of a "Manchurian diaspora." For the people of Manchukuo in particular, to "qualify" as a diaspora can signify an emphasis on, and affirmation of, their displacement and exile in their homeland, a condition of political oppression and social subjugation within the puppet state. In addition to literal movements of people flowing out of (as well as into) Manchuria at the time, we can also consider "the inability to return except by the detour of symbolic acts" (Liao 506), such as the act of writing to invoke a kind of "home" that the writers feel they have lost under occupation.

The people of Manchukuo were either literally made a diaspora because of their forced or voluntary exodus out of the occupied territory, or they were displaced in their own homeland because of the tension in government between the Chinese and the Japanese imperialist forces. In conditions such as these, wherein people lose their space of belonging, their cultural productions in fact come not from China proper, but from a place relatively "abroad." Among such productions, literary texts thus comprise what literary and cultural studies scholar Shih Shu-mei terms "Sinophone literature," literature written in Chinese but written "outside" of China (10). But what really is this sinophone literature that connects with the idea of a Chinese diaspora? What are the theoretical issues at stake in calling Manchukuo's cultural productions a part of sinophone literature? Are the writers a part of a Chinese diaspora, even if they are in occupied territory (and not necessarily dispersed abroad)? How do we deal with the displacement of these individuals in their own homeland? Furthermore, what are the effects of colonialism on the notion of "home" or "homeland"?

In considering these ideas of displacement and mobility, discussions by scholars such as Shih and Rey Chow about sinophone literatures and Chinese diaspora repeatedly point to colonialism and modernity as a significant point of exploration. Under such conditions of

colonialism and occupation, we must consider how ideas of dispersal—either forced or voluntary—are altered. How does such dispersal of people change the idea of, in this case, a Chinese diaspora and the literatures of its members? In answering such questions we must also consider how, within the context of resistance and collaboration, the umbrella of sinophone literatures may house writings in occupied territories (or outside them) by displaced writers who actively resist occupation, or instead choose to step away from their Chinese nationality for a variety of motivations. In such cases, how are qualifications of "sinophone" literature judged? Is it a matter only of the language, or national and political sympathies and sentiments as well? In analyzing works by Xiao Hong and Yosano Akiko, I aim to address in this chapter the questions of belonging in conjunction with those of authenticity, originally discussed in Chapter 1, that are asked of Chinese or Manchurian writers who are displaced in their own homeland as colonized subjects.[6] Who can be considered "Chinese," and how, when they are forced to submit to an external, Japanese imperialist force? How is their production of sinophone literature influenced when they are taught the Japanese language of the colonizers as part of the occupation's education program? How do subjectivity and sovereignty matter for Chinese nationals in the face of displacement in a puppet state under imperialism?

"The diasporic writer," states Jing Tsu, "is the necessary nomadic figure that helps to distinguish the local from the sojourner, the foreigner from the national" (713). In looking at the works by Yosano Akiko and Xiao Hong, we find that even such labels as "the local" and "the sojourner" arise relationally, where Xiao Hong is displaced in Manchukuo but is in fact still "the national" when compared to the figure of the traveler embodied by Yosano Akiko in her travels through China. By looking at Yosano Akiko's travelogue and Xiao Hong's fictionalized autobiography, I discuss in this chapter how occupation and displacement help

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[6] Throughout the paper I refer to both Xiao Hong and Yosano Akiko with both their family name and given name, to distinguish them from their male partners (Xiao Jun and Yosano Tekkan, respectively).

construct Yosano Akiko's and Xiao Hong's identities as women writers during the first half of the 20th century.

Mobility and Nationality

These roles and identities as "local," "sojourner," and "traveler" capture one's relationship to her spatial environment. In her travelogue Yosano Akiko notes that the hotel with the hot springs where she and husband are staying have the "appearance of a country villa in France", with rooms decorated in Japanese style (55); the irony of this description (and their choice to stay at this lodging)—a Japanese woman traveling through Manchuria staying at a French-style villa—erases the fact that she is in Northeast China, emphasizing Yosano Akiko's embodiment of the figure of a colonizer traveling through occupied territory. As this quote suggests, one of the ways in which we can observe the notion of citizenship and power in practice is through mobility (or lack thereof): the ability and ease with which one can move within or between nations, states, and empires, for reasons such as belonging, or much more practical matters such as need for paperwork and financial resources.[7] By thinking about "citizenship" as our ability to occupy and move through both space and time, we begin to see how questions of (juridical and social) belonging, home and domesticity, public and private spheres, and space and time overlap. It is through granting or revoking its subjects' mobility across spatial and temporal dimensions that the state governs them.[8] Subjects can also be "displaced" or "pushed out" through reorganizations of urban and rural spaces. Of course, the fact that many individuals and writers constantly moved about the empire—Japanese

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[7] This is no different for a place like the contemporary United States, for example—if one is not a U.S. citizen, the experience of going through Customs and Immigration continues to be a sweaty-palms-inducing affair. (And for what reason must it be this way?)

