

Jogakusei: A Cultural Icon of Meiji Japan

By

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ABSTRACT

The term *joshidaisei*, female college students, is often associated with an image of modernity, stylishness, and intelligence in contemporary Japan, and media such as TV, fashion magazines, and websites feature them as if they were celebrities. At the same time, intellectuals criticize *joshidaisei* for focusing too much on their appearance and leading an extravagant lifestyle. In the chapter, “Branded: Bad Girls Go Shopping” in the book *Bad Girls of Japan*, Jan Bardsley and Hiroko Hirakawa assert that male intellectuals have criticized the consumer culture of young single woman, which *joshidaisei* has been a major part of, as a cause of the destruction of the “good wives, wise mothers” ideal, which many people still consider to be the ideal for young women in Japan.¹

I argue that educated young women have been a subject of adoration and criticism since the Meiji period when Japanese government started to promote women’s education as a part of the modernization and westernization process of Japan. It was also the time when people started to use the term “good wives, wise mothers” to promote an ideal image of women who could contribute to the advancement of the country. Thus, it is crucial to analyze *jogakusei* (schoolgirls) in the Meiji period to understand the image of educated women in Japan and the public view of those women. The Meiji period was the time when Japan went through rapid modernization and westernization in order to catch up with Western countries, and many scholars such as Carol Gluck have done significant work discussing the history and ideology of the Japanese populace during the Meiji period. Yet, there are fewer studies that focus on the image of *jogakusei* during the period despite of the significance of *jogakusei* who were the first women to

¹ Jan Bardsley and Hiroko Hirakawa, “Branded: Bad Girls Go Shopping,” in *Bad Girls of Japan* (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2005), 111-112, accessed February 27, 2017, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ku/detail.action?docID=307617>.

be able to obtain higher education in Japan.

Thus, in this thesis, I will analyze the culture and lifestyle of *jogakusei* during the Meiji period. I will focus on how the media, especially novels, treated *jogakusei*, and in so doing, I will show how educated women were regarded by intellectuals during that time. In the last section, I will discuss the image of *joshidaisei* in contemporary Japan to compare the status of educated women in contemporary Japan with the status of educated women in the Meiji period.

This research will show that both *jogakusei* and *joshidaisei* have been subjects of the public gaze in both positive and negative ways. Both in Meiji Japan and in today's Japan, women with higher education who combine youth, modernity, and intelligence are adored and cherished by the public. Their modernity is often symbolized by their modern fashion and attitudes. Students, especially those who attend universities that began as mission schools, are often associated with the ability to speak English and have the reputation of being stylish, which was also the case during the Meiji period. Those female students attract people's attention; however, at the same time, people also criticize them for their culture and lifestyle, when they are seen as undermining morals or threatening to change society.

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Jogakusei: A Cultural Icon of Meiji Japan

Introduction

In the Meiji period, Japan went through rapid modernization and westernization to catch up with the West. For Meiji Japan, modernization meant industrialization and the implementation of a western education system that allowed people physical and upward mobility, and westernization meant an influx of western culture, thought, and religion. In theory, a country can be modernized without being westernized; however, for Meiji Japan, modernization meant westernization. Thus, many people often used the terms interchangeably.

The industrialization of cities such as Tokyo and the introduction to Western thought had a great influence on Japanese people, especially the educated youth who were able to pursue higher education in the newly organized education system that the government introduced. Higher education allowed youths to move to the cities and seek future possibilities; however, at the same time, it made those youths struggle with their new roles as educated youths who had a new social status.

I became interested in the image and lives of educated youths in the Meiji period after reading Natsume Sōseki's first trilogy written between 1908 and 1910: *Sanshirō*, *Sorekara (And Then)*, and *Mon (The Gate)*. These novels depict the trials and frustrations of young elite males in the Meiji period who struggled to adopt to the new, modern Japan. *Sanshirō*, the protagonist of *Sanshirō*, in particular is representative of male students who moved to Tokyo to pursue higher education and struggled to adopt to life in Tokyo. Although more than a century has passed and Japan today is completely different from Japan in the Meiji period, it seems that *Sanshirō*'s struggle to adopt to a new life in Tokyo which was rapidly industrializing at the time is not so different from the struggle of youths who move to Tokyo to seek a higher education in

contemporary Japan. Therefore, I decided to do research on the lives of educated youths in Tokyo in Meiji Japan, focusing on educated women, *jogakusei* (schoolgirls). I decided to focus on schoolgirls rather than schoolboys because those schoolgirls were the first women who were officially able to pursue higher education, and the impact of those girls getting an education and participating in society seemed to be much greater. Moreover, it appears that both in the Meiji period and in contemporary Japan, the public pays more attention to young educated women than to men. Thus, I argue that understanding the image of young educated women in both eras sheds light on gender issues which have been persisted in Japanese society for a long time.

In this thesis, I will attempt to answer the following questions: First, in what social context did *jogakusei* appear and what was the image of *jogakusei* in Meiji Japan? Second, what aspects contributed to creating such an image? Third, are there any similarities between *jogakusei* in the Meiji Japan and female college students (*joshidaisei*) in contemporary Japan? If so, what causes the similarities, or the differences?

The Development of the Higher Education System during the Meiji Period

A discussion of the emergence of *jogakusei* cannot be undertaken without first acknowledging the social and historical background of the Meiji period when the government pursued a modern educational system, which led to the development of girls' higher education. Thus, in this section, I will look into the social background of the Meiji period and the process of establishing the higher education system, especially the process of developing the women's education system.

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the government implemented various reforms to improve citizens' lives, and one of the significant reforms was to institute an education system. The Meiji government was also desperate to modernize Japan so that the country could achieve

the status of a civilized nation. Therefore, one of the priorities of the government during this time was to incorporate the Western educational system to civilize Japan and many intellectuals who favored the Western system influenced the formation of the new education system.² Those intellectuals denounced the former system that gave privilege only to children of the warrior class, and suggested that universal education could give more people an opportunity to get an education and compete freely to achieve social status.³ Those intellectuals also encouraged youths to compete with each other, using education as a way to achieve success in society as well as personal growth, believing that personal attitudes toward success and competition could make the nation better.⁴ Those intellectuals' attitudes toward modern education coincided with the purpose of the promulgation of the Education System Order (*Gakusei*) in 1872.

In 1872, the government established the Ministry of Education with the implementation of the order, which was a declaration to establish new schools nation-wide. Before the establishment of the Ministry of Education, each domain or *han* provided education independently, and each educational system was different; therefore, it was hard for the government to oversee the educational system as a whole.⁵ Thus, the abolishment of domains in 1871 enabled the government to implement a nation-wide educational reform and establish a

² Donald Roden, *School-days in Imperial Japan: A Study in Adolescence and Student Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1980), 20.

³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ “Establishing the Ministry of Education (文部省の設置),” *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* (文部科学省), accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317580.htm

Ministry of Education.⁶ The Education System Order stressed a new education system based on principles of Western philosophy, such as individualism and realism, which clearly differed from the education system that had developed during the previous periods.⁷ During the Edo period, formal education was required only for people of the higher class, and although people in other classes could get an education in small local schools, there was no obligation for those people to get an education.⁸ This system had created a class society where only privileged people had an opportunity to make their lives better. In contrast, the Education System Order enabled people of all classes to obtain a higher social status by getting an education.

The Educational Code also stressed the importance of acquiring knowledge of Western culture and thought, and promoted sending students to study abroad so that those students could contribute to Japan's modernization.⁹ In fact, some female students were sent abroad to showcase Japan's modernity and they played important roles in the establishment of women's schools in the late Meiji period: for example, Tsuda Umeko is known as one of six girls who went to the U.S. in the early Meiji period and later contributed to promoting women's education after she returned to Japan.

Six years after the implementation of the Education System Order, the government implemented the 1879 Education Order (*Nihon Kyōiku Rei*), which in 1879, aimed for a better

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ “Implementing the Education System Order (二 学制の制定),” *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* (文部科学省), accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317581.htm

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

educational system based on the U.S. education system.¹⁰ It encouraged local governments to take responsibility for educating elementary school children; however, it gave local governments freedom in how to educate the children, and that resulted in many elementary schools being disorganized because of local governments' lack of ability to organize.¹¹ This led to the proclamation of the 1880 Education Order (*Kaisei Kyōikurei*), which emphasized government control over local education.¹²

When the Education System Order was implemented in 1872, it set up a standard for girls' elementary education; however, since it was the first time that girls were officially able to attend elementary school, it did not specify anything for their education after elementary school.¹³ In the meantime, the separation of boys' and girls' schools after elementary school was declared by the Japan Education Order (*Nihon Kyōiku Rei*). The increase in the number of girls who were able to attend and graduate from elementary schools required the creation of a girls' middle school education system. To organize the girls' middle school education, the government established a Higher Girl's School affiliated with Tokyo Women's Normal School (*Tokyo Joshi Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Kōtō Jogakkō*) in 1882, which led to the expansion of girls' middle school

¹⁰ "Proclaiming the Education Order (四 教育令の公布)," *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* (文部科学省), accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317583.htm

¹¹ "a. Criticism Directed toward the 1879 Education Order" *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317289.htm

¹² "b. The Proclamation of the 1880 Education Order," *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317290.htm

¹³ "Girls' Education in the Early Meiji Period (三 明治初期の女子教育)," *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* (文部科学省), accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317595.htm

education.¹⁴

The next big step in girls' higher education took place in 1899 when the government implemented the Girls' High School Order (*Kōtō Jogakkō Rei*). The order not only obligated the government to create at least one girls' higher school in each prefecture, but also to separate girls' higher schools from middle schools in order to be more efficient. It also revised admission requirements and introduced the subjects and class hours that were required in the higher schools. For example, it established a basic four-year program that could be flexible depending on circumstances, and the minimum age for entrance was changed from nine years old to twelve years old with the completion of the second year of higher elementary school.¹⁵ The mandatory subjects were: moral education, Japanese, foreign languages, history, geography, math, science, cooking, sewing, calligraphy, art, music, and physical education.¹⁶ In addition to these subjects, students could also take education, Chinese literature, and handicrafts. Table 1 shows the hours allocated to each subject at *Kōtō Jogakkō*. It indicates that students spent the most time learning Japanese, followed by sewing, foreign languages, physical education, and geography and history. This shows that *Kōtō Jogakkō Rei* set up various rules governing the school system; but most importantly it made clear that the purpose of girls' higher education was to build girls' character

¹⁴ “b. Middle Level Education for Girls,” *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* accessed February 26, 2017, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317305.htm

¹⁵ “b. The Promulgation of the Girls' High School Order,” *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* accessed February 26, 2017, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317331.htm

¹⁶ “Curricula of Middle Schools and Higher Schools (三 中学校・高等女学校の学科課程),” *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* (文部科学省), accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317630.htm

for the purpose of being future “good wives, wise mothers.”¹⁷

The Girls’ High School Order successfully increased the number of schools and enrollment. In 1894, there were only 14 girls’ higher schools, however, after the implementation of the Girls’ High School Order the number of girls’ higher schools increased rapidly: there were 52 schools with a total enrollment of 1,1984 in 1900, 100 schools with a total enrollment of 3,1918 in 1905, and 193 schools with a total enrollment of 56,239 in 1910.¹⁸ It was in this context that *jogakusei* and *jogakusei* culture started to appear and create a unique social phenomenon.

From the beginning of this educational reform, many intellectuals, such as Kuroda Kiyotaka, expressed their concern about uneducated Japanese women. Kuroda, who was the deputy head of the Hokkaidō Colonization Board at the time, visited the U.S. and witnessed educated women in the U.S. who seemed to be happier and livelier.¹⁹ After his return, he suggested that Japanese women should be educated like Western women to make better homes, believing that better homes would make better men and children.²⁰ With the agreement of the Meiji emperor, Kuroda’s thoughts on women’s education were incorporated into the reform policies and created the foundation for women’s education during the Meiji period.²¹ It is

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ “The Spread of Middle Schools and Higher Schools (四 中学校・高等女学校の普及状況),” *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan* (文部科学省), accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317631.htm

¹⁹ Barbara Rose, *Tsuda Umeko and Women's Education in Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 8-11.

²⁰ Ibid., 10.

²¹ Ibid.

important to stress that women's education was tied to the Meiji ideology in which homes played a crucial role to nurture the children who would unite Japan and make the nation stronger in the future.²² The idea that women's education was necessary to create "good wives, wise mothers" did not change throughout the Meiji period, and it influenced many aspects of youth culture, especially *jogakusei* culture during the Meiji period.

Meanwhile, boys' higher education started to develop when the government established the University of Tokyo (Tokyo Daigaku) in 1877, combining Tokyo Kaisei School (Tokyo Kaisei Gakkō) and Tokyo Medical School. Mori Arinori, the Minister of Education from 1885 to 1889, stressed that boys' education was necessary to strengthen the nation, and organized the higher school system.²³ One of the important reforms of higher education under Mori Arinori's order was the promulgation of the Imperial University Order (*Teikoku Daigaku Rei*), and the establishment of The Imperial University (Teikoku Daigaku) in 1886. The university consisted of five divisions: Law, Medicine, Engineering, Literature, and Science.²⁴ The second imperial university, Kyoto Imperial University (*Kyoto Teikoku Daigaku*) was established in 1897, and other imperial universities were created after the Russo-Japanese War.

While girls were encouraged to become the "good wives, and wise mothers" with a proper education, boys were encouraged to be "gentlemen" who would serve as examples for the society.²⁵ Through various moral trainings, such as secluding boys from cities and placing them

²² Ibid.

²³ Roden, 38.

²⁴ "B. The Structure of the Imperial University," *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan*, accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317334.htm

²⁵ Roden, 46-47.

in an environment where they could focus on studying, boys were educated to be manly, self-restrained, frugal, and pure-minded youths who pursued their education seriously, and the educators at higher schools tried to create a system that could achieve these goals.²⁶ This system to create “gentlemen” also contributed to creating a unique boys’ higher school culture that was different from *jogakusei* culture, which I will discuss in the next section.

After the promulgation of the Girls’ High School Order in 1899, many wealthy girls moved into cities and started to appear in public with their new hairstyles and fashions. At that time, only 1.2 % of higher-school-aged girls were able to attend *jogakkō*, and those were girls from families whose parents could pay the expensive tuition of 25 yen per year.²⁷

The initial purpose of girls’ higher education was to impress the West by showing off Japan’s modernity as represented by women.²⁸ As many scholars, such as Honda Masuko, Inagaki Kyōko, and Melanie Czarnecki assert in their studies of *jogakusei*, the image of *jogakusei* was one of “innocence” and “goodness” at the beginning of 1900s; thus they were not seen as a threat to society.²⁹ At that time, *jogakusei* were considered to be the bright future of Japan.³⁰ Thus, *jogakusei* themselves believed that they could make a difference in the nation.³¹ Honda as well

²⁶ Ibid., 47.