[8] Stefan Tanaka has done interested work on space/time and mobility/fluidity, such as his discussion of "miscellaneous happenings" around the year 1884.

journalists traveling between the metropole and the colonies, or Xiao Hong (like other students and writers) traveling to Japan or living in Shanghai at the time of her death, for example—must be taken into consideration within its appropriate historical context as well. Yet it is the unevenness in that mobility and fluidity, as well as the shifts in one's positionality across spaces and even contemporaneous times, that delineate the power relations that operate in the establishment of citizenship under imperialism.

Both voluntary mobility and forced movement are often related to the two women's nationality. Yosano Akiko can choose to travel through Manchuria and Mongolia because of the social connections she has as an established writer. For Xiao Hong, on the other hand, her lack of freedom within Harbin as well as her eventual move to Qingdao on the Shandong Peninsula (Goldblatt xiii) contribute to, and are the effects of, her identity as a Manchurian woman with few resources. Xiao Hong's simultaneous immobility and forced migration are the result of the political conditions of the Japanese occupation, just as Yosano Akiko's privilege of being a leisurely traveler through northeastern China comes from her status as a member of the occupying nation.

These ideas of mobility/immobility and voluntary/forced movement are continuously reinforced by the elements of the writers' nationality, class, and gender. In the texts, nationality and political affiliation daily affect the comfort or fear that the two women feel and experience. Class—and all that money can buy—constantly marks a clear difference between Yosano Akiko and Xiao Hong, who in their works depict drastically different ways of living, marked by simple items such as dress, food, and leisure. Gender for these women is constructed not just in relation to men, but also in relation to each other—other women who are Japanese or Chinese, colonizer or colonized, rich or poor, collaborator or resistor. Against

these identity categories inhabited by other women (as well as men) do Yosano Akiko and Xiao Hong construct in relief their identities through their writings.

History of Manchuria and the Japanese Establishment of Manchukuo

In addition to international migration as noted in Chapter 1 following the establishment of the Manchukuo puppet state in 1932, there was ample migration of people within China as well, with many moving to Manchukuo in the Northeastern region in hopes of better economic opportunities (N. Smith 65). In addition to the steady stream of people and commerce into and out of Manchukuo, the maintenance of the puppet state was also made possible by Japanese colonization of Korea: the "continental base" theory highlights the increased Korean involvement in Manchukuo, China, and Inner Mongolia, making Japanese expansion a joint Japanese-Korean enterprise (Yang 179). It was after the 1931 Japanese invasion of Manchuria that "Korea began to be transformed into an economic and military base for Japanese penetration of the Chinese mainland" (Em 336). Thus the Manchu State further strengthened the Japanese foothold in continental Asia by making complicit the people of other Japanese colonies in Japan's further imperialist efforts.

The occupation of Manchukuo differed from the Japanese colonization of Taiwan and Korea in several ways, with authority for the establishment and maintenance of the puppet state coming from what Prasenjit Duara has termed "the symbolic regime of authenticity" (9). For one, the period of official occupation was shorter—13 years in Manchukuo, compared to 50 years in Taiwan and 35 years in Korea (not including the latter's period of territorial occupation). This affected the cultural productions in Manchuria through the end of World War II—specifically, most works continued to be published in the Chinese language rather than in the Japanese language, whereas in Taiwan and Korea texts were increasingly published

in the language of the colonizer. In other words, unlike in Taiwan and Korea, cultural productions in Manchukuo remained legitimately a part of sinophone literary productions because most texts continued to be written in Chinese.

In considering the historicization of Manchukuo, I want to address how occupation and colonization affect an individual's—and, more specifically, a writer's—subjectivity and thus the authenticity of that person's representation of a particular nationality or culture. What are the issues at stake in the occupation and the possibility for maintenance of Chinese subjectivities, particularly for writers, who were often expected to display their resistance against the occupation through their works? For women, how did their resistance against both the occupation and patriarchy change both the production and the reception of their works, compared to the reception of male writers' works? As we see in the examination of their writings, Yosano Akiko's and Xiao Hong's works depict their national subjectivities differently. Whereas Yosano Akiko assumes the legitimacy of her Japanese nationality—and in not mentioning it, perpetually cements its privileged and unmarked position in relation to that of the "Others" around her—Xiao Hong, on the other hand, harks back to the perilous position in which she and her partner find themselves as Chinese resistors against the occupying imperial Japanese government. Xiao Hong, in other words, must constantly name that nationality—her own—which is being threatened, being a Manchurian woman. It is, in fact, the privilege of *not needing to articulate* her nationality that Yosano Akiko enjoys by being a national of the dominant nation-state. This question of nationality in the historical context of Japanese imperialism and Manchukuo also relates to ideas of how we classify sinophone literature and Chinese diaspora.