²⁷ Czarnecki, "Bad Girls from Good Families: The Degenerate Meiji School Girl." In *Bad Girls of Japan*, 49-63. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 50.

²⁸ Ibid., 52.

²⁹ Ibid., 52-53.

³⁰ Rebecca Copeland, "Fashioning the Feminine: Images of the Modern Girl Student in Meiji Japan," *U.S. - Japan Women's Journal*, no. 30/31 (2006): 13-14, accessed July 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42771942>

³¹ Ibid., 14.

as Czarnecki analyze the popular illustration, “An Illustration of Hibiya Park,” that appeared in the magazine, *Fūzoku Gahō* in 1903 and state that *jogakusei* looked happy and joyful in the image that was depicted during the Russo-Japanese War; and that implies the privileged status of *jogakusei*, who did not need to work hard during the war or take care of children while their husbands were at war.³²

Those *jogakusei* were meant to be the future “good wives, wise mothers” by having an education and learning skills that were necessary to be “good wives, wise mothers.” Kabayama Sukenori, the Education Minister at the time, asserted that a *jogakusei* had to be a middle/upper class virgin who aspired to be “a good wife-wise-mother”.³³ Thus, when *jogakusei* started to appear frequently in public wearing new fashions and hairstyles and interacting with schoolboys, critics thought that those girls were degenerate.

Some pictures from the early Meiji period show that girls dressed up like boys and behaved like boy; and this caused unsettled feelings among some intellectuals, such as Atomi Kakei, who established the oldest private girls’ higher school, Atomi Gakkō, in 1875.³⁴ Kakei saw girls who looked like boys and realized that she needed to reform girls’ education by establishing a school in which girls could learn the skills to be “good wives, wise mothers.”³⁵

In 1872, two years prior to the establishment of the school, the government had prohibited girls from cutting their hair because short hair was associated with males, and the

³² Masuko Honda, *Jogakusei no Keifu: Saishikisareru Meiji Zōhoban*, 1st ed. (Tōkyō: Seikyusha, 2012) 12 and Czarnecki., 53.

³³ *Ibid.*, 51.

³⁴ Copeland, 13.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

government believed that girls should not look like males.³⁶ To oppose the government policy on women's hairstyle, the Women's Chignon Society (*Fujin Shokuhatsu Kai*) argued that the traditional Japanese women's hairstyles caused women various types of difficulties, such as financial issues due to having to go to the hair salon to have their hair set, and sanitary problems due to not being able to wash their hair for long periods of time.³⁷ The Women's Chignon Society recommended hairstyles that did not cause those problems, and the new hairstyles became popular among *jogakusei* through the help of magazines such as Women's Education Magazine (*Jogakuzasshi*) that featured the hairstyles.³⁸

Culture and Life of *Jogakusei*

In the previous section, I discussed the process of the development of the higher education system in Japan during the Meiji period. As I stated in the section, the development of the higher education system allowed many young girls and boys to attend schools where they spent a major part of their youth. Girls' schools and boys' schools provided an education for young people from different cultural backgrounds; however, girls' schools and boys' schools had different curricula and school systems, and that contributed to creating two quite distinct student cultures. The culture of boys' higher schools, such as the First Higher School, Ichikō, is unique, and it is worth noting; however, society paid more attention to the culture of *jogakusei* because it reflected modernity. The culture of *jogakusei* was not only new to society, but was also unique and fascinating; thus, it became a popular subject of discussion in Meiji society.

³⁶ Ibid., 16.

³⁷ Ibid., 17.

³⁸ Ibid.

Although there were girls' schools from the early Meiji period, Honda notes that the emergence of *jogakusei* and *jogakusei* culture started with the implementation of *Kōtō Jogakkō Rei* in 1899, which reorganized girls' higher schools and increased the number of girls' higher schools and their enrollments.³⁹ There is much evidence that *jogakusei* had become more visible in society as more girls' higher schools were built in the early 1900s. Inagaki Kyōko adds that *jogakusei* culture prospered especially during the 1920s and 1930s as the number of *jogakkō* increased.⁴⁰ Therefore, it is important here to analyze the culture around this time to understand *jogakusei* life and social status.

One of the critical aspects of *jogakusei* culture was the fashion of *jogakusei*, including the school uniform and hairstyle. Once some *jogakusei* adopted a new and modern school uniform and hairstyle, it became popular among many *jogakusei*, and it caught social attention. Magazines, such as *Jogakuzasshi*, contributed to the spread of new fashion, especially hairstyles, by featuring articles on how to arrange hair. Honda asserts that in the early Meiji period, the hairstyle was the only thing that any girl could easily imitate; therefore, it became a social phenomenon for young girls to change their hairstyle to conform to the modern style.⁴¹ She argues that the new hairstyle liberated *jogakusei* from the old hairstyle that was inconvenient and prevented them from being active, thus the hairstyle created a foundation for a new and modern image of *jogakusei*.⁴²

³⁹ Honda, 12.

⁴⁰ Kyōko Inagaki, *Jogakkō to Jogakusei: Kyōyō Tashinami Modan Bunka* (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2007) 31.

⁴¹ Honda, 38.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 40.

Besides hairstyle, school uniform was also a symbol of *jogakusei*. Through the Meiji period, *jogakusei* uniforms had changed depending on social situations. When *Tōkyō Jogakkō* was established in 1877, the school allowed girls to wear *otokobakama*, trousers that were originally only worn by men.⁴³ This allowed girls mobility that they did not have before. However, as society started to stress the femininity of women, *otokobakama* was banned between 1877 and 1882.⁴⁴ The *jogakusei* school uniform was again changed to a Western style uniform as the Japanese government attempted to show its modernity to the West during the mid-1880s.⁴⁵ However, the Western-style uniform only lasted for a few years because the “good wives, wise mothers” ideology, emphasized by the government since the beginning of the Meiji period, had become more important in girls’ education.⁴⁶

As the number of *jogakkō* and *jogakusei* gradually increased after 1900, a new type of uniform started to emerge. It was a *hakama* for girls called *ebichabakama* (brown *hakama*, 海老茶袴). Honda notes that Kazoku Jogakkō, a girls’ higher school established in 1885, was the first school in which students were allowed to wear female *hakama*.⁴⁷ She states that the school adopted female *hakama* as a school uniform to distinguish girls at the school from ordinary girls; thus the uniform underlined the fact that girls at the school were privileged to attend the school.⁴⁸ However, it did not take long for the privilege symbolized by *ebichabakama* to become the

⁴³ Ibid., 53.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 57.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 62.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 63.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 66.

symbol of *jogakusei* in general and to be worn by *jogakusei* from other schools.

The new uniform allowed girls to be active in ways that they could not be when they wore kimono, such as play sports and ride bicycles; thus, the new uniform gave *jogakusei* more physical freedom. *Jogakusei* enjoyed their new lifestyle; however, male critics criticized *jogakusei*'s attitudes as "immoral" because the critics thought that *jogakusei* spent too much time on their hobbies and interacting with their friends instead of studying; and for those critics, *ebichabakama* became a symbol of "Corrupt School Girls" (*Daraku Jogakusei*).⁴⁹

Jogakusei, who had new hairstyles and wore new uniforms, seemed to enjoy their school lives. Although the media often featured corrupt *jogakusei* who did not focus on their studies, Inagaki's research shows that many *jogakusei* spent a lot of time studying school subjects.⁵⁰ Many *jogakusei* listed Japanese literature as their favorite subject, and they spent a lot of time studying literature.⁵¹ They also read a variety of books as a hobby, and that helped to expand their knowledge. Other than studying and reading books, *jogakusei* also enjoyed spending time with their friends, writing letters to each other, and keeping diaries.⁵² Those activities also contributed to shaping a unique *jogakusei* culture, including *jogakusei kotoba* (school girls' language).

In any period of time, in any place, youth are developing their own unique languages to communicate with each other; and those languages are often criticized as sloppy and poor. The language *jogakusei* used was also something that was unique to them, and played an important

⁴⁹ Inagaki, 126.

⁵⁰ Inagaki, 19.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

role of shaping *jogakusei* culture. The language often used by *jogakusei* was called *teyo*, *dawa kotoba* because sentences often ended in *teyo* and *dawa*. Honda asserts that sentences ending in *teyo* and *dawa* lend ambiguity to what has been said; thus, it confused people whom *jogakusei* were addressing.⁵³ Therefore, critics often criticized *jogakusei*'s language. However, *jogakusei* enjoyed using the language within the sphere they created by talking to each other and writing letters to each other. Inagaki asserts that letter exchanges between *jogakusei* played an important role in strengthening friendships at schools.⁵⁴ Girls often exchanged letters between friends to talk about their daily lives, but they also gave letters to girls in other grades to build sister-like friendships.⁵⁵ For *jogakusei*, friendships and sisterhood were the most important part of their school lives; and by building those relationships at schools, they made *jogakkō* a special place where they could enjoy themselves without thinking about their futures as wives.⁵⁶

Letter exchange was very popular when I was a high school student, and it seems it still is among high school girls. This implies that schoolgirls have always been building friendships by exchanging letters, and this has contributed to shaping a unique schoolgirl culture that is different from the culture of schoolboys.

The opening sentence of the book *The Book of Current Schoolgirls (Gendai Jogakusei Hōkan)* published in 1906 states that “School years are the best years of your life.”⁵⁷ As it was

⁵³ Honda, 97.

⁵⁴ Inagaki, 85.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 96-98.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 116-117.

⁵⁷ Sumire Hoshino, *Gendai Jogakusei Hōkan* (Tokyō: Masuyodō, 1906), 1, November 10, 2015, accessed October 29, 2016, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/813477/2>.

jogakusei enjoyed their school years filled with the excitement of modernity. Their unique culture not only gave *jogakusei* a special space where they could live happily, but also created a culture that attracted many people. However, *jogakusei* culture implies that their happiness came to an end as soon as they graduated from higher school when many girls got married. However, many girls sought more possibilities for themselves after graduation, rejecting the state ideology of “good wives, wise mothers.”⁵⁸ For example, the popular writer Hiratsuka Raichō, who published the women’s magazine *Seitō*, advocated women’s suffrage and sought free love and marriage in the late Meiji period. During this time, there were feminists who advocated women’s education, such as Tsuda Umeko and Ōyama Sutematsu. They studied abroad in the U.S. from the early 1870s to the early 1880s and came back with hopes to improve women’s education in Japan.⁵⁹ However, they realized that the social movement during that time was against women’s education and westernization; therefore, they decided not to support the radical changes that Hiratsuka Raichō advocated in the late Meiji period. Although those women were not able to change the traditional gender norms in society, their efforts to build schools and provide education to girls encouraged many girls during that time. When Raichō started the New Women’s movement, she tried to go beyond the “good wife, wise mother ideal,” which provoked many controversies in Japan as it did in Korea. Raichō was one of the women who was fortunate enough to have an education, and she used her education and literary talent to published the

⁵⁸ Czarnecki, 61.

⁵⁹ Barbara, 51.

magazine *Seitō* to encourage female writers to cultivate their abilities.⁶⁰ Critics criticized the New Women's movement that advocated women's self-awareness as a "threat to Japanese society".⁶¹ This implies that although many intellectuals believed that women's education would improve society, they were afraid that those educated women might change the patriarchal tradition that they valued.

The emergence of "delinquent" schoolgirls

In this section, I will discuss the emergence of the image of the "delinquent" schoolgirl, and describe how the image was created and disseminated by the media, especially to meet the desire of male elites who did not favor schoolgirls and criticized them. As I discussed in the last section, *jogakusei* created a unique culture, and had become a sign of modernity. *Jogakusei* seemed to be serious about studying and exploring new things that became available to them by going to higher school. However, at some point, many elites and the government itself started to see the culture of *jogakusei* as a threat to the society. The reason is that during the late Meiji period, magazines such as *Jogakuzasshi*, newspapers such as *Yomiuri shinbun* (読売新聞), and many naturalist novels featured *jogakusei* and often directed the public eye to girls' delinquency by depicting their bad behavior.

Early criticism of *jogakusei* focused mainly on their appearance rather than their behavior, as seen in the government's ban on girls cutting their hair.⁶² However, in the late Meiji

⁶⁰ Dina Lowy. "Love and Marriage: Ellen Key and Hiratsuka Raichō Explore Alternatives," *Women's Studies* 33, no. 4 (2004): 361-80. doi:10.1080/00497870490444901. 369.

⁶¹ Ibid., 370.

⁶² Copeland, 16.

period, critics also started to criticize *jogakusei* behavior. In fact, the elites and the government criticized youth in general around that time.⁶³ However, some of the bad behavior depicted by the media occurred not only among schoolgirls, but schoolboys as well. Yet it is clear that elites and the government criticized girls more than boys for their delinquency.

The establishment of the “Special Student Section” in the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department, which monitored the bad behavior of youth, is evidence of public concern with students’ bad behavior, such as brawling and raping young boys, engaging in extortion, and seducing female students.⁶⁴ The public’s concern about youth behavior also generated a child development study movement in the late Meiji period⁶⁵, and this accelerated the discussion of youth delinquency.

Boys called *Nanpa*, which is a term also used as a verb, meaning “to seduce women on the street,” engaged in bad behavior such as seducing girls on the street and going to the back streets of Asakusa and raping girls.⁶⁶ Meanwhile, typical bad behavior of *jogakusei* included hanging out with *Nanpa* boys and sending love letters to their teachers, which showed their lack of focus on their studies.⁶⁷ The elites, such as doctors, scholars, and journalists discussed a moral problem that arose at Fukuchiyama Girl’s School in Kyoto, in which *jogakusei* started to send love letters to their male teachers, and those teachers took their colleagues out to dinner

⁶³ David Richard Ambaras, *Bad Youth: Juvenile Delinquency and the Politics of Everyday Life in Modern Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 66.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 86.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 77.

⁶⁷ Inagaki, 140.

because the letters put them in a good mood.⁶⁸ The elites argued that an education in the late Meiji period gave *jogakusei* too much freedom, leading them to disrespect teachers.⁶⁹ However, it seems to be clear from those teachers' attitudes that receiving love letters pleased them because it was something of which they could be proud. This shows that male teachers idolized *jogakusei*, which makes it unfair to criticize only *jogakusei* for their behavior.

Those critics not only criticized *jogakusei* attitudes towards their teachers, but also criticized them for showing off their ability and talent in public. As an example, students at Kuzuryūshishū Girl's School in Tokyo performed a play outside the school and were warned by the Ministry of Education. Critics argued that *jogakusei* should be educated in the arts and encouraged to perform well, but they should not be out in public, showing off their talents and abilities. Critics believed those behaviors should be controlled.⁷⁰ This indicates that the elites wanted *jogakusei* to get an education, but the education was only to teach them to be “good wives, and wise mothers” at home.