Xiao Hong and Yosano Akiko: Women Writers and the Occupation of Manchuria

This chapter analyzes two works by the women writers in question: Yosano Akiko's *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia* and Xiao Hong's *Market Street*. These texts provide interesting pictures of feminine and feminist sentiments of the time, particularly in relation to the perception and representation of Japanese and Chinese women within the context of territorial occupation.

Yosano Akiko was a prominent feminist and writer in Japan who was well-known for her frequent publications in the Japanese feminist journal *Seitō* (青鞜, *Bluestocking*). Her travelogue chronicles the trip she and her husband Yosano Tekkan (与謝野鉄幹, 1873–1935) made through Manchuria and Mongolia in spring and early summer of 1928. The work was originally published in Japanese in 1929, and it is interesting because of the way it shows her travel experience as being selective, in that the Yosanos only saw and associated with certain aspects of life in Manchuria and Mongolia. This skewed perception of China leads Yosano Akiko to represent the people of China in a particular way, while simultaneously constructing her own privileged status as a noted Japanese writer without question of her relationship with the subject (or, rather, object) of her writing. As the translator of the text, Joshua Fogel, writes, Yosano Akiko's travelogue is more about her and a wider Japanese *representation* of China rather than about China or its people (7). Her text suggests that Yosano Akiko is much too complacent about Japanese imperialism and its role in the occupation of Manchuria.[9] We see, in the examination of her work, that the text suggests a self-deception of sorts on the part of Yosano Akiko, who purportedly seeks to learn about the real Chinese people and their feelings (Fogel 8).

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[9] Of course, Yosano Akiko wrote the poem「君死にたまふことなかれ」(1904) about her younger brother being off at war, only to become more supportive of the imperialist movement later on.

Xiao Hong, who died tragically young in January of 1942 (the same year in which Yosano Akiko died), was a Manchurian writer who eventually left the region to continue her work in various places outside of her homeland. *Market Street* is a collection of fictionalized autobiographical stories that depict the time she spent in Harbin with her lover Xiao Jun, from the summer of 1932 to May 1934 (Goldblatt x). Xiao Hong, born Zhang Naiying, published *Market Street* as Qiao Yin (悄吟), which is both her first pseudonym and the name she gives to the character who represents her in *Market Street*. Up through the end of World War II, Harbin, with its blend of Russian and Chinese influences, was always a "foreign" city (Goldblatt xiii) even to its Chinese inhabitants, with its streets having names in Russian, Chinese, and later Japanese, and its foods deriving from various culinary traditions. *Market Street* was originally published in August 1936 (the year following the publication of her debut work *The Field of Life and Death* (〈〈生死場〉〉 *Sheng Si Chang*)) while Xiao Hong was in Japan.[10] Translator Howard Goldblatt describes *Market Street* as a "woman's autobiography," an example of writings that downplay the self and emphasize the private over the public, relying on anecdote and a discontinuous narrative style (xvi–xvii). Yet the work is also a feminine *and* feminist work; it gives an example of one Chinese intellectual's articulations of her experiences in a society in which she experienced gendered subjugation. Yet as we explore Xiao Hong's work we can detect how it becomes constructed as a "woman's autobiography" precisely because of the various relationalities that force her to produce a text that constructs her as a poor, Chinese woman.

Subjects in Motion: Fighting Both Patriarchy and Occupation

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[10] She and Xiao Jun together also had published a collection of short stories titled *Bashe* (〈〈跋涉〉〉 *Arduous Journey*) three years prior, in 1933.