As a result of the frequent discussion by the elites and the media such as newspapers, magazines, novels, and songs that featured *jogakusei*, concern about delinquent schoolgirls spread in the late Meiji period. Among the media, Ambaras asserts that the public blamed naturalist literature as the main cause of girls' delinquency, and the elites, such as the Education Minister at that time, Makino Nobuaki, criticized naturalist literature, stating that reading literature that depicted erotic and delinquent *jogakusei* can provoke delinquent thoughts among

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 141.

youth.⁷¹ Makino's statement about naturalist literature was widely accepted by the public, and this led school teachers to strictly monitor the reading habits of girls in middle schools, high schools, colleges, and vocational schools.⁷²

The Russo-Japanese War also affected the rise of discussion about delinquent schoolgirls. During the war when there was a high level of nationalism, the government focused on creating middle class homes in which "good wives, and wise mothers" played an important role to educate the children who were the future of Japan.⁷³ This idea was known since the beginning of the Meiji period as one of the goals of women's education. However, during the Russo-Japanese War, it was further reinforced, and this led to public and government concern about the problems of youth.

The causes of girls' delinquency

Inagaki argues that one of the causes of girls' delinquency was their "vanity," (虚構心) that was encouraged by the new environment.⁷⁴ As *jogakusei* obtained an education and the status as students, they were able to enjoy new fashions and hairstyles. The new fashion and hairstyles allowed *jogakusei* to have physical freedom, and that enabled them to explore new possibilities in their lives, such as playing sports and riding bicycles. However, the change in appearance was also seen as moral delinquency because new fashionable female *hakama* allowed *jogakusei* to move around showing their skin, which was seen as provocative.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Ambaras, 77 and 90.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 87.

⁷⁴ Inagaki, 125.

⁷⁵ Honda, 69.

Terms such as *ebichashikibu* (海老茶式部) the schoolgirls who wore *ebichabakama*, and *haikara*, the term used to express Western modernity coming from Western “high collar” clothes, and even the term *jogakusei* itself became metaphors of girls’ delinquency.⁷⁶ The picture below introduced by Inagaki Kyōko originally appeared in The Comical Newspaper (*Kokkei Shinbun*) published in 1905. In the picture, an *ebichashikibu* schoolgirl sits nicely and bows politely, but she also looks like a shrimp with antennae ready to flip, which signifies delinquency (Picture 4).⁷⁷

Picture 4 *Ebichashikibu*

Source: Kyōko Inagaki, *Jogakkō to Jogakusei: Kyōyō Tashinami Modan Bunka* (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2007) 126.

Besides their new hairstyles and fashions, their lifestyle at boarding houses was seen as a sign of degeneracy because girls could do whatever they wanted without their parents’ supervision.⁷⁸ Some people blamed the girls’ parents or the boys who seduced the girls, however the public often criticized girls for their degeneracy.⁷⁹ The critics also believed that living in the cities and lodging houses in the city without parental supervision accelerated girls’ delinquency and warned parents to be careful about choosing schools and lodgings.⁸⁰ In 1898, a private lodging in Tokyo cost as much as one month’s salary of a schoolteacher.⁸¹ This implies that

⁷⁶ Inagaki, 126.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Czarnecki, 57.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 58.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 131.

⁸¹ Ambaras, 68.

parents of *jogakusei* had to work hard to send their daughters to the city to get an education. Thus, not only the government, but also the parents of schoolgirls were concerned with youth delinquency, and they needed to monitor their children carefully so that they would not be delinquent.⁸² Inagaki points out that private higher schools in Tokyo became the subject of criticism because they accepted many girls from the countryside who were not interested in education but came only because they were attracted to the city and critics believed that those private schools contributed to the increase in delinquent schoolgirls.⁸³

Czarnecki argues that in addition to the critics who did not favor girls appearing in public spaces, the media also played a crucial role in constructing the image of degenerate *jogakusei*.⁸⁴ For many people, the immoral behavior of modern schoolgirls was a favorite subject; thus, many magazines and novels used the image of degenerate *jogakusei* to attract readers.⁸⁵ This contributed to shaping a biased view of *jogakusei* in society. Picture 5 below depicts a scene in which a *jogakusei* is receiving a love letter from a schoolboy, and picture 6 depicts a *jogakusei* who ends up having children and a schoolboy husband by the time she graduates from school. These are some of the typical images of *jogakusei* that were depicted in the media during that time.

Czarnecki also argues that the public paid too much attention to the delinquent image of *jogakusei* regardless of what they really were, and overlooked problems that were arising

⁸² Ibid., 95.

⁸³ Ibid., 132.

⁸⁴ Czarnecki, 50.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 59.

during that time.⁸⁶ For example, some girls became prostitutes to earn money to pay for school tuition.⁸⁷

Although research shows that delinquency was a common problem for schoolboys, elites and the government criticized *jogakusei* delinquency more often. It seems that the elites and the government did not want *jogakusei* to appear in the public using newly discovered abilities and showing their talents because women at the time were supposed to stay at home taking care of children rather than playing an active part in the society. Thus, the discussions about *jogakusei* in the late Meiji period tend to focus on their bad behavior rather than on their accomplishments, and those discussions often exaggerated the girls' delinquency.⁸⁸

In the article "Natsume Sōseki and Male Identity Crisis," the scholar William Ridgeway asserts that all the main characters in Sōseki's later works share the following features: being alienated, passive, lonely, and psychologically tormented.⁸⁹ He argues that Japan's efforts to modernize the country threatened men's identity, and this is one of the important themes of Sōseki's work that is now referred to as "male identity crisis."⁹⁰ Alisa Freedman makes a similar point, stating that most of Sōseki's protagonists "react negatively to historical changes, feel restrained by their families and social expectations."⁹¹ As I mentioned earlier, Japan started to

⁸⁶ Ibid., 61.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ambaras, 68.

⁸⁹ Ridgeway William N, "Natsume Sōseki and male identity crisis," in *Japan Quarterly* 45.2 (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1998), 82-90

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Freedman, Alisa. *Tokyo in Transit: Japanese Culture on the Rails on Road*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 71.

implement Western technology, thought, and an universal education system to modernize and industrialize the country as a part of the Meiji Restoration implemented in 1867. As a result, education became important for men as well as for women.⁹² Many elite men moved to Tokyo to seek higher education, and those men became the hope for Japan's future.⁹³ Those men were expected to study hard and get good jobs to support their families, and most importantly, to contribute to Japan's modernization. Those men were viewed differently from other men, and they were often featured in magazines; however, those magazines focused more on their daily lives and fashion styles rather than on their academic lives.⁹⁴ This created a certain image of elite men and escalated the social pressures on them.

In the early Meiji period, many university graduates were able to find high-paying jobs such as government jobs, and they were able to meet their families' and society's expectations.⁹⁵ However, after the Russo-Japanese War that lasted from 1904 to 1906, Japan's economy stumbled and the monthly salary of university graduates dropped. Furthermore, many university graduates simply could not find jobs because, in fact, there were more graduates than jobs.⁹⁶ This made elite men wonder about the purpose of education.⁹⁷ Under these economic condition, many works of literature explained how to obtain success, and countless employment guides

⁹² Gluck, Carol, *Japan's Modern Myth Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 163-4.

⁹³ Freedman, *Tokyo in Transit: Japanese Culture on the Rails on Road*, 69.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

were published, and this partly boosted economic competition among elite men.⁹⁸ Thus, in the late Meiji period, the elite men not only faced economic challenges, but also faced increasing family and social pressure, and this brought about the “male identity crisis.”⁹⁹ These factors not only contributed to creating delinquent schoolboys, but also escalated fear and frustration among male elites, which led them to blame schoolgirls for their frustration and fears.

***Jogakusei* in Modern Novels**

As I mentioned in the last section, delinquent *jogakusei* became a frequent topic in the media as more *jogakusei* appeared in public from the late 1890s. There was even an *enka* song, a traditional Japanese popular song that joked about delinquent schoolgirls having unwanted pregnancies. The *enka* lyrics say that the word *jogakusei*, written in kanji implies pregnancy because it consists of the characters ‘female,’ ‘learn’ and ‘to give birth’ (女学生).¹⁰⁰ This is of course a wrong interpretation of the meaning of the term because 生 can mean the process of growing up in addition to giving birth; however, it shows the media’s enthusiasm for using *jogakusei* as a target of criticism or jokes. This phenomenon was also common in naturalist literature. Thus, when *jogakusei*’s bad behavior became a big problem in the society, some people blamed it on naturalist literature because they believed that naturalist novels were provoking girls’ bad behavior.¹⁰¹

As I discussed earlier in the section on *jogakusei* culture, *jogakusei* enjoyed reading as a hobby. However, not only was the number of novels that *jogakusei* could read around 1900s

⁹⁸ Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myth Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*, 208.

⁹⁹ Ridgeway, ‘Natsume Sōseki and male identity crisis’, 82-90.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 79.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 77.

limited, but also many public schools, concerned about the negative effects of reading on students' behavior around this time, forbade reading itself¹⁰² This reflected the government's concern that reading too many naturalist novels could cause bad behavior, such as pursuing love and having sexual relationships with schoolboys, which went against the Confucian idea of purity. However, private mission schools for women were more liberal than public schools and students who attended those schools enjoyed reading novels such as *Golden Demon* (金色夜叉) written by Ozaki Kōyō (尾崎紅葉), *Seishun* (青春) written by Oguri Fūyō (小栗風葉), and *Devil Wind, Love Wind* (魔風恋風), written by Kosugi Tengai (小杉天外).¹⁰³ *Devil Wind, Love Wind* (魔風恋風) and *Seishun* (青春) especially became subjects of criticism because the novels' protagonist are delinquent *jogakusei*; however, *jogakusei* were still able to read the books by obtaining them from college students and circulating them secretly.¹⁰⁴ Among these novels, *Seishun* (青春) and *Devil Wind, Love Wind* (魔風恋風) were naturalist novels, which people blamed for creating delinquent schoolgirls.

The writers of naturalist novels often stressed that those girls' bad behavior was a threat to Japanese society and the writers often exaggerated girls' bad behavior in order to criticize them.¹⁰⁵ Considering the fact that many schools forbade *jogakusei* from reading those novels, the target readers of those books were mainly people who were not *jogakusei* and who fantasized about delinquent *jogakusei*. Thus, the frequent appearance of delinquent *jogakusei* reflected the public desire to see bad girls depicted because immoral behavior of youth was a hot

¹⁰² Inagaki, 44-46.

¹⁰³ Inagaki, 45.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 67-68

topic for the public. Thus, writers of naturalist novels used delinquent girls as a strategy to attract readers.¹⁰⁶ The public loved to read and talk about the moral problems of youths, especially girls' delinquency; therefore, the media and the writers during this time commercialized *jogakusei* to meet this public desire.

In the following section, first I will discuss the emergence of western-influenced literature during the Meiji period and its significance, followed by analyzing novels written during that time. I will focus in particular on how those novels depict modernity, *jogakusei* and their culture, and whether the novels depict *jogakusei* as a threat to society. The novels I will analyze in this section are *The Drifting Cloud* (浮き雲) by Futabatei Shimei (二葉亭四迷), *The Quilt* (蒲団) by Tayama Katai (田山花袋), *Devil Wind, Love Wind* (魔風恋風) by Kosugi Tengai (小杉天外), and *Warbler in the Groves* (藪の鶯) by Miyake Kaho (三宅花圃).

***Ukigumo* (浮き雲) by Futabatei Shimei (二葉亭四迷)**

At the beginning of the Meiji period, there was a large gap between spoken Japanese and written Japanese, and only educated intellectuals were able to read. However, when Japan started to adopt Western ideas and cultures during the Meiji period, many writers tried to adopt the vernacular style that was used in the West so that ordinary people could also read. However, it took several years before books written in the vernacular style became available because some writers resisted the movement, believing that the vernacular style would ruin the beauty of literary language. When Futabatei Shimei wrote his novel *Ukigumo* in the vernacular style and published it in 1887, it was the beginning of modern Japanese literature. *Ukigumo* is not a

¹⁰⁶ Czaraecki, 59.

naturalist novel, yet it is clear that the vernacular style Futabatei used in the novel influenced the development of naturalist literature several years later. *Ukigumo* was published in 1887 at a time when the public was well aware of government enthusiasm to educate women to create a better nation.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, the story reflects the public view of modernization, women's education, and the social changes happening during that time.

The novel depicts the struggle of the protagonist, Utsumi Bunzō, and his interactions with people around him during the early Meiji period. As a son of a father who was a servant to *samurai* during the Edo period, Bunzō was sent to Tokyo from Shizuoka prefecture at age 15 in 1879 to study to improve the family status. He stays in the house of his uncle where he lives with his aunt, Omasa, and his cousin, Osei. While Omasa is depicted as an old-fashioned woman who does not like education and hopes for her daughter to get married and become a wife instead of studying, Osei is depicted as a modern girl who is obsessed with education and Western culture. Futabatei describes Osei as mischievous (*yancha*) in comparison to the girl who lives next to her house, whom Futabatei describes as ladylike (*oshitoyaka*), one of the qualities needed to be a good wife.¹⁰⁸ Futabatei also uses a servant at the house, Nabe, to depict the differences between women who have and do not have an education. This is emphasized in Osei's words when she complains that Nabe does not understand what Osei says because Nabe is not educated.¹⁰⁹ Another character that is important to the novel is Honda Noboru, a friend of Bunzō who later becomes a competitor with whom Bunzō fights for Osei's attention. Noboru, as implied in his

¹⁰⁷ Indra A. Levy, *Sirens of the Western Shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 53.

¹⁰⁸ Futabatei Shimei, *Ukigumo* (Tokyo: Shinchoosha, 1974), 17.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

name Noboru (rising, 昇), is a rising young man who is bright and has a good job.

The story begins with the premise that Bunzō and Osei like each other; however, the relationship between them changes when Bunzō loses his job. When he confesses that he has lost his job, the attitude of Omasa suddenly changes. She tries to prevent her daughter Osei from interacting with Bunzō because she does not want Osei to marry a man who does not have a job. However, Osei does not listen to her mother and confronts her. Later, Osei tells Bunzō that she does not have to listen to a person who does not have an education.¹¹⁰ The narrator also emphasizes the differences in their opinions as the difference between “old-fashioned” and “modern.”¹¹¹

Throughout the novel, it is clear that Osei is obsessed with women’s education, which is associated with modernity. Thus, she puts her priority on education when it comes to judging people. For example, when Omasa praises Noboru for his success, Osei answers, “Even if Noboru is successful, he does not have an education.”¹¹² Also, when Osei sees a young woman with a modern hairstyle at a chrysanthemum-viewing party, she cannot take her eyes off her and later asks Noboru whether the young woman is educated or not.¹¹³ In addition, she often looks down on people, such as Nabe and her mother Omasa because they are not educated. Her attitude toward women’s education reflects Japan’s passion for women’s education during the early Meiji period.

However, Omasa, who does not have an education, and Bunzō, who fails to rise during

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 54.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 57.

¹¹² Ibid., 67.

¹¹³ Ibid., 79.

this period, see women's education in different ways. Omasa was born during the Edo period when the society believed that education was not necessary for women. Thus, she does not have an education, and it is hard for her to understand Osei's passion for learning and modernity. In addition, Omasa criticizes Osei for declaring that she will not get married when they talk about marriage. During the Meiji period, many critics argued that education could prevent women from getting married because education can make them want to pursue their careers in society rather than creating better homes as "good wives, and wise mothers." Thus, Omasa's criticism reflects the critics' arguments at that time.

Halfway through the story when Noboru frequently visits Osei, Osei's attitude starts to change. She starts flirting with Noboru when he visits her. This is a typical sign of the girls' delinquency that was often criticized by society and the elites. When Bunzō witnesses her behavior, he describes it as "dirty" and a "waste of education."¹¹⁴ This reflects his belief that women's education should be about educating women to behave well. He also feels disappointed that an education does not create good women who fit the ideal of "good wife, wise mother." This reflects some of the Meiji elites' belief that giving too much freedom to girls makes them delinquent.

Following the incident, Bunzō confronts Noboru about his attitude toward Osei and tries to terminate their friendship. Noboru does not agree with him and tries to convince Bunzō that they do not need to break off their friendship. Despite Noboru's effort to keep the friendship, Bunzō insists on ending the friendship. Noboru challenges Bunzō, telling him that his attitude comes from jealousy and fear of Noboru who is more successful than Bunzō. Bunzō denies it, but it is clear that Bunzō is frustrated with Noboru's success and also with the fact that he is

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 117.

getting Osei's attention. He also fears that Osei will choose Noboru over him. Bunzō's frustration and concern also reflect the feeling of Meiji men who were left behind by the rapid changes and modernization that Japan was going through during that time. Bunzō's criticism of Osei, the modern women, and his animosity toward Noboru and the modern men reflect the feeling of anti-modernization held by many people around 1890.

The following day Osei shows her disagreement with Bunzō regarding his treatment of Noboru and his decision to break off their relationship, and they get into a big argument. During the argument, neither of them refuses to yield, which shows their strong and stubborn personalities. During the argument, Bunzō confronts Osei about her flirtatious attitude towards Noboru, asking if she cares for Noboru. When she admits it, Bunzō is devastated and further confronts her by accusing her of playing with his feelings. This argument leads them to break off their friendship for a while. Osei's attitude during the argument shows that she is not a traditional, feminine woman who agrees with what a man says and follows him patiently. It shows that she is a confident, modern woman who is not afraid of stating her opinions and confronting men. Bunzō's attitude towards Osei not only reflects his frustration with her confession that she likes Noboru, but also his frustration toward a woman who argues with him. I assume that Osei's stubborn attitude also implies her sense of pride, which can be seen as a sign of vanity that leads girls to be delinquent girls.¹¹⁵

Throughout the story Osei is depicted as a modern woman who is confident and obsessed with modern education. However, at the end of the story she reverses her attitude after telling her mother that she wants to learn sewing. At the beginning, Osei enjoys learning English and changing her hair and fashion to a modern style. It implies that her desire to become a

¹¹⁵ Inagaki, 125.

modern woman because English and Western fashion were associated with modernity during the Meiji period. Meanwhile, sewing was one of the subjects that the government ordered girls' higher schools to implement as a mandatory subject to educate girls to be "good wives, and wise mothers."¹¹⁶ Thus, Osei's desire to learn sewing implies that she is moving away from being a modern woman and becoming a traditional woman. Her new habit of applying makeup and wearing nice clothes, which previously she did not like doing, shows that she is becoming more feminine and ladylike.

Around this time, Noboru stops visiting Osei. The narrative does not explain the reason for his not visiting Osei anymore, but it does indicate that Noboru is only attracted to modern women. Therefore, he does not care about Osei who is becoming more traditional. Noboru's attitude reflects many Meiji men's obsession and fascination with modernity that modern women represented during the late 1890s.

Osei's practice of sewing not only changes her appearance, but also changes her relationship with Bunzō. Forty-five days after she starts learning sewing, they speak for the first time in a long time. Although it was a coincidence because she thinks it is someone else whom she addresses, from that point on she starts smiling at Bunzō whenever she sees him at home. The narrative does not explain the change in Osei's attitude, and the story ends as Bunzō wonders about the reasons for the sudden change in Osei's attitude. Although the narrative does not explain the reasons, it seems that Osei's feelings for Bunzō return as she becomes a traditional woman.

¹¹⁶ "Middle and Higher Girls' Schools' Curricula (三 中学校・高等女学校の学科課程)," *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology- Japan* (文部科学省), accessed October 13, 2016, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317630.htm

I interpreted the sudden change in Osei's attitude and the ending of the story in two ways. First, I interpreted that Noboru abandons Osei for another girl, and that makes her realize that being a modern woman entails some risks. Thus, she chooses to avoid those risks, and instead, become a traditional woman and be with Bunzō. This reflects the struggles of educated women during the Meiji period who suffered from the conflicts between modern and traditional. My second interpretation is that social pressure pushed Osei to become a "good wife and wise mother." It is first enforced by her mother, who hopes to marry her daughter into a good family, and later enforced by interactions with people at the sewing school. Thus, the sudden change in Osei's attitude reflects the social pressure at that time and the critics' attitudes that tried to eliminate delinquent girls from society by criticizing them to enforce the idea of "good wives, and wise mothers."¹¹⁷

In any case, *Ukigumo* reflects many social aspects of the mid-Meiji period and the struggles of people who lived during that time. Each character represents a common ideology that was popular during that time. The protagonist Bunzō represents traditional elites who, at first, believed in women's education to create a better nation but struggled to find a balance between being traditional and modern. The change in his attitude towards Osei reflects the attitude of critics, who, at first, promoted education for women but later criticized it as a cause of delinquency because of they feared that those women would not be good wives and wise mothers. In contrast to Bunzō, Noboru represents modern men who felt appreciation for modernity and were obsessed with modernity. Osei represents modern educated women to whom many male elites were attracted and fascinated by. Reading *Jogakuzasshi*, a women's magazine and the bible for schoolgirls, indicates that Osei is declaring that she is a new woman with different

¹¹⁷ Inagaki, 133.

values who feels superior to uneducated women.¹¹⁸ Osei's obsession with education reflects *jogakusei*'s obsession with an education during the Meiji period. Her mother Omasa represents old-fashioned women who were born during the Edo period and have no educational background. She also reflects the parents of *jogakusei* who were eager to provide the education needed to make their daughters "good wives, and wise mothers." Although Bunzō is the protagonist of *Ukigumo* and the story focuses on his struggles, *Ukigumo* also depicts the image of *jogakusei* and society's perceptions of those images during the late-1890s.

An analysis of an early "I" novel, Tayama Katai's (田山花袋) *The Quilt* (蒲団)

As I mentioned earlier, the vernacular style writing created by Futabatei Shimei enabled ordinary people to participate in the literary world during the mid-Meiji period. A Japanese scholar, Ikoma Natsumi, argues that writers during this period struggled to write novels that were readable and attractive to ordinary people who had just started to appreciate literature; and that contributed to developing a new genre, the "I" novel.¹¹⁹ She asserts that "I" novels functioned as a tool to educate those ordinary people and to spread nationalism by providing a vehicle for thoughts, perspectives, and values that were important during that time.¹²⁰ This signifies that Japanese modern literature during this period, including naturalist novels and "I" novels, firmly reflects the culture and values that were important to the society during this period. Thus, looking at those novels and analyzing the image of *jogakusei* in those novels allows an

¹¹⁸ Indra, 67.

¹¹⁹ Natsumi Ikoma, "Gender and Modernization in Japan: An Analysis of Tayama Katai's *The Quilt*," *Gender and Sexuality: Journal of Center for Gender Studies* 7 (March 31, 2012), accessed December 4, 2016, http://web.icu.ac.jp/cgs/docs/JNL07_01ikoma.pdf, 8.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

understanding of the social view of *jogakusei*, as well as of gender relations during the period that are symbolized by *jogakusei*.

Tayama Katai's *Futon*, written in 1907, is arguably the first "I" novel. The impact the novel had on the literary world was significant because it discussed sexuality openly, which had previously not been done in Japanese literature.¹²¹ The story is based on the true story of the relationship between Tayama and his disciple, Okada Michiyo, who was a *jogakusei* at that time. This was also one of the reasons that the novel attracted people's attention when it was published.

The novel depicts a relationship between the protagonist, Tokio, a writer, who is sexually attracted to and obsessed with his disciple, Yoshiko, who is a student at Kobe Jogakuin. The story starts when Tokio receives letters from the *jogakusei* Yoshiko, asking him permission to become his disciple to be a writer. Tokio rejects her in the beginning, but Yoshiko's passion eventually persuades him to accept her as a disciple. Although Tokio is 34 years old and a married man who has three children, he becomes attracted to the young student, Yoshiko, who is very different from his traditional wife. Tokio and Yoshiko both seem to be enjoying an intimate master-student relationship in the beginning; however, Tokio starts to become obsessed with her, and that leads to destabilizing Tokio's emotions when he finds out that Yoshiko has a boyfriend.

Her boyfriend, Hideo, is a bright student from Doshisha University, and Tokio immediately starts to struggle to deal with the reality. Yoshiko and Hideo convince Tokio that they are keeping their relationship pure, and Tokio agrees to be a guardian of their relationship, believing that they have not had any sexual relations. However, later in the story, Tokio finds out that Yoshiko and Hideo have been deceiving him and have had a sexual relationship. This

¹²¹ Ibid., 12.

destroys Tokio and he decides to send Yoshiko back to her parents' house in Bitchū Province (currently in Okayama prefecture) and to break up Yoshiko's relationship with Hideo. Although Yoshiko clearly does not want to give up her dream and to go back to her hometown, she does not have a choice and is sent back. The story ends with Tokio, after receiving a letter of apology from Yoshiko, crying in her room as he pushes his face into a comforter that she had been using. This leaves an unpleasant, yet a sensational feeling in readers.

Yoshiko's image

Throughout the story, Yoshiko is depicted as a typical, modern *jogakusei* with whom many male intellectuals during the Meiji period were fascinated. Even before meeting her, Tokio describes Yoshiko as *haikara* (modern) just by looking her modern writing style in her letters.¹²² As a typical *jogakusei*, Yoshiko has a modern hairstyle tied with a comb and Western bow, and she wears perfume that unconsciously seduces Tokio.¹²³ Her educational background also coincides with the typical *jogakusei* during that time. Born into a rich family in Bitchū, she moves to Kōbe by herself to go to Kōbe Jogakuin after graduating from an elementary school. There, she obtains a relatively liberal education based on Christianity and enjoys a *jogakusei* life, which is depicted in the novel as a “life that pursues ideals and beauty in people instead of looking at the flawed reality of people.”¹²⁴ Another intriguing aspect of Yoshiko is her religious background. Both her parents are devoted Christians and she is also a Christian. During this period, Christianity was a symbol of modernity and many people converted to Christianity during the Meiji period; therefore, this religious background adds another representative quality

¹²² Katai Tayama, *Futon*, 24th ed. (Tokyo: Kadokawa Bunko, 1965), 9.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

of modernity to Yoshiko.¹²⁵

Tokio also describes that Yoshiko is “too flamboyant,”¹²⁶ not only because she wears the latest *obi* and gold ring, but also because she is very expressive, unlike traditional women who do not express their emotions. It seems that an education gave girls certain freedoms, and that it allowed them to be more expressive. Although Tokio enjoys watching her beautiful and meaningful facial expressions, he also struggles to understand what Yoshiko really thinks about him because her facial expressions change frequently. Honda asserts that the *jogakusei kotoba* that used *teyo* and *dawa* frequently at the end of sentences confused males;¹²⁷ *jogakusei*'s expressiveness could also confuse males.

Regarding her academic performance, Yoshiko seems to be a hardworking, bright student who is eager to learn. She is good at English, which is also a symbol of modernity, and writes many short stories and poems even when she returns home for a break.

Daraku Jogakusei

Since the beginning of the story, some traditional people, especially women, such as Tokio's wife and sister criticize Yoshiko's modern attitude. For example, Yoshiko often interacts with male students. She exchanges many letters with male high school and college students, and sometimes those students visit her in person or they go out together until late at night. Tokio's sister sees it as troublesome because that makes Yoshiko stand out in a neighborhood where many girls are relatively traditional compared to Yoshiko. However, Tokio values Yoshiko's

¹²⁵ Ikoma., 13.

¹²⁶ Tayama., 15.

¹²⁷ Honda, 97.

modernity and always takes her side when people criticize her modern attitude. He also encourages her to be independent from men, and to act as she wants but to be responsible for her own actions.¹²⁸ However, his attitude toward her modernity changes after he finds out that she is dating Hideo.¹²⁹

Tokio previously defended Yoshiko when he heard that she spent time with her male friends, stating that modern women are different from traditional women, and it is normal for Yoshiko to have male friends.¹³⁰ However, after finding out that Yoshiko has a boyfriend, Tokio criticizes Yoshiko for being “too modern and troublesome.”¹³¹ His wife also criticizes Yoshiko being no different from delinquent male student (*daraku shosei*) when she discusses her relationship with Hideo.¹³²

Yoshiko’s attitude toward her studies becomes less serious as her relationship with Hideo develops. She starts to skip school sometimes to see Hideo and starts to hide letters between her and him. Seeing a boyfriend rather than going to school was one of the typical delinquent behaviors that intellectuals often discussed during that time. Later in the story, it becomes clear that Yoshiko has a sexual relationship with Hideo, and she has been lying to everyone about it. At that point, everyone in the story, including Yoshiko herself thinks that she is a *daraku jogakusei* (delinquent school girl).¹³³

¹²⁸ Tayama, 14-15.

¹²⁹ Ikoma, 15.

¹³⁰ Tayama, 14.

¹³¹ Ibid., 31.

¹³² Ibid., 48.

¹³³ Ibid., 69.

Male intellectuals' struggle and selfishness

Throughout the story, Tokio struggles to deal with his feelings for Yoshiko. This represents the struggles of Meiji men, especially intellectuals who adored modernity but at the same time were confused by the sudden change in gender relations. In the same way that Tokio is attracted to Yoshiko, a modern woman, many intellectuals were attracted to modern women who represented the modernity that Japan was eagerly pursuing. Tokio is frustrated with his traditional wife who spends more time with her children rather than with him, and this makes him feel lonely. This could be one of the reasons why many intellectuals, who were seeking modern, intellectual and equal partnerships with women, were attracted to *jogakusei* with whom they could interact intellectually.