The two works by Yosano Akiko and Xiao Hong both emphasize the significance and problematics of women's independent subjectivity and explore the relationship between China and Japan. Yosano Akiko constantly refers to women's liberation within the context of modernity and the importance of opportunities for women to pursue intellectual endeavors. Xiao Hong's work also "[engages] a crucial moment in modern Chinese history when nationalist discourse constitutes the female body as a privileged signifier and various struggles are waged over the meaning and ownership of that body" (Liu 37). Yet, as Ashis Nandy has discussed for the context of India, modern colonialism suggested "the first step toward a more just and equal world" (ix), while in fact creating within even the minds of its subjects a state of colonization as well. In fact, the conflict that emerged within the psyche of the colonized was not one of struggle for independent subjectivity, but in fact one "between dehumanized self and the objectified enemy, the technologized bureaucrat and his reified victim, pseudo-rulers and their fearsome other selves projected on to their 'subjects'. . . . the victors are ultimately shown to be camouflaged victims, at an advanced stage of psychosocial decay" (Nandy xvi). Given this, we can see that both writers present important axes of comparison regarding problematic issues of establishing one's feminine identity and nationality, as well as a sense of belonging (however constructed), in the face of geopolitical and patriarchal oppression.

Yet we also see in the two texts that, while the two writers' abilities to move freely (or not) ride on such identity categories as nationality, gender, and class, those identity categories are also relationally constructed by *whether* and *how* the two women are mobile in their social contexts. In other words, Yosano may have the freedom of movement *because* she is Japanese,

but she is able to occupy the privileged status of a famous Japanese writer *because* she can choose the type of mobility she wants, when she wants it. For Xiao Hong, on the other hand, her poverty and household duties—an effect of her class and gender—prevent her from going outside of her own home to maintain social connections and to work toward her goal of being a writer (41). Yet her forced mobility out of Harbin (necessitated by the political condition of being displaced in occupied territory) marks her and perpetuates her condition of being a woman in exile.

Yosano Akiko's chosen mobility as a privilege derived from the intersection of her nationality, class, and gender is palpable in her description of her travels through Manchuria and Mongolia. As a Japanese national she sees Manchuria only as land to be claimed: "I imagined that in the future northern Manchuria would probably become enormously valuable economically" (103). Her comment is ominous: For *whom* does she imagine Manchuria to be economically valuable? It is unlikely that her positive assessment of the land is for the sake of the people of Manchuria. In her seemingly innocent remark, Yosano Akiko betrays her assumption that the land, in effect, belongs to her nation. The Yosanos' time in Manchuria is filled with meetings with Japanese officials and business people living in the region; people of talent and wealth seem to appear before them at random to entertain and guide them through the land (132). Yosano Akiko rarely feels lost or out of place, for her trip is constructed to make her feel as though she belongs in Manchuria—or, that Manchuria belongs to her. With her coterie of Japanese hosts and her string of Japanese and Western-style inns at which she stays, she experiences very few moments of discomfort while in China. In fact, often she finds herself forgetting about the fact that she is in Manchuria or Mongolia at all. After having switched to the An-Feng railway line, for example, she sees the lush trees and the greenery of the region. She remarks, "we felt as though we were traveling within Japan" (47). Moments

like this occur frequently in Yosano Akiko's work, wherein her nationality as a Japanese gives her both mobility and partial ownership of a land that in fact belongs to the people of a different nation.

For Xiao Hong, life presents constant reminders of her nationality as a Chinese, living in a land occupied by an enemy. Until she and her lover (Langhua in the novel, Xiao Jun in real life) decide to leave Harbin so as to "be a part of [their] own country again" (109), they live under daily threat of persecution and violence for their anti-Manchukuo writings. For example, the drama troupe of which she and Langhua are a part is disbanded by the Japanese authorities under suspicion that the troupe is engaged in subversive acts against the Japanese government (63). This type of threat within the reign of terror changes the people around Xiao Hong and makes them afraid for their lives (108). For Xiao Hong and her circle of artists and writers, to be Chinese in Manchuria is to be anti-Japanese; and to be anti-Japanese is to be unable to live safely in their own home(land). As a Chinese female writer, Xiao Hong experiences the fear and discomfort that her nationality brings upon her under Japanese occupation. Her decision to leave their "home" within what has essentially become a non-home for her comes from her vow that, "As long as there was a 'Manchukuo,' we would never again set foot on this soil" (130). In contrast to the way Yosano Akiko comfortably travels through Manchuria, forgetting that she is in fact a (colonizing) foreigner in the land, Xiao Hong daily confronts the subjugated position of the Chinese national in Manchuria under Japanese occupation. Her life as a writer, in effect, becomes a curse—her anti-Manchukuo cultural productions can provide the meaning for her existence as a resistor and also be the source of "[a]n uncontrollable terror" (97). Just as Yosano Akiko's nationality enables her to forget that she is a Japanese woman traveling in foreign soil, Xiao Hong's nationality imposes

on her the exact relational opposite: She cannot forget that she is a Chinese national trapped under Japanese rule.

Class difference between the two women writers—and just how much disposable income each one has—clearly marks their subject position as it intersects with their other identities. During the Yosanos' trip through Manchuria that is sponsored by the South Manchurian Railway Company (3), it is obvious that the Yosanos are accustomed to living comfortably and in what one might describe as a "modern" and "Western" fashion. (Of course, just how much income the Yosanos had and how much Yosano Akiko herself had to publish to keep their family afloat financially is a different matter.) Throughout her trip in Manchuria and Mongolia, Yosano Akiko frequently wears Western dress, as she describes being stared at by the Chinese people and troops because of her Western attire when she attended a rural street theater performance (74). She also notes her difficulty in walking outdoors because of her shoes with heels (106). It is not only her resulting appearance, gait, and being stared at that mark her as being an "outsider" because of her Western dress—it is also the suggestion of a moneyed class that aspires toward a more modern, Western fashion that places her in a different class from other women (either Japanese or Chinese) who cannot afford or choose not to wear Western dress under their circumstances.

Xiao Hong describes the appearance of the character that represents her as being poor, tired, and hungry, even from the beginning of *Market Street*. Essentially everything about the character of Qiao Yin (the alter ego of Xiao Hong) "boiled down to this: [she] had an empty stomach" (7). Both the tone and content of *Market Street* differ starkly from those of *Travels in Manchuria and Mongolia*. The comfort and "sureness" (in terms of both itinerary and direction) of Yosano Akiko's travels contrasts with Xiao Hong's everyday life, which is full of uncertainties. Unlike Yosano Akiko, Xiao Hong has no idea where she will be from one

day to the next, or how she and her lover will manage to eat—basic, everyday necessities for survival. The kind of movement and mobility that is afforded to Xiao Hong is limited for a poor Chinese woman of Harbin. Xiao Hong's position in the class ladder among other Chinese women is made even more clear when she compares herself to Wang Lin, a former classmate who also happens to be one of the daughters of the landlord of Xiao Hong and her lover. Xiao Hong describes Wang Lin as having the "youthful arrogance" of a proper young lady (40)—a quality which Qiao Yin decidedly does not have. This "arrogance" comes from being in a particular class and having certain privileges; yet it also derives from the ignorance of certain kinds of hardships, which Xiao Hong knows only too well. It is through the comparison between two such women as Xiao Hong and Wang Lin, both Chinese women, that we come to establish the former as being poor and the latter as being rich and privileged. Xiao Hong can only dream of having money; Wang Lin cannot even dream of not having it.

Yosano Akiko frequently refers to how inexpensive life is for the Chinese (27). Most of the people who serve the Yosanos during their trip are Chinese servants and coolies, to whom the Yosanos make payment and for whom they also buy meals. The Yosanos are constantly astounded by how much food they can purchase with such little money in Manchuria. Yet Yosano Akiko's perception is skewed: she does not realize that the quality of life for the people in Manchuria has been forcibly lowered, and that the "inexpensiveness" of the lives of the Chinese people is what permits the "expensiveness" of the Yosanos' comfortable life. Yosano Akiko also sees young beggars on the streets, and she comments on their "innocent beauty"—although "Perhaps," she says, "I was overdrawing the tragic aspect of worker-peasant Russia" (92). Indeed, for Yosano Akiko, being a peasant was something to be romanticized. Being entrenched in a life of relative comfort, Yosano Akiko does not even fret about the money that flies out of her purse when she opens it while riding on a carriage

(99)—money that, surely, Qiao Yin would have loved to have had. Meanwhile, stalking around the hallway of her lodging, "with a wan face and a faded, oversized blue shirt" (11), Qiao Yin is ravenous for free food and is seen by others as a beggar or a thief. The "inexpensiveness" of Qiao Yin and Langhua's life is only perceived so by others who have money to spend; for Qiao Yin and Langhua, life is plenty expensive enough.

Gender adds another dimension to the prism through which the identities of these two women are projected onto society. Yosano Akiko's and Xiao Hong's relationships with other men and women mark them as being women of particular nationalities and class. In a way, Qiao Yin's gender is emphasized because she is poor; Yosano Akiko, on the other hand, can afford to have the "freedom" of a man's mobility because she is rich. Yet it is unclear what Yosano Akiko's role is in the couple's travels through China. One poem that her husband, Yosano Tekkan, writes in Chinese describes her as "one poetess wife" (65). Indeed, she *is* a wife—but to what extent is she permitted to be anything else? In a way, Yosano Akiko's concerns throughout the trip remain focused not on the political concerns of the region (perhaps the more *masculine* concerns) but rather on (feminized) social and educational issues as described to her by other women of the region. Yosano Akiko is delighted to find that there are Chinese women who are interested in the world and relevant "women's issues," describing her meeting with Mrs. Ma, a woman educated in Japan, as being the first time she meets an "educated" Chinese woman at all (81). She is also "delighted to the point of tears to find that women of such elegance in a war-torn China still existed" (84), in describing a boating trip during which the other women—Mrs. Ma, Mrs. Wu, and Mrs. Hayakawa—collect beautiful reeds to adorn their boat. Yosano Akiko uncritically relegates herself to focusing on the status of women's education and beautifying her surroundings—not on the conditions of "war-torn China," of which her nation is decidedly a part (and partial cause).