This desire for an equal relationship was held strongly especially in Christian circles during the Meiji period. Many intellectuals converted to Christianity to pursue modernity, and they were eager to apply Christian understandings of love and marriage during the Meiji period. For example, some Protestant couples tried to have an equal relationship between husband and wife by keeping close relationships with their spouses through frequent interactions.¹³⁴ Those couples were able to apply the new gender norm and to retain a better relationship. Since Katai was a Christian¹³⁵, Tokio's desire to pursue a modern relationship reflects Katai's own desire. Ikoma points out that Tokio sees Yoshiko as a prostitute after finding out that she has a sexual relationship with Hideo, and this makes Tokio believe that he can also have a sexual relationship

¹³⁴ Ballhatchet Helen. "Christianity and Gender Relationships in Japan Case Studies of Marriage and Divorce in Early Meiji Protestant Circles." (*Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 2007, 177-201), 185.

¹³⁵ Ikoma, 22.

with Yoshiko.¹³⁶ Ikoma also argues that Tokio decides to send Yoshiko back to her parents' house not because she loses Tokio's trust, but because of the fact that she is not pure and that he can no longer possess her.¹³⁷ This reflects the Meiji intellectuals' frustration toward the changing gender relations created by providing an education to women. As Tokio expresses in the story, many intellectuals during the Meiji period saw that women's education was necessary for modernizing the country. However, they were afraid that women were becoming too modern, believing too much modernity can cause delinquent behavior that would hurt Japan's future.¹³⁸

Aspiring to be a Modern Women: A Synopsis of Kosugi Tengai's *Devil Wind, Love Wind*

Kosugi Tengai (小杉天外) wrote the novel *Devil Wind, Love Wind* (魔風恋風) in 1903 to respond to the *Yomiuri Newspaper's* request for a long piece to publish in the newspaper. As Tengai notes in the postscript of the novel, publishing a long piece in *Yomiuri Newspaper* was the most desirable opportunity for writers at that time.¹³⁹ He recalls that he spent 56 days to finish the first episode.¹⁴⁰ The novel became quite popular; however, because of its depiction of delinquent schoolgirls, which concerned many intellectuals during that time who deplored the moral deterioration among youth, The Ministry of Education prohibited schoolgirls from reading the novel, stating that reading the novel could have a bad influence on young girls because it

¹³⁶ Ibid, 16.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 17.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Tengai Kosugi, *Makaze Koikaze Kōhen (Part 2)*, 8th ed. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1987), 300.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 301.

might lead them to become delinquent.¹⁴¹ Many newspaper articles and short stories about delinquent schoolgirls, such as the series “Tales of Fallen Schoolgirls,” followed the publication of the novel to attract public attention and to meet its curiosity.¹⁴² For these reasons, *Devil Wind*, *Love Wind* is an important novel for discussing *jogakusei*. Therefore, in this section, I will analyze the image of *jogakusei* as an embodiment of modern women and people’s attitudes towards modern women in literature.

The novel depicts the struggles and failed love of the protagonist, Ogiwara Hatsuno, who is a student at the Imperial Women’s School (Teikoku Joshigakuin). Aspiring to be a modern, independent woman, Hatsuno strives for an education. However, an unexpected accident, which causes her to have to pay high hospital charges, puts her in debt and changes the course of her life. She refuses to accept support from her older brother, Kichibei, who treats Hatsuno and younger sister Nami badly. Hatsuno decides to live on her own with Nami, paying for her own education and living expenses. As a result of her poor living situation and hardship trying to make a living for herself and Nami, Hatsuno becomes ill and eventually dies. She also struggles with her relationship with Natsumoto Tōgo, a college student and the fiancé of her best friend, Natsumoto Yoshie. The friendship between Hatsuno and Yoshie is similar to sisterhood; thus, Hatsuno’s forbidden love with Tōgo makes her feel guilty. Later in the story, she also suffers from Tōgo’s betrayal, when he decides to choose Yoshie rather than Hatsuno in spite of his earlier confession of love for Hatsuno. Hatsuno dies as she confesses to Yoshie that she has been deceiving her and secretly had a relationship with Tōgo.

Hatsuno not only reflects the schoolgirls’ culture, but also their attitudes toward

¹⁴¹ Indra, 179.

¹⁴² Ibid.

education, women's independence, and success. She wears *ebichabakama*, which was the typical school uniform of *jogakusei* at that time, and a ribbon in her hair, which was the typical schoolgirl's fashion at that time. Her good skills in English and her Western facial features, such as white skin, high nose, and big eyes, reflect the public image of schoolgirls as modern women. She is also proud of being a schoolgirl, which can be seen as the vanity that Inagaki Kyōko notes as one of the causes of delinquency. She firmly believes that women with education should be independent and have good jobs. She declares her and Nami's independence from their family to her brother, stating "I am an educated woman."¹⁴³ She also refuses financial support from Tonoī Kyōichi, an educated man who is obsessed with her, assuring him that "Whatever happens, we have to get through the hardships on our own..."¹⁴⁴ It seems that she is obsessed with her image as a modern woman. She believes that once she graduates from higher school, she will be able to obtain social status, honor, and financial success.¹⁴⁵

Hatsuno also refuses the idea of becoming a housewife after getting an education. This is clear from her attitude toward the wife of the house in which Nami serves. When Hatsuno learns that the wife lives a simple life as a housewife after graduating from higher school, Hatsuno asserts that such a woman with an education should have a life with dignity.¹⁴⁶ This implies her rejection of the "good wives, wise mothers" ideal that the government and intellectuals were pursuing as the purpose of women's education during the Meiji period.

Many people around her, especially older, uneducated women and educated men have

¹⁴³ Kosugi, *Makaze Koikaze Kōhen* (Part 2), 163.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

negative views of schoolgirls and women's education. For example, Tonoï, who offers financial support to Hatsuno, states that the reason women seek an education is to marry fine men and otherwise women's education is useless.¹⁴⁷ He also looks down on women, stating that women cost a lot of money; thus, many women with an education end up in debt after graduation.¹⁴⁸ When he goes to see Hatsuno's room, he is surprised that her room looks like boy's room without any fancy goods. That makes him think that Hatsuno is different from the typical schoolgirls he criticizes; and it seems to be the reason why he invests in her. However, when he finds out that she is seeing Tōgo, Tonoï criticizes Hatsuno for her arrogant behavior.¹⁴⁹ Although Tōgo is in love with Hatsuno, when he does not hear from Hatsuno for a while, he also criticizes schoolgirls' arrogance that causes them to treat him poorly. Hatsuno's brother also criticizes schoolgirls, stating "schoolgirls will end up getting pregnant and come home with their babies."¹⁵⁰ His attitude reflects the public view of delinquent schoolgirls, which, as I mentioned earlier, was so widespread at that time that an *Enka* song was made about it.¹⁵¹

Yoshie's mother believes that marriage, rather than education is important for women. She tries to advance the date of Yoshie and Tōgo's marriage because of her belief that women do not need to be educated. Later in the story, after Tōgo has left her, when Yoshie refuses to marry a man whom her parents picks for her, her mother express her sorrow, stating she would rather

¹⁴⁷ Tengai Kosugi, *Makaze Koikaze Zenpen (Part 1)* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1951), 29.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Kosugi, *Makaze Koikaze Kōhen (Part 2)*, 40.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

¹⁵¹ Ambaras, 79.

die.¹⁵² She tells Yoshie that once she is married, she does not need any friends¹⁵³, and this suggests her idea of traditional marriage in which women devote their lives to their husbands and children, which Hatsuno rejects.

The friendship between Hatsuno and Yoshie plays a crucial role in defining the image of schoolgirls. Although they are not real sisters, Yoshie admires Hatsuno as her sister, calling her “sister,” and Hatsuno also adores Yoshiko as her sister. Sisterhood-like friendships were common among schoolgirls. Inagaki asserts that many schoolgirls developed such friendships within schools by exchanging letters.¹⁵⁴ Inagaki’s research shows that friendships were a crucial part of schoolgirls’ lives, thus the friendship between Yoshie and Hatsuno is no exception.

The novel also depicts the contrasting images of two schoolgirls: Hatsuno, a smart and independent woman who refuses to be a housewife, and Yoshie, a more traditional, feminine woman who wishes to settle down. Later in the story, Hatsuno laments that having rich parents as Yoshie has would her circumstances better; and this indicates the struggle of those modern women like Hatsuno who try to be independent.

Characters in novels were reflections of Japanese society and the position of women throughout time in that culture. In the case of *Devil Wind, Love Wind*, the women are *jogakusei* who obtained an education and hoped to be smart, strong, independent women. The novel reflects Japanese society during the mid-Meiji period when men were afraid of masculine women who were modern, strong, and independent, because men were afraid of losing control over those women. They believed that women should be submissive wives and that modern

¹⁵² Kosugi, *Makaze Koikaze Kōhen (Part 2)*, 223.

¹⁵³ Kosugi, *Makaze Koikaze Zenpen (Part 1)*, 199.

¹⁵⁴ Inagaki, 85.

women could destroy traditional gender relations. The government also did not want women to be masculine. The novel often depicts Hatsuno's manly personality to contrast it with the feminine qualities of women such as her independent attitude and desire to have an education to obtain a good job. This implies that schoolgirls' eagerness to be independent was seen as a sign of the masculinization of women. Honda asserts that education gave *jogakusei* hope that they could take on the role of fathers as heads of households; however, society prevented them from being fathers by stressing the importance of the traditional role of women.¹⁵⁵ As Inagaki argues, although the government encouraged women to be educated and provided opportunities, Japanese society was not a place in which those educated, modern women could play an active role.¹⁵⁶

In the novel, love is treated negatively as a cause of destruction. For Hatsuno, love for Tōgo causes stress that ruins her health, and it also nearly destroys her friendship with Yoshie. Hatsuno is a strong, independent woman until she falls in love. First, she rejects Tono's financial support to become an independent woman. However, later in the story she refuses to receive his support only because she does not want Tōgo to be suspicious about her relationship with Tono. This is one of the bad decisions that she makes because of love. She also easily agrees to marry Tōgo when he asks; this undermines her motivation to be an independent woman. This implies that love even changes her long-time dream. Honda argues that the tragic ending of the novel reflects the society that emphasized traditional gender relations that required women to be "good wives, wise mothers;" thus *jogakusei* who sought a modern notion of love that stressed

¹⁵⁵ Honda, 120.

¹⁵⁶ Inagaki, 135.

an equal relationship between men and women had to be punished in the novel.¹⁵⁷

Unlike Futabatei, Tengai uses not only uses a schoolgirl as a heroine, but also as a protagonist of the novel. The theme of the novel is not only to depict the life of a schoolgirl, but also her struggle to pursue an equal relationship with a man. The popularity of the novel implies people's fascination with *jogakusei* culture and also their critical views on changing gender relations at that time. It is certain that the novel contributed to social stability by emphasizing traditional gender relations. However, by having an educated schoolgirl as a protagonist and depicting her efforts and struggles to live in Meiji society, the novel empowered schoolgirls to some extent because her struggles and desire to be an independent woman were something that many schoolgirls shared and wanted to have acknowledged by society.

Synopsis of *Warbler in the Grove* (藪の鶯) by *jogakusei* writer Miyake Kaho (三宅花圃)

One of the most important works of literature written during the Meiji period that discusses the image and culture of *jogakusei* is *Warbler in the Grove* (*Yabu no Uguisu*), written by Miyake Kaho, who is known to be one of the first female novelists and a critic who contributed to the promotion of female writers such as well-known writer, Higuchi Ichiyō.¹⁵⁸ Unlike the other three novels that I analyze in this chapter, which depict the lives of *jogakusei* from male intellectuals' perspectives, this novel is written from the perspective of *jogakusei* since Kaho was a *jogakusei* when she wrote the novel; thus it provides insightful arguments about the lives of *jogakusei* and the image of *jogakusei* during that period. First, I will

¹⁵⁷ Honda, 120.

¹⁵⁸ Yumi Hirata, *Josei hyōgen no Meiji shi: Higuchi Ichiyō Izen* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1999), 89.

summarize Kaho's educational background to clarify how her experience of being a *jogakusei* during the Meiji period influenced her works, and how her thoughts on women's education were reflected in *Warbler in the Grove*.

She was born in 1868 in Tokyo, when Japan was going through rapid changes after the Meiji Restoration, to the rich Tanabe family who were former samurai.¹⁵⁹ Having a father who was an educated scholar and who participated in the Iwakura Mission to the West, Kaho accustomed herself to Western culture from a young age.¹⁶⁰ Her rich family background allowed her to obtain a good education at the Atomi School for Women, and she enjoyed *jogakusei* life, going to the school and studying there.¹⁶¹ However, her father's excessive spending on luxurious goods and on the pleasure quarters made the family suffer financial hardship, and that made Kaho change schools frequently and sometimes made her study at home.¹⁶² Although her family suffered from financial hardship, Kaho managed to attend Meiji Jogakkō (Meiji Women's School) for a month to study English, something that many schoolgirls dreamt of at that time.¹⁶³ Kaho changed schools again school after her older brother died, and she spent three years at the Government Normal School for Women (Kanritsu Joshi Shihan Gakkō), which is the present Ochanomizu Women's University (Ochanomizu Joshi Daigaku).¹⁶⁴ There she focused on

¹⁵⁹ Rebecca L. Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 55, December 1999, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://site.ebrary.com.www2.lib.ku.edu/lib/kansas/detail.action?docID=10388442>

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

learning English and adopting the Western customs that the Japanese government was eager to promote.¹⁶⁵

As a student at the government school, she enjoyed attending many dance parties that were held at the Rokumeikan Pavilion, a building established in 1883 to hold Western-style parties.¹⁶⁶ At that time, the Government Normal School for Women was the only national girls' school; therefore, the educational system at the school was heavily influenced by the government policy of westernization.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, Kaho was not only the first female novelist in the modern period, she also represented privileged schoolgirls who were fortunate enough to obtain an education to serve the country. In this context, Kaho wrote *Warbler in the Groves*; thus the novel plays a crucial role for understating the *jogakusei's* life and the image of the *jogakusei*, which I will attempt to analyze next.

The novel describes the lives of different school-age girls and the fate of their marriages. Although the novel lacks a protagonist, there are three female characters that play an important role in the novel, and these are Hamako, Namiko, and Hideko. Hamako is a *jogakusei* who adores Western culture and tries hard to look and act as Western as possible. She is born into a privileged family in which her father adores Western customs, as was common among wealthy families at that time. Although she goes to *jogakkō*, she only focuses on piano and violin at school, and at home she studies English every day with a tutor. She often attends parties at the Rokumeikan Pavilion and enjoys dancing and socializing with men. On the other hand, her friend Namiko is more modest and natural. She expresses that she feels uncomfortable with

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Honda, 55.

Western customs such as socializing with men and dancing with foreigners. She is also a *jogakusei*, but she seems not to be obsessed with Western culture and to understand that the true purpose of women's education is to educate future "good wives and wise mothers." The third woman, Hideko is also a school-age girl; however, she is not able to attend school due to her parents' death and she relies on her younger brother, Ashio, to teach her the skills that he learns at school. She sacrifices her studies to provide Ashio an education, which makes her a traditional woman who supports men at home.

The plot revolves around these female characters and their friends. Hamako has a fiancé, Tsutomu, who is adopted by Hamako's parents. However, Hamako chooses Masashi, her English tutor over Tsutomu. They get married; however, Masashi only marries her to get the inheritance of her father and ends up running away with his lover, Osada. Hamako suffers from disappointment and embarrassment that her failed marriage brings her and decides to become a Christian. On the other hand, Hamako's ex-fiancé, Tsutomu chooses to marry Hideko because he is attracted to her ability to produce great Japanese poems, *waka*, which he considers a "wifely virtue."¹⁶⁸ This makes him believe that Hideko is compatible with him. Namiko also has a successful marriage with Tsutomu's friend, Miyazaki.

Comparing three women, who are either traditional women or modern women, the story depicts qualities that are necessary for women to have successful marriages: gentleness, diligence, modesty, and traditional feminine skills, such as the ability to compose *waka*.¹⁶⁹ Hamako's unhappy marriage implies that excessive westernization was associated with the loss of the traditional women's virtue that was necessary for a successful marriage. Out of the three

¹⁶⁸ Copeland, *Lost Leaves: Women Writers of Meiji Japan*, 81.

¹⁶⁹ Hirata, 91.

female characters, Namiko represents the ideal *jogakusei* that intellectuals and educators wanted all *jogakusei* to be. During a conversation with her friends, she states that a woman “must continue to respect modest feminine virtue if she is produce brilliant children and grandchildren” to civilize the nation.¹⁷⁰ Rebecca Copeland asserts that Namiko’s attitudes reflect the opinions of Meiji intellectual, Iwamoto Yoshiharu, who published Women’s Education Magazine (*Jogakuzasshi*).¹⁷¹ Iwamoto promoted women’s education by publishing *Jogakuzasshi*, however, he emphasized that women’s education was to create “good wives and wise mothers.”¹⁷² This implies that Kaho supported Iwamoto’s thoughts on women’s education and its purpose. Thus, Kaho is not a critic of *jogakusei* or women’s education. Rather, she criticizes people’s obsession with education that leads them to lose sight of the true purpose of education.¹⁷³ Seki Reiko asserts that Kaho’s interest is to criticize the superficiality of the Rokumeikan¹⁷⁴, which was the symbol of Japan’s obsession with the West at that time.

Copeland asserts that Hideko is the most independent and educated woman in the story.¹⁷⁵ Even though Hideko does not attend school, she is well equipped with the female virtues that are necessary for a successful marriage. Hideko’s happy marriage implies that

¹⁷⁰ Rebecca L. Copeland and Melek Ortabasi, eds., *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006), 101.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹⁷² Akiko Okada, *Jogaku Zassi to Ōka: Kirisutokyō Chishikijin to Jogakusei no Media Kūkan*, 1st ed., (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2013), 25.

¹⁷³ Copeland, *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan*, 84.

¹⁷⁴ Reiko Seki, "An Analysis on the Representation of Rokumeikan - Points of Contact between “Ukigumo” and “Yabuno-Uguisu”," *Department Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture* 111 (March 2013): 141, March 2013, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://ir.c.chuo-u.ac.jp/repository/search/item/md/blg/p/6371/>.

¹⁷⁵ Copeland, *The Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan*, 83-84.

educated and independent women can be happy as long as they do not lose traditional feminine virtues. Hideko's independence without having a proper schooling also reflects Kaho's criticism of people's obsession with women's education and her argument that getting an education will not necessarily make women happy in the future.

The novel reflects very well the time when Japan was rapidly westernizing. The *Rokumeikan* symbolizes Japan's obsession with the West, as well as people's concerns about losing traditional values, especially traditional gender relations. The novel discusses the popular opinion that women's education can only be beneficial when it provides skills that are necessary for women to be "good wives, wise mothers," and is otherwise harmful to the society. The novel was written before the government implemented the *Kōtō Jogakkō Rei* in 1889 and when only a few girls were able to attend schools. Thus, many of them had a mindset that they were serving the country by getting an education to become "good wives, wise mothers." In other words, many *jogakusei* were patriotic.

The novels I analyze in this chapter use the image and the culture of *jogakusei* to discuss Japan's modernization and women's education. What I summarize in the chart below are the major themes of the novels, and how each novel treats each of them to convey messages and arguments that were popular in Japanese society at that time.

	<i>Yabu no Uguisu</i> (1888)	<i>Ukigumo</i> (1887-1889)	<i>Makaze Koikaze</i> (1903)	<i>Futon</i> (1907)
Modernization	Provides new lifestyles and challenges traditional gender relations.	Challenges traditional gender relations.	Creates independent women and challenges traditional gender relations.	Introduces a new notion of love.
Westernization	Adaptation of Western clothes, English lessons, establishment of The Rokumeikan, conversion to Christianity, and free love	Adaptation of Western clothes, English lessons	Western clothes English lessons or skills, and free love.	Adaptation of Western clothes, Christian education, and free love.
Women's education	Works well when women become "good wives, wise mothers." However, it is not necessary for a happy marriage.	Makes women progressive, and causes delinquency. Makes traditional men vulnerable.	Does good when women become "good wives, wise mothers," but can cause vanity.	Necessary to become partners of modern intellectuals, but men can still dominate women.
Western notion of free love	Destroys the traditional gender relations and makes women delinquent.	Makes people delinquent, especially women. Makes traditional men anxious.	Makes people delinquent and destroys their future. It does not work in Japanese society.	Makes people delinquent and destroys their future. Frustrates traditional men.

There are four major themes in each novel: Modernization, Westernization, Women's Education, and Western notion of free love. These four themes are related each other since modernizing the country meant westernizing the country, and the government believed that women's education was necessary to modernize the country. Western notion of free love became popular as a part of westernization. The authors of these novels depict these themes by using many common items, which I analyze below.

The authors describe westernization with Western clothes, foreign language study, and Christianity. Learning English is especially frequently associated with westernization. In the novels, English skills or lessons not only give people the status of being modern people, but also provide a space in which they can find free love and develop the feelings of love. For example, Indra Levy asserts that in *Ukigumo*, Bunzo's love for Osei develops through the English lessons that he offers to Osei.¹⁷⁶ In the same way, in *Yabu no Uguisu*, Hamako falls in love with her English tutor, Masashi, which leads her to choose Masashi and disobey her parents' wish to marry Tsutomu. In *Futon*, a foreign literature lesson provides a place for Tokio to develop his feeling for Yoshiko. Thus, learning English bestows on one status as a modern person, and also awakens the dream of free love, which was also associated with Western culture.

Christianity is also used as a sign of westernization. In *Yabu no Uguisu*, Hamako becomes a Christian when her marriage to Masashi fails. She may become a Christian because she is suffering from embarrassment and wants to be released from the suffering. However, considering her obsession with the West, it can be the case that converting to Christianity is the only way left for her to pursue the West. In *Futon*, Christianity represents a modern education that gives students freedom. As I mentioned in the analysis of *Futon*, many intellectuals converted to Christianity during that time, hoping to gain a better status in society.¹⁷⁷ In the novel, Yoshiko and her boyfriend are both Christian, and this makes them more modern. Tokio's admiration of Yoshiko's modern education also implies the intellectuals' attitudes toward Christianity at that time.

In the four novels, a certain type of *jogakusei* is often criticized as delinquent and is

¹⁷⁶ Levy, 68.

¹⁷⁷ Ikoma, 13.

punished in some way. In *Warbler in the Groves*, Hamako is punished because her obsession with Western culture leads her to disobey her parents, which indicates the destruction of traditional Confucian values. In *Devil Wind, Love Wind*, Hatsuno is punished because of her modern desire to be an independent woman and also because of her attempt to seek free love. Yoshiko in *Futon* is also punished because of her impurity and her modern attitude that makes her escape the control of men. However, certain types of *jogakusei* are rewarded with happy marriages. Namiko in *Warbler in the Glove* and Yoshie in *Devil Wind, Love Wind* obtain happy marriages because of their traditional feminine values. Osei in *The Floating Clouds* is neither punished nor rewarded; however, she changes her attitudes and becomes more traditional at the end of the story, which can imply her future success as a wife.

Many modern *jogakusei* in the novel such as Hatsuno, Yoshiko, and Hamako also pursue Western notions of free love. They believe that they can obtain free love and that makes them happy; however, the society at the time in which many people, especially male intellectuals believe in traditional gender relations prevents these modern *jogakusei* from obtaining free love. Moreover, in all the novels I introduced above, the modern *jogakusei* lose their love at the end of the story.

This evidence shows that during the Meiji period, marriage as the goal of *jogakusei* was often depicted in novels. At the beginning of the Meiji period, it did not matter whether women were educated or not to obtain a happy marriage as long as they had traditional feminine virtues. However, the government was urged to modernize the country and started adopting many Western customs, and many intellectuals believed that women's education was necessary to make better homes that would lead to civilizing the nation. In this context, a women's educational system was developed and *jogakusei* were born. Some *jogakusei* understood the

government's purpose for providing women an education and enjoyed their lives as students within the given context. However, some *jogakusei* went too far, and those *jogakusei* were often criticized as delinquent schoolgirls in the media. This was observed more frequently after the promulgation of the Girls' High School Order in 1889, which allowed more girls to attend higher school. As the number of *jogakusei* increased, the true purpose of women's education became vague. This led educators and intellectuals to be concerned about the loss of traditional feminine virtues and changes in gender relations and to criticize those *jogakusei*.

Inagaki Kyōko asserts that the frequent criticism of delinquent schoolgirls was to enforce the true purpose of women's education, which was to create "good wives, wise mothers."¹⁷⁸ Thus, enthusiastic discussions of *jogakusei* in the media during the Meiji period reveal not only the Meiji intellectuals' attraction to and obsession with modernity, but also their concern and confusion about losing traditional values and gender relations. The government and the Meiji intellectuals wanted women to be educated and modern only if they promised to become "good wives, wise mothers." However, what some of the educated, modern women wanted to become was independent women who pursued free love. This seems to be a result of the government and intellectuals underestimating the power of education and the capabilities of women. *Jogakusei* who were called delinquent by male intellectuals did not assess what they could do with their education within the ideal of "good wives, wise mothers," but were rather obsessed with the idea of being *jogakusei* which was the symbol of modernity. As a result, they were often criticized by male intellectuals. Male intellectuals also expressed their frustration with the new modern nation in which they needed to live successfully by criticizing *jogakusei* and women's education which had become the symbols of modernity at the time.

¹⁷⁸ Inagaki, 156.

The purposes of women's education and the goals of female students in contemporary Japan are different from the ones during the Meiji period. However, Honda Masuko argues that society still criticizes female students for their cultures and attitudes.¹⁷⁹ Japanese society has changed since the Meiji period significantly. However, despite continuous efforts of the government, Japan's gender gap ranks 111th out of 144 countries according to the World Economic Forum's latest gender-gap index.¹⁸⁰ It implies that many people in Japan still believe in traditional gender values. This can be part of the reason for the society's critical attitude toward female students in contemporary Japan, as it was during the Meiji period. Thus, in the following chapters, I will analyze the image of female students and their culture in contemporary Japan and draw an analogy between *jogakusei* during the Meiji period and female students in contemporary Japan. To gather information about the image and the culture of female students, I will mainly use novels, women's fashion magazines, and websites that features *joshidaisei* (female college students, 女子大生).

Jogakusei and joshidaisei

Scholars often associate the delinquent *jogakusei* of the Meiji period with the delinquent schoolgirls, the so-called *kogyaru* (little girl) of the 1990s. *Kogyaru* with their new fashion and compensated dating (援助交際), shocked domestic and foreign scholars such as Sharon Kristina and Laura Miller to explore schoolgirl iconography. For example, in *Schoolgirls, Money, and Rebellion in Japan*, Sharon painstakingly examines the image of schoolgirls in

¹⁷⁹ Honda, 9.

¹⁸⁰ "Shining or Glaring?: Japan's Efforts to Make it Easier for Women to Work are Faltering," *The Economist*, November 26, 2016, accessed December 27, 2016, <http://econ.st/2g8epro>.

contemporary Japan from socioeconomic, political, and cultural perspectives. Yet, those scholars primary focus on high school-age girls who comprised the majority of *kogyaru*. In the early 1980s, some *kogyaru* were college students; however, many *kogyaru* in the late 1990s who shortened their skirts, applied heavy makeup, and spent most of their time on the streets of Tokyo were girls who had skipped high school or freeters who were neither students nor had full-time jobs.¹⁸¹ Thus, associating delinquent *jogakusei* with *kogyaru* in 1990s misses the fact that the majority of the Meiji *jogakusei* were quite privileged and had a higher status in society. Taking into account that *jogakkō* was higher education for women during the Meiji period, it is possible to compare *jogakusei* with current female college students, *joshidaisei* (female college students, 女子大生).

As of 2017, there are 777 universities in Japan (86 national universities, 91 public universities, and 600 private universities). Among 2,873,624 students who attend four-year universities or graduate school, 1,247,726, which is 43.4 % of the total population of university students, are female.¹⁸² This implies that for many university-age women, attending a four-year university is a possible option to attend a four-year university. Unlike in the Meiji period, universities in current Japan are distributed throughout the country and the selectivity of those universities varies. Thus, I limit my analysis to female students who attend selective, highly-ranked universities in Tokyo to make them comparable to *jogakusei* in the Meiji period. To discuss *joshidaisei* in contemporary Japan, it is crucial to go back to the period between the

¹⁸¹ Sharon Kinsella, *Schoolgirls, Money and Rebellion in Japan* (London: Routledge, 2013), 103.

¹⁸² School Basic Survey (学校基本調査), *Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology-Japan* (文部科学省), accessed January 28, 2017, http://www.mext.go.jp/component/b_menu/other/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2016/12/22/1375035_3.pdf.

early-1980s and 1990 when Japan's economic prosperity of the so-called bubble economy created extravagant university students who wore foreign, high-brand fashions from head to toe, ate in expensive restaurants and spent their time on their hobbies.¹⁸³

In the novel *Nantonaku Kurisutaru* (なんとなく、クリスタル) published in 1980, the author Tanaka Yasuo, who was a university student at Hitotsubashi University, one of the most elite universities in Tokyo, attempted to depict the real life of *joshidaisei*.¹⁸⁴ The novel introduces the names of many name brands, restaurants, and stores that rich university students patronized, and it became known for creating a name brand-product fad (ブランドブーム) among university students. Since then, *joshidaisei* have been associated with name brand products and their luxury consumer habits and lives have been the subject of criticism. Therefore, in this chapter, I will first explore how the culture and the image of *joshidaisei* are reflected in Tanaka's novel, *Nantonaku Kurisutaru*, and then analyze whether or not they have changed since the time of the bubble economy.