As a poor Chinese woman writer in Manchukuo, on the other hand, Xiao Hong is forced to be active in the political realm that is often gendered masculine—for through her poverty, she is de-feminized and even de-sexed (as we see in comparisons between her and Wang Lin, or in descriptions of her attire). Yet her personal relationship with her male lover in fact seems to negate her active participation in sociopolitical issues that she accomplishes (or must accomplish) through her writings. On the other hand, Qiao Yin's lover, Langhua, is depicted as being less than personable: He eats all of their food without sharing it with Qiao Yin, he tries to spend money that they do not have, he makes multiple suggestions of his philandering—in a way, he is a man that a reader might wish for Qiao Yin to extricate herself from if she would only listen to the advice of her former art teacher that being alone would enable her to concentrate on her writing (27). Yet Qiao Yin says, "As long as he was next to me, I could put up with my hunger, and my stomachache bothered me less" (31). How is this so? Regardless of her activism, in the privacy of their home Qiao Yin is only too happy to prepare meals for Langhua and herself, "just like a little housewife" (32)—"So I was a housewife. How else could I have cooked a real meal? Who but a housewife would know how to cook a meal?" (ibid.). It is not *because* she is a woman that Qiao Yin must cook for herself and Langhua; it is *because* she cooks for the both of them that she becomes a woman: a slow, fumbling woman who is not even able to cook fast enough, as Langhua describes her (59), despite her critical mind and output as an anti-Manchukuo writer. On her own Xiao Hong is an independent writer not necessarily marked by gender; it is only in her interactions and her heteronormative relationship with her male lover that she comes to occupy the position of "woman."

How do these identities of nationality, class, and gender affect the two women as writers? Yosano Akiko's desire to write poetry during her trip points, in some ways, to her

obliviousness to "Imperialism and the smell of liquor" (43) that she notes—the unpleasant (and masculine) force that pervades the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. Her identity as a writer is overwhelmed by her identity as a woman sponsored to tour northeastern China. As she is carried around in her sedan chair (53), her relationship to the act of writing appears to be one of pleasure and choice, rather than the political and existential necessity that it is for Xiao Hong (and, no doubt, as it also was for Yosano Akiko herself for much of her life). The picture we get of Yosano Akiko through her travelogue, however, is one of comfort and means. For Xiao Hong, writing was not an act of comfort. In the struggles of her daily life Xiao Hong had little time to write. She realized that she was no longer in childhood, that adulthood—as an imperial subject—was instead a "time for getting by"—or, what she simply described as "hard times" (38). Unlike for Yosano Akiko, for Qiao Yin and Langhua, writing books was not an act of leisure, but rather something that they are not even permitted to do: The secret publication of their book becomes something that can have them arrested by the Japanese authorities (102). Yet this cultural production in fact puts them in a creative phase (101), albeit a difficult and terrifying one. For both their commonalities and differences, we see how the two women writers experience and represent their lives in writing as they move through various regions and positionalities.

Conclusion: The Ends of Japanese Imperialism

This chapter reveals, through analyses of the selected texts, interesting points about issues of subjectivity within colonial modernity, particularly in relation to the writers' nationality, ethnicity, class, and gender, regardless of the language in which the texts were originally written. Of particular interest is the differing representation of Japanese occupation of Manchuria and how the geopolitical situation bears on the ability of the two women authors

to move and write in their respective public spaces. It is also interesting to see how the cultural productions of these—and other—women writers compare with male writers of China (particularly Manchukuo) and Japan. How do Chinese women's writings differ from those of, for example, Gu Ding (古丁) and Liang Shanding? In comparisons with Japanese male writers, it may help to address how Japanese male nationals such as Abe Kōbō (安部公房, 1924–1993)—a Japanese male writer who wrote about Manchuria (Kleeman 47)—represented the occupation from different positionalities—constructions, but nevertheless an undeniable part of their everyday lives.