***Nantonaku Kurisutaru* (1981)**

As I mentioned above, Tanaka wrote *Nantonaku Kurisutaru* when he was a university student at Hitotsubashi University. In 1980, Tanaka won the Bungei Prize for *Nantonaku Kuristaru*, and the novel was published a year later. The book became a multi-million-selling book and a social phenomenon.¹⁸⁵ The book attracted many college-age youths with a massive

¹⁸³ Yasuo Tanaka, *Nantonaku, Kurisutaru*, 29th ed. (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1989).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Yasuo Tanaka, "Watashi no Tokyo Monogatari," *Tokyo Shinbun* (Tokyo), December 15, 2015, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.nippon-dream.com/wp-content/uploads/20151215115912.pdf>

amount of information about fads and life in Tokyo, and those youths who were influenced by the book were called the “*Kurisutaru Zoku*” (*Kurisutaru Clan*).¹⁸⁶ In the interview article in *Tokyo Newspaper* (Tokyo Shinbun), Tanaka states that his motivation to write the novel was to inform society about the reality and lives of university students in Tokyo after the campus disturbances in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁸⁷ In 1981 when the novel was published, Japan was in the middle of a 40-year long economic miracle that had started in 1950. Economic prosperity not only created a culture of mass consumption and made people obsessed with extravagant items, but also created youth who were both ambivalent about and optimistic about their lives, and they are the protagonists of *Nantonaku Kuristaru*.

The story depicts the life of Yuri, a university student at Aoyama Gakuin University, and of her boyfriend and friends with whom Yuri often spends time. While she studies as a full-time university student, she also works part-time as a model. She is carefree and often behaves according to her mood. For example, at the beginning of the story, she skips her French class because the weather is depressing, even though she lives within walking distance from the university. She also emphasizes that what is important for her is having the vitality to go all the way to *Sendagi*, a town nearby, to buy a piece of *chiyogami* (paper), being a snob who adores the brand name paper bags given at the store, having the arrogance to eat cake with white wine, having the playful attitude to wear an elegant dress to a party, and having room in her life to always do something additional.¹⁸⁸ She also states that she chooses the thing that feels the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Yasuo Tanaka, "Watashi no Tokyo Monogatari," *Tokyo Shinbun* (Tokyo), December 11, 2015, <http://www.nippon-dream.com/wp-content/uploads/4af518aaea08a4a18fb538333db27383.pdf>

¹⁸⁸ Tanaka, 38-39.

best.¹⁸⁹ She becomes a model to enjoy her life doing these kinds of things, and she earns 400,000 yen per month, which is more than three times the average starting salary for university graduates at that time.¹⁹⁰ Considering that the average tuition per year of private universities was 304,000 yen¹⁹¹, students like Yuri who worked part-time could pay for their own tuition, which implies that students were more independent at that time.

Yuri often discusses Japanese people's obsession with the West at that time. For example, she asserts that people admire people who go to international high schools, people think it is cooler to study English or French literature than Japanese literature, and people think it looks cooler to carry a French dictionary than a Korean dictionary.¹⁹² Yuri suggests that the adoration of Western brands indicates people's vanity.¹⁹³

Her attitudes toward her surroundings and life also affect her relationship with her musician boyfriend, Junichi. He is also from a rich family and has been to private schools since kindergarten. As he grows up, he learns violin and piano, which leads him to be a musician. Yuri and Junichi live together; however, both of them have had sexual relationships with other people, which implies that their attitudes toward love are not serious. Yuri's classmate, Sanae states that relationships of youth in this era is like playing house (おままごと遊び).¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 40.

¹⁹⁰ "Daisotsu Shoninkyū (Starting Salary of New Graduates)," *Nenji Toukei*, May 27, 2017, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://nenji-toukei.com>

¹⁹¹ "Shiritsu Daigaku Jyugyō Ryō (Tuition at Private Colleges)," *Nenji Toukei*, December 17, 2013, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://nenji-toukei.com/n/kiji/10038/私立大学授業料>.

¹⁹² Tanaka, 54.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 55.

¹⁹⁴ Tanaka, 113.

The novel suggests that during the late 1970s and the early 1980s university students tended to be independent, extravagant, and somehow lived their lives happily without any concerns about their future, which was more common during that period because of Japan's economic prosperity. The birth of "*Kurisutaru Zoku*" suggests that those independent, extravagant students were something that many college students admired as role models. At the ending, Yuri expresses her hopes for her career as a model and Junichi's career as a professional musician. Although she does not have a clear goal, except to become a woman who looks good in suits from Chanel, she is hopeful for her and Junichi's future. This implies that university students at that time were positive, and they believed in their futures.

All of the characters in the novel are rich students who attend high-ranking private universities in Tokyo. Although Yuri asserts in the novel that there are many models around that time who can make own money, it is not possible to generalize and state that the majority of university students in high ranking universities led such lives. However, considering the popularity of the novel that even produced the term "*Kurisutaru Clan*," such a life was at least a dream that many students pursued at that time.

It seems that not only female students, but students in general during that time were hopeful about their futures. The protagonist Yuri in the book represents the attitude toward education and the future. Although she spends most of her time going out with her friends and working as a model, and not going to school to study, she is hopeful about her future with Junichi. This is also part of the effect of Japan's economic prosperity. As Yuri and Junichi did, it was possible for students to live on their own with their part-time jobs even if they were college students. This made them believe that they would not have any problem living on their own after graduating from college, and this led to their lack of interest in their studies at the university. As I

noted earlier, Yuri skips the class that she had failed the previous year and goes on a date with a guy she meets in a disco. This indicates that although she enjoys being a college student who has a lot of freedom and money, she is less interested in her studies and spends more time going out with her friends and working as a model. This is another crucial characteristic of students in the late 1970s and 1980s.

In 1989, the bubble economy burst and Japan plunged into a series of recessions called the “lost decades.” Compared to the youths who enjoyed extravagant lifestyles and were filled with hope for their futures during Japan’s economic prosperity, youths who live after the bursting of the bubble economy seem to be different. In the next section, I will explore two aspects of *joshidaisei*’s culture: their attachment to name brand products and their hopes for the future in contemporary Japan in the past 20 years.

The book, *Japan’s Changing Generations*, edited by Gordon Mathews and Bruce White and published in 2004, explores attitudes of youth toward their lives and the society in which they live. The book addresses problems of youth during the lost decades and certainly applies to the youth of today. In chapter 2 “Why are Japanese youth today so passive?,” Kotani Satoshi points out that young people in the 2000s are the children of those people who were called *shirake sedai* (the indifferent generation), a generation indifferent to both politics and society.¹⁹⁵ The characters of *Nantonaku Kurisutaru* belong to this generation. Thus, having parents who experienced Japan’s economic prosperity and had massive consumption habits influences the attitudes of today’s youth. Kotani also asserts that adults in Japan show their love

¹⁹⁵ Satoshi Kotani, "Why are Japanese Youth Today so Passive?," in *Japan's Changing Generations: Are young people creating a new society?* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 38.

by spending money on their children.¹⁹⁶ It can be true among parents who experienced prosperity. Thus, those parents may buy things for their children, and their children can still be obsessed with name-brand fads as their parents were. In fact, in the chapter “Branded: Bad Girls Go Shopping” in the book, *Bad Girls of Japan*, Jan Bardsley and Hiroko Hirakawa argue that brand consumption culture by young, single women, which started during Japan’s economic prosperity, did not end after the burst of the bubble.¹⁹⁷

In 2016, the website called the Manual for College Students (*Mainabi Gakusei no Madoguchi*) owned by the Mynavi Corporation conducted a survey asking 328 *joshidaisei* if they were interested in name-brand fashion. Fifty percent of the students answered that they were interested in name-brand fashion and fifty percent of the students answered they were not.¹⁹⁸ Those students who are interested in name-brand fashion state that not only do name-brand products last longer, but they also believe that having name-brand products gives them better social status and increases their value.¹⁹⁹ On the other hand, the students who are not interested in name-brand products stated that they prefer having more inexpensive products than having a few expensive name-brand products.²⁰⁰ This implies that although today’s *joshidaisei* are less concerned about name brand fashion compared to *joshidaisei* during the late 1970s and 1980s,

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 41.

¹⁹⁷ Jan Bardsley and Hiroko Hirakawa, “Branded: Bad Girls Go Shopping,” in *Bad Girls of Japan* (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2005), 111-112, accessed February 27, 2017, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ku/detail.action?docID=307617>.

¹⁹⁸ “Female College Students no longer interested in name brand products!? (女子大生＝ブランド好きはもう古い？ ブランドものに興味がない女子大生は○割！).” *Mainabi Gakusei no Madoguchi* (マイナビ学生の窓口), July 17, 2016, accessed January 25, 2017, <https://gakumado.mynavi.jp/gmd/articles/38921?page=2>.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

having name brand products still plays a crucial role in shaping *joshidaisei*'s identity.

Do college students in today's Japan lead the same life style as those students in the late 1970s and 1980s? Are they hopeful about their futures? The National Federation of University Co-operative Associations conducted an annual survey about college students' lives, such as their financial situation, job search (*shūshoku katsudō*), and daily life of 9,741 students' lives from 30 different universities, including national, public, and private universities in 2015.²⁰¹ According to the survey, students who lived alone had an average income of 122,580 yen, which is about 1,092 U.S. dollars, per month, which consisted of parents' support, scholarships, part-time jobs, and other income.²⁰² On the other hand, their average expenditures for things such as food, rent, transportation and educational recreation was 118,200 yen.²⁰³ This indicates, on average, that students did not have a lot of money to spend on their leisure, hobbies, or the name brand products that college students in the late 1970s and 1980s were obsessed about. The average income and expenditure of students who live with their parents were about the same, except that students did not receive parents' support for living and they spent almost no money for their rent because they lived with their parents.²⁰⁴ Among the students, 70.4% of them worked part-time to earn money to pay for their living, leisure, club activities, fashion, and so on.²⁰⁵ Among the students who worked part-time, female students tended to use more money for

²⁰¹ “Campus Life Data 2015 (第 51 回学生生活実態調査の概要報告).” *National Federation of University Co-operative Associations*, February 14, 2016, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.univcoop.or.jp/press/life/report.html#s01>.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

traveling, leisure activities, and fashion than male students.²⁰⁶

According to the survey, 73.5% of the students had some concerns related to getting a full-time job.²⁰⁷ This reflects the competitive job market and also the long process of *shūshoku katsudō* (job hunting). The process of *Shūshoku katsudō* starts as early as the fall of junior year and it lasts for ten months to a year. Thus, students spend most of their junior year going to job fairs, focus on writing resumes, and studying for company exams and Synthetic Personality Inventory test (SPI), a test which test people's language skills, non-verbal communication skills, and personality, rather than focusing on their academic studies. The government and companies have negotiated and have shortened the process of *shūshoku katsudō* since 2015 by starting it late; however, some companies still start earlier and that confuses many students. In "Seeking a career, finding a job," Gordon Mathews asserts that *shūshoku katsudō* plays a crucial role in Japan as a transition to adult life.²⁰⁸ He also argues that many entry jobs are for recent graduates; therefore, students can only do *shūshoku katsudō* once before they graduate from the university.²⁰⁹ These days, it is not uncommon to change jobs during the course of a life, however, about 84% of people between 20 years old and 29 years old believe that lifetime employment (*shūshin koyou*) is a good system, and they tend to stay in the one job they get during the *shūshoku katsudō*.²¹⁰ A survey shows that women change their jobs more often than men

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Gordon Mathews, "Seeking a Career, Finding a Job: How Young People Enter and Resist the Japanese World of Work," in *Japan's Changing Generations: Are Young People Creating a New Society?* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 121.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ "Analysis of Labor Economics (平成 26 年版 労働経済の分析: 人材力の最大

because of their life events, such as marriage and childbirth.²¹¹ Therefore, some female students might expect to quit their jobs that they get during the *shūshoku katsudō*. In that case, they might feel less pressure than male students. However, more and more female students are eager to pursue careers; thus, *shūshoku katsudō* still puts a lot of pressure on their shoulders.

One of the intriguing aspects of the survey conducted by the National Federation of University Co-operative Associations is that 35.4% of the male university students think that Japan's future is bright, while 30.5% of the female students think so.²¹² This implies not only that college students in today's Japan have little hope, but also that female students are more pessimistic compared to male students. This might be because of obstacles women encounter at companies and the difficulty of having a career and a family at the same. Although Japan ranks high in educating women, it ranks very low among other rich countries in having women in the labor force.²¹³ About 70% of women quit their jobs when they have their first child in Japan and tend not to go back to work after giving birth because of many difficulties, such as finding good quality child care and the demanding corporate cultures that keep their husbands away from home and unable to participate in childcare.²¹⁴ Therefore, many university-educated women might feel hopeless about their futures because the social system nearly forces them to choose between career and family.

発揮に向けて)”, *Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare*, *Advertisement*, accessed January 25, 2017, http://www.mhlw.go.jp/wp/hakusyo/roudou/14/dl/14-1-3_01.pdf.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² <http://www.univcoop.or.jp/press/life/report.html#s01>

²¹³ "Holding Back Half the Nation," *The Economist*, March 29, 2014, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://econ.st/1eTJuKa>.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

In the 1970s and 1980s, female participation in the labor force was much lower than it is today; yet female college students were hopeful about their futures, because they did not think women needed to work hard to make their living. According to *The Economist*, in 1979, about 70% of women believed that “The husband should be the breadwinner and the wife should take care of the home”; however, in 2013, only a third of young women wanted to be full-time housewives.²¹⁵ The country’s economy also played a crucial role in their decision. During the bubble economy, a family could easily make a living with only the husband’s income. However, after the global recession in the late 2000s, it became more difficult to do so. Thus, it has become an obligation for a wife to work to make a decent living. These social and economic factors have affected college students’ lifestyles and attitudes toward their futures that are different from the ones in the late 1970s and in the 1980s.

As I noted above, traditionally, *joshidaisei* have spent a lot of money and time on fashion, and *joshidaisei* fashion has been a crucial part of their identity as *joshidaisei*. In this section, I will discuss the role of *joshidaisei* fashion in shaping the identity of college students today. In *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory*, Catherine Driscoll asserts that in spite of limitation and regulation that each person faces because of their social and financial situation, fashion always articulates “girls’ cultural identity.”²¹⁶ Name brand fashion was important for *joshidaisei* to identify as college students during the late 1970s and 1980s, and for today’s *joshidaisei*’s fashion still contributes to their identification as *joshidaisei*.