Works by other female Japanese writers, some of whom traveled to China, also provide interesting points of comparison. It is interesting to note that Yosano Akiko herself, for example, changed her stance about the occupation of Manchuria and wrote in support of the establishment of Manchukuo, even speaking positively about the beauty of war. How do such feminists' treatment of the occupation relate to (the often anti-Japanese) writings by women in Manchukuo itself?[11] In considering these questions, we must look at how gender is constructed not just in a male/female binary, but also relationally within the spectrum of "woman" that is intersectionally determined in relation to other categories.

One challenge for this chapter (and larger project) has been to provide a representative analysis of texts written in Japanese by Chinese writers writing at the time in Manchuria, given the relative lack of such texts.[12] While the larger project aims to look at writings written in different languages in the colonies, most primary texts that are fiction and readily available from Manchukuo are written in Chinese. Norman Smith's *Resisting Manchukuo* also examines cultural productions by seven Manchurian women writers, with all of their texts being written

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[11] Of course, it would be a mistake to assume that all writings done in Manchukuo were preoccupied with the occupation (…) or that they were automatically anti-Japanese.
[12] For selfish linguistic reasons.

in Chinese. As Ohkubo Akio discusses in his chapter in *Imperialism and Literature*, many authors in Manchukuo received a Chinese national language education through elementary school (211), following a national language movement in China that began around 1911 (207–208). From around middle school, however, the writers began to receive their education in Japanese, the "people's language." Many authors also worked for Japanese companies and developed particular styles of Japanese usage (Ohkubo 211–212). While some writers arguably used Japanese to make up for (what some describe as) a particular lack of expressivity in Chinese, Ohkubo argues that the use of Japanese in Manchukuo was not merely an invasion of the Japanese language, but rather a means for Manchurian writers to take parts of Japanese to enrich their own language (224). Therefore, while there may be few cultural productions out of Manchukuo written entirely in Japanese, it is more likely the case that the Chinese language in which the texts are written has some measure of influence from the language of the occupying forces.

We must also examine further the influence of Japanese language education on the cultural production of Manchukuo up until 1945, beyond what the first chapter has done. It would be ideal to examine works by more Manchurian authors, both male and female, writing and publishing (either fiction or nonfiction) in Japanese at the time of the occupation. Texts that cover a range of topics and dates will add to the examination of how Chinese women in particular describe their daily lives and resist or speak out against Japanese occupation.

It is clear that works from and about Manchukuo form an integral part of the narrative that describes the influence—and ends—of Japanese imperialism. We can thus read cultural productions from Manchukuo alongside those of Taiwan, Korea, and Japan, particularly with respect to the way women writers drew parallels between geopolitical colonization and intranational patriarchal institutions. For example, writers such as Mei Niang (梅娘, 1920–

2013) (who was also the focus of Smith's *Resisting Manchukuo*) and Japanese writer Aman Kimiko (あまんきみこ, b. 1931), who was born in Manchukuo and lived there until the end of World War II, provide interesting points of contrast for their unique positionalities in writing about Manchukuo.[13] Exploration of these and other writers shed more light on how women constructed their identities in relation to individuals from other nations and classes within—and beyond—the context of Japanese imperialism.

[13] Mei Niang writes in Chinese, while Aman writes children's fiction in Japanese. (Aman began publishing her works in Japan after the end of World War II.)

Conclusion—No *Nadeshiko*:

The Persistent Contradiction Between Theory and Practice

Introduction: Life Stages of a Subject

Modern(ized) subjects are ushered through teleological, socially constructed life stages. They begin as children, a period of "childhood" itself constructed as a time of innocence, freedom, and learning, despite the vast differences in their standards of living and health.[1] As they grow older (which, in fact, their living conditions may prevent), they are expected to receive an education (in whatever subjects the government deems appropriate for its young subjects to learn) and progress toward graduation from the educational institution into the realm of work and labor (regardless of the fact that many would have been working before, during, or instead of attending school)—yet many remain without access to an education that provides them the practical resources to change such living conditions. As they work, spanning the range that includes white-collar professionals, working-class laborers, and impoverished survivors, they are expected to entwine their "life" and their "work" as productive, exploitable subjects, although much of life that is emphasized by the modern state is about the non-work, or doing "work" that is something they love and would *choose* to do even if it were not what made their living financially—or absolutely—viable.