Narumi Hiroshi, an associate professor at Kyoto University of Art and Design (Kyoto Zoukei Geijutsu University) articulates in the online interview that these days there is no specific

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Catherine Driscoll, *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 255.

future model for young people because of social changes, and that makes it difficult for them to find themselves.²¹⁷ As Gordon Mathews discusses in “Seeking a career, finding a job, how young people enter and resist the Japanese world of work,” Japan’s traditional culture of life-time employment has been changing, and that gives more options to young people.²¹⁸ At the same time, young women also have more options for their futures compared to women in the 1970s and 1980s. Narumi argues that these social changes have also changed the role of fashion in shaping young people’s identities.²¹⁹ He points out that fashion and people’s characters and thoughts used to coincide; however, it is no longer the case these days, and young people enjoy different fashion styles depending on their feeling of the day.²²⁰ Therefore, compared to *joshidaisei* in the late 1970s and 1980s, the identity of *joshidaisei* today is more fluid, and fluidity of identity creates different, new youth subcultures.²²¹ The website, Women’s Magazine Guidebook (Josei Fashion Gaido), lists 27 women’s fashion magazines that are recommended for *joshidaisei*.²²² Each of these magazines introduces a different type of fashion, and this indicates the diversity of *joshidaisei* fashion.

Today’s *joshidaisei* are not interested in name brand products as much as *joshidaisei* in the late 1970s and the 1980s were. As suggested by the diverse fashion styles suggested by

²¹⁷ “Kotonoha Meguri Vol.06 Zenpen,” *Cocoros*, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.cocoros.jp/word/vol06/p2.html>.

²¹⁸ Gordon, 122.

²¹⁹ “Kotonoha Meguri Vol.06 Zenpen,” *Cocoros*, accessed January 25, 2017, <http://www.cocoros.jp/word/vol06/p2.html>.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² “Female College Students (女子大学生),” *Fashion Magazine*. Accessed January 25, 2017. <http://www.magazine-data.com/women-menu/college.html>.

different women's fashion magazines, it might be the case that there is no such a thing as typical *joshidaisei* fashion anymore. In that case, what plays an important role in shaping the identities of today's *joshidaisei*? I argue that the fact of being *joshidaisei* has become synonymous with being fashionable, modern, and intelligent youth.

During the Meiji period, becoming *jogakusei* and attending *jogakkō* was a girls' dream that only privileged girls could achieve. For those schoolgirls, being *jogakusei*, along with wearing a school uniform and having a western hairstyle was their identity. I argue that to a certain extent, being a *joshidaisei* is female college student's identity as it was for *jogakusei*. Although many students are less interested in name brand products because of their financial situation and the choices they have on the market, it seems that being a *joshidaisei*, especially at highly-ranked universities located in major cities, especially in Tokyo, has become a name brand itself that young females want to have. Anthropologist Akiko Takeyama argues that since the government started to promote the development of Tokyo in the 1980s, Tokyo has become the future of Japan and that fact promotes consumer culture.²²³ As members of the Tokyo citizenry, *joshidaisei* in Tokyo play an important role in shaping the consumer culture of university students in Tokyo. It is little wonder that many *joshidaisei* in Tokyo who come from other prefectures are obsessed with having appearances that fit in with Tokyo and try hard to acquire them by keeping up with the latest fashion.

There is a term *ria jyū*, an abbreviation of *riaru jyūjitsu* (a fulfilled life, リアル充実), which has been used since 2007 to describe college students whose lives seem to be fulfilled.²²⁴

²²³ Akiko Takeyama, *Staged Seduction: Selling Dreams in a Tokyo Host Club* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016), Kindle, 25-27.25-27

²²⁴ "Ria Jyu," *Hatena Keyword*, accessed January 28, 2017, <http://d.hatena.ne.jp/keyword/%A5%EA%A5%A2%BD%BC#keywordbody>.

Since then, *ria jyū* has been a crucial theme for many college students, and has been contributing to shaping their culture. The website, the Manual for College Students (*Mainabi Gakusei no Madoguchi*) lists 45 things a person needs to do before entering college to have *ria jyu* based on a survey conducted among university students. According to the list, the top 10 things to do are 1) having a clean appearance, 2) preparing oneself for university life, 3) using fashion apps, 4) practicing how to put on makeup, 5) having a neat hairstyle, 6) becoming stylish, 7) learning the latest trends, 8) going to beauty salons, 9) buying stylish clothes, and 10) downloading social media.²²⁵ This indicates that the media often emphasizes good appearance as a prerequisite to have a better college life and makes many university students believe that having a good appearance is crucial to having a fulfilled college life. This explains why many university students spend a lot of time on their appearance.

Many *joshidaisei* are featured in women's fashion magazines as amateur models wearing the latest fashion and makeup, showing how *ria jyu* their lives are. Every year, many universities host beauty pageant contests called *misu campas* (miss campus), and they attract media coverage. At the end of the contest, there are performances in which all contestants wear wedding dresses and read thank you notes to their parents, which is almost like their real weddings. This could imply that the ideal for beautiful and educated women is to get married just like it was for most of *jogakusei* in the Meiji period. The winner of the contest often becomes a newscaster since winning in *misu campas* is the path to become a newscaster for a long time. The media pays so much attention especially to students at private universities founded by foreign missionaries called *misshion kei* (the mission type) because of a social stereotype that holds that

²²⁵ “For students who want to have fulfilled life: 45 things you need to have successful college life, (リア充になりたい学生に捧ぐ！ 大学デビューを成功させるためにやっておくべき 45 の準備,)” *Mainabi Gakusei no Madoguchi* (マイナビ学生の窓口), November 5, 2016, accessed January 28, 2017, <https://gakumado.mynavi.jp/gmd/articles/42574>.

students who go to those universities are more stylish because students whose parents were able to afford the high tuitions of those universities are relatively wealthy and also because those universities emphasize the importance of foreign language education, which has been seen as a sign of modernity. For example, according to a survey conducted by the Manual for College Students (*Mainabi Gakusei no Madoguchi*) asking 331 adults to name a university attended by stylish students, the top three universities were, Aoyama Gakuin University, Keio University, and Jochi University.²²⁶ The main reasons for choosing these universities were the locations of the universities, the number of amateur models and celebrities attending them, the number of returnee and foreign students, and so on.²²⁷ Among these three universities, Aoyama Gakuin University and Jochi University are both *misshion kei* and known as some of the top private universities in Japan. Keio University is also one of the top universities which many students from privileged families attend. There is even a term to describe those privileged male students who attend the university: *Keio Boi* (Keio Boy). *Keio Boi* has become a name-brand that many female students want their boyfriends to have. This implies that not only *joshidaisei*, but also certain types of male college students have also become objects of adoration. In fact, at the three universities listed above, there are also beauty pageant contests for male students, in which anyone can vote online to decide who is the number one.

There are not only magazines that present university students as objects of admiration and representations of the latest trends, but also websites also feature university students. For example, a website, Encyclopedia for Beautiful Students (美学生図鑑), currently posts 1,389

²²⁶ “One out of three is an amateur model!? Ranking of fashionable universities (3人に1人は読モ?! オシャレ偏差値が高い大学ランキング! 1位はやっぱり……),” *Mainabi Gakusei no Madoguchi* (マイナビ学生の窓口), July 29, 2015, accessed January 25, 2017, <https://gakumado.mynavi.jp/gmd/articles/16905>.

²²⁷ Ibid.

university students' pictures and brief interviews about their university lives.²²⁸ The website explains that the purpose of founding the website was to introduce the real lives of beautiful and attractive college students as role models for other students or high school students who wish to be university students in the future.²²⁹ This can be, to a certain extent, an encouragement for students since the interviews introduce the featured students' motivations for their studies and future dreams and such. However, instead of choosing influential students who might encourage other students academically, the website chooses students based on their appearances. The website also features monthly and total rankings of the featured students based on the votes of the people who visit the website, which can be seen as an objectification of university students. These trends put too much emphasis on the physical beauty of university students and can encourage other students to pursue physical beauty as a goal rather than their interests or studies.

As I mentioned above, the media constructs and emphasizes the image of *joshidaisei* and many *joshidaisei* try to fit themselves into the image in order to assert their identity as a university student in Tokyo. In fact, many *joshidaisei* who are featured in *Encyclopedia of Beautiful Students* are not from Tokyo, yet they claim Tokyo citizenry by pursuing the image of Tokyo *joshidaisei*. This implies that the media constructs and emphasizes the image of *joshidaisei* to the point where it confines students who have diverse backgrounds and personalities to one image and discriminates against students who do not fit the image. For example, at Waseda University, one of the elite co-ed universities in Tokyo, some male students do not welcome some Waseda University female students to their clubs because they do not want

²²⁸ “Encyclopedia of Beautiful Students: University Students are Beautiful (美学生図鑑),” *Encyclopedia of Beautiful Students: University Students are Beautiful (美学生図鑑)*, accessed January 25, 2017, <https://bigakusei.com/>.

²²⁹ Ibid.

to have students who do not fit the image of *joshidaisei* in their club, and prefer to have students from women's colleges who fit the *joshidaisei* image.²³⁰ This shows that some male elite students still believe in feminine virtues that are symbolized in the image of *joshidaisei* and discriminate against female students who do not have the virtues. Moreover, choosing students from women's college students over their elite counterparts can also imply the male students' fear of elite women taking over their social positions.

Joshidaisei are objects of adoration not only by other university students and high school girls who wish to become *joshidaisei* after graduating from high school, but also by the society in general. For example, in 2016, H.I.S., a major travel agency, announced a promotion that gave customers an opportunity to fly with female students from Tokyo University.²³¹ The detail of the promotion was that five randomly selected customers could choose one student out of five female students with whom the customers could spend time in a plane.²³² The promotion was highly criticized on social media, and that led H.I.S. to cancel the promotion within 12 hours.²³³ This implies that excessive adoration of *joshidaisei* leads to the commercialization of *joshidaisei* that can lead to a social problem of sexualizing young women.

What aspects of *joshidaisei* attract people besides the fact that they are young and

²³⁰ "Is it OK to reject students from joining students' clubs? (早大公認サークルなのに「ワセジョお断り」で女子大の学生勧誘、そんな対応はアリ？)" Lawyer.com (弁護士ドットコム), accessed April 21, 2017, <https://headlines.yahoo.co.jp/hl?a=20170402-00005895-bengocom-soci>.

²³¹ "Travel Agency Cancels Offer to Fly with Tokyo Student in 'Book of Beautiful Girls" *The Guardian*, May 14, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/may/14/japan-travel-agency-cancels-promotion-fly-with-tokyo-student-book-beautiful-girls>.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

stylish? The founder of Bigakusei Zukan asserts that university students have many possibilities and freedoms compared to high school students, which allows them to experience a variety of things that make them grow; and that is what makes them special.²³⁴ As earlier *jogakusei* had to become adult by getting married after graduating from *jogakkō*, today's *joshidaisei* have to become adult by getting a full-time job or choosing what they want to do in their lives after graduating from university. Not only do they have to go through the long, difficult process of *shūshoku katsudō*, but they also need to make choices among many options such as graduate school and study abroad. This is what *jogakusei* did not have to do during the Meiji period. Thus, for *joshidaisei*, university is a place in which they can enjoy their lives before facing the realities of adult roles, and that ambiguous status of being *joshidaisei* makes them somewhat special.

In the early Meiji period, *jogakusei* were often objects of adoration because they were the symbol of the modernity that Japan eagerly pursued at that time. However, in the late Meiji period, *jogakusei* became objects of criticism because those *jogakusei* who were pursuing modern notions of love and were changing the traditional gender relations were seen as a threat to the society in which male intellectuals wanted to retain the traditional gender relations. Many media such as magazines, novels, and songs depicted *jogakusei* negatively and highlighted their delinquency to criticize excessive modernity; yet many males were attracted to and tempted by *jogakusei* who equipped themselves with modernity and knowledge that traditional women did not have.

In today's Japan, *joshidaisei*, especially *joshidaisei* with modern, stylish, good-looking figures who attend high-ranking universities in Tokyo are also objects of adoration.

²³⁴ “Encyclopedia of Beautiful Students: University Students are Beautiful (美学生図鑑),” *Encyclopedia of Beautiful Students: University Students are Beautiful (美学生図鑑)*, accessed January 25, 2017, <https://bigakusei.com/about/>.

Beauty pageants at universities, Bigakusei Zukan, and the H.I.S. campaign are only a few examples of how excessive adoration of *joshidaisei* are signs of the commodification and commercialization of young women. It is well-known that the Japanese media industry has been a male-dominated industry, and that the men who work in the media industry are mostly graduates of elite universities. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that male elites are highly involved with the construction of the image of *joshidaisei* that the media features, which implies that *joshidaisei* are subjected to the evaluation of male elites.

Conclusion

This research shows that both *jogakusei* and *joshidaisei* have been subjects of the public gaze in both positive and negative ways. Both in Meiji Japan and in today's Japan, women with higher education, who combine youth, modernity, and intelligence, are adored and cherished by people. Their modernity is often symbolized by their modern fashion and attitudes. Students, especially those who attend the mission-type universities, are often associated with the ability to speak English and have the reputation of being stylish, which was also the case during the Meiji period. Those female students attract people's attention; however, at the same time, people criticize them for their culture and lifestyle when people see their culture as destroying morals or threatening to change society. Their brand-name commodity consumer culture has especially been a subject of criticism. Jan Bardsley and Hiroko Hirakawa argue that the idea of "good wives, wise mothers" who devoted their lives to their families became old-fashioned because of the rise of brand-name consumer culture, and this has often been criticized or has warned against by male intellectuals and media.²³⁵ For example, in 1985, Crown Prince Naruhito stated that he preferred women who did not care about brand-name products when he

²³⁵ Bardsley and Hirakawa, 112.

was asked about qualities he was looking for in his wife.²³⁶

It seems that many college students in today's Japan pay too much attention to their appearance, believing that this makes their lives better. Moreover, many of them seem to be lost during the transition from the life in high school, in which they are taught to put greater emphasis on their academic performance, to university life, in which they obtain freedom to pursue whatever they want to do. The consumption culture among students in elite universities in Tokyo and the stereotypes of those university students, which exist because of excessive attention from the media, seem to accelerate the problem. The long economic stagnation after the Bubble Economy and the demanding corporate culture that requires hard work have also taken away hopes for the future from university students. This makes universities places where students can enjoy their lives, and that makes those students somewhat special and figures to whom many people are attracted.

In the Meiji period, only a limited number of women were able to obtain higher education, and even if they could obtain higher education, for most of them, marriage was the only option they had after graduating from *jogakkō*. In today's Japan, *joshidaisei* believe that the educational system that emphasized the "good wives, wise mothers" ideal has changed, and it encourages women to be independent and self-sufficient. However, the evidence show that the public still tries to place *joshidaisei* into the ideal category of "good wives, wise mothers" and emphasize traditional gender roles by featuring their feminine virtues. However, many *joshidaisei* have not realized that they are being subjected to an ideal image that is constructed by male elites and emphasized by the media. Thus, I would like to conclude by hoping that this thesis will shed more light on the role of the media and male elites in the creation of the ideal

²³⁶ Ibid.

image of young women, which might help *joshidaisei* realize the forces that their lives are subjected to.

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