For female subjects in a modern society, the necessary and often (constructed-as-) desired foray into work after education is complicated by the expectation and need for marriage, for romanticized fulfillment, financial stability, or practical survival. After the stage of education (whether it exists or not), women are often expected to make a life of marriage—as a wife who, based on privileges of the social class to which her husband belongs, does not have to work; as a wife who works with her husband to make their conjugal happiness and life

[1] See Tanaka for construction of childhood.

possible; and as so many other types of wives in between—including the wife who works out of dire need to support her family, or the "wife" who does not have a "husband", either temporarily or permanently. Once the marriage has been executed, either institutionally or socioculturally, women are expected to become mothers by (re)producing children: the ultimate contribution to the family and the nation, discursively constructed as what all women (must) want based on their natural, biological instincts (unless, of course, the state deems them unfit or undeserving to reproduce). The choice not to reproduce is questioned; the choice to take ownership of one's own body is frequently denied. These norms and expectations of modern femininity ignore questions of sexuality, marginalized identities, and ailments (both emotional and biological) that individuals experience—medical conditions that make pregnancy difficult or impossible, traumas from past relationships, a desire for something *different*.

Under Japanese imperialism, these life stages through which subjects were expected to progress in East Asia in the first half of the 20th century were constructed to forward imperial ideologies, to create a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere that reformulated power hierarchies between the metropole and the colonies and territories. Through the rhetoric of establishing an empire in East Asia headed by Japan, subjects were educated through imperial ideology and taught to contribute to the empire through various forms of labor. Women from throughout the empire were used as the measure for the progress of the imperial modernization project in their respective geographic regions. Ultimately, Japanese imperialism assimilated people from multiple parts of East Asia as the empire's—and emperor's—subjects. Yet the reality of the differences among women based on their political and economic positionalities defied such imperial ideologies.

This project both has focused on individual regions (metropole, colonies, occupied territory) and has provided general overviews and connections among them. As a project of broad scope that looks at writings by women in the Japanese colonies (specifically Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria) alongside writings by women from the Japanese metropole, its chapters have focused on key writers and texts from throughout the empire—from students in Manchukuo to the professional and proletarian workers of Taiwan and Korea, from the wives in the Japanese metropole to the mothers in and out of Korea, from the traveling Japanese poet to the exiled Chinese writer. While the project has attempted to examine together topics that are divided institutionally and academically by geographic regions far too often, its result also has clarified the ways in which it can be strengthened in its next steps.

What Are Next Steps?

In developing the project further, I will provide more historical context as well as historicization of the various concepts and institutions that operate in the modernization project under Japanese imperialism. This is necessary for the various national and cultural contexts with which the project deals. More, closer examinations of historical and government documents as well as additional copies of women's magazines from the colonies than I have analyzed thus far are also necessary. A number of magazines, which I have collected from Taiwanese and Korean sources in digital form, provide more depth with respect to the types of writings by women that were common but perhaps drew less attention than works by better known female writers.

In addition to historical context, I also want to add more biographical details about the writers whose works I analyze. In making this project a collection of mini literary biographies that serves as a site for understanding the lives of many writers who otherwise do not feature

in Anglophone scholarship, I want to provide enough information about the lives of the writers and the practical conditions that provided the context for the writing and publication of the various texts I analyze. While biographical detail is often difficult to find for women writers who were not well-known during the time, amassing small pieces of information can help to fill in the gaps and reveal certain commonalities and intellectual kinships—as well as differences—among the women.

This project will eventually become a book that is relevant and accessible to not just scholars of Japanese literature and imperialism, but also students (both undergraduate and graduate) interested in the studies of East Asia, literature, and gender. It is also important that it is readable to scholars of both the United States and Japan. My desired audience is a community of researchers and thinkers familiar with the history of modern East Asia, from 1850s on. They will know about gender studies and feminist history; they will know about colonial and postcolonial power relations. They may not necessarily know about regions outside of their expertise—and I will need to know that I myself have laid out the groundwork in the project, so that I can make my arguments clearly. The project must demonstrate how cultural productions in East Asia under Japanese imperialism influenced the production of gendered subjectivity, both with free will and agency and simultaneously under subjectification by the Japanese empire.

Conclusion

In Japan (and the broader East Asia) today, there remains a persistent gap between the theoretical claim to equality on the one hand, and the lived reality of oppressive expectations and denial of choice on the other—for the choice between career and family, acceptance and marginalization, happiness and unhappiness, life and death, is no choice at all. While this

project does not aim to solve the problems associated with a normative and privileged womanhood that has remained since (and before) Japanese imperialism, it brings to light the individual ways in which women from throughout East Asia dealt and lived with these questions in the first half of the 20th century.

This project examines feminine gender construction in the Japanese empire in order to articulate how women's writings enabled the writers to contribute to and resist that process. It aims to promote understanding of how both popular cultural productions and state decrees function in establishing people's sense of identities. There is something *about* writing, something about seeing one's thoughts on paper, in print, for others to see and critique, that does something to a writer. And some of what happens to "writers" in the performative of writing subverts what the state seeks to make its women know and feel.

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