1	Original Research Article
2 3 4 5	Training National and Vocational Women: Characteristics of Curriculum of Female Secondary Education in Colonized Manchuria
6	
7	Wenwen Wang ¹
8 9 0	Department of Integrated Sciences for Global Society, Kyushu University. 744 Motooka Nishi-ku, Fukuoka 819-0395, Japan.
2	ABSTRACT

Background: The Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo (1932-1945) set up a specialized curriculum and published textbooks specifically for girls, with the purpose of training girls to become "good wives and wise mothers". Over the course of the state's existence, the regime adjusted its curriculum, following the policies and needs of the Japanese Empire. This paper assesses how the government changed the curriculum. focusing on and what kind of female roles they tried to teach to the Chinese girls. Methodology: This paper compares and analyzes the content and classroom hours of the curriculum of public women's secondary schools in Manchuria in three periods: 1) 1926-1937, 2) 1938-1941, and 3) 1941-1945. The data of this study was collected from material published by the Fengtian Female Normal School, and the Manchukuo provincial education magazine Fengtian Education. Results: From the state's earliest period, Manchukuo education officials emphasized females' "natural duty" as "Good Wives, Wise Mothers." Over time, however, they also increasingly emphasized learning the Japanese language, vocational skills, and patriotic content, in order to serve the goals of Japan during the World War II. Conclusion: Despite the consistent rhetoric which emphasized women becoming mothers, and possibly teachers, the curriculum and contents of the education changed according to the interests of the state and the needs of the war, encouraging women to serve the state by taking up some of the roles that men had played.

13 Keywords: Manchuria, Curriculum, Female education, Japan

14

15 **1. INTRODUCTION**

After the Manchurian incident in 1931, Japan occupied the three provinces of Northeast China, and in 1932 Japan established a pro-Japanese government, called Manchukuo. The Manchukuo government dissolved in 1945 after the defeat of Imperial Japan. The last Qing emperor Pu Yi, was installed as the chief executive, and became an emperor in 1933. Han Chinese were the largest ethnic group in Manchukuo, but sizable numbers of Mongols, Manchus, Japanese, Koreans, White Russians, and other smaller minorities were also part of the multi-ethnic region. Before the creation of Manchukuo, female education in China had seen remarkable growth. From 1907 to 1932 the number of females receiving formal education tripled in size. Although the rate of female education was rising, it remained far behind the number of males in schools. Female education in China tended to be concentrated in primary education and normal education. By 1932, a significant number of higher schools were admitting female students.

The Manchukuo government, immediately after its creation, established an Education Ministry, and began to formulate education policy. From 1932 to 1937 the total number of girls in secondary education remained stagnant, even going down in 1935 and 1936 [1]. However, the Japanese-controlled Manchuria regime devoted considerable attention to female education. It set up a specialized curriculum and published textbooks specifically for girls, with the purpose of training girls to become "good wives and wise mothers".

35 Over the course of the state's existence, Japanese occupiers adjusted the 36 educational systems to meet the changing demands of the colonial state. From the state 37 founding in 1932 until the end of 1937 they retained much of the style of the previous 38 Republic of China education system, although some content was deleted, such as the 39 nationalist "Three People's Principles". In 1937, the government instituted a full reform of the 40 education system, which was enacted in April 1938. The 1938 reform, called the "New 41 Education System (Shingakusei)", revamped the education system, as well as the curriculums 42 and core education principles. The Manchukuo government instituted another large-scale 43 change when the Pacific War broke out. In December of 1942, Manchukuo government 44 issued its "Basic National Principles" and made changes in the curriculum. [2]

45 Most previous scholarship on Manchukuo education has looked at its general goals, 46 and very little has been done on female education. Yamamuro Shin'ichi emphasized the 47 puppet nature of Manchukuo education [3]. Nomura Akira pointed out that Manchukuo 48 education was essentially "assimilation education" [4]. Likewise, Northeast Normal University's 49 "Wei Manzhouguo Nuhua Jiaoyu" argued that the Manchukuo education was "slave 50 education" [5]. The Chinese historians Qi Hongshen [6], Qu Tiehua [7], Wang Yeping[2], Wu 51 Qiang [8] and Wang Zhixin [9] continued to emphasize the "enslaving" nature of education, 52 but went on to do more detailed study of specific aspects, such as examining the educational 53 policies, system, textbook contents, and the training of teachers. Qi Hongshen collected 54 testimonies of Chinese who had been teachers or students in Manchukuo, and found that one 55 of the main efforts of the puppet regime was to change the students' national identities, trying 56 to use a manufactured Manchukuo national identity to replace identification with China [6]. Wu 57 Qiang wrote about how the Manchukuo government textbook policy developed, and 58 concluded that the government's first effort was to identify and censor previous Chinese 59 textbooks and then turned its efforts towards compiling new textbooks to fit the colonial needs 60 [8]. Andrew Hall examined the development of education goals over different periods by 61 analyzing the writings of Japanese colonial language educators, and analyzing Japanese62 language textbooks, education journals, and postwar memoirs [10]. While these works
63 provide a solid framework of the history of Manchuria education, however, they at best only
64 briefly touched on female education.

65 There are a few lesser known studies that have examined aspects of Manchukuo 66 female education. They can be divided into two groups, those that looked at the history 67 through the writings and actions of the students, and those that focused on government 68 policies. The first group, works by Du Xueyuan [11], Wang Jingsong [12], and Zhao Yan[13], 69 examined female education by analyzing female students' articles and resistance activities. 70 Both Wang Jingsong [12] and Zhao Yan [13] studied Manchukuo female education by 71 analyzing females' essays in school journals and education journals. Zhao claimed that the 72 Manchukuo female curriculum was set up to reduce female knowledge levels and propagate 73 feudal moral concepts [13]. However, Zhao explained female curriculum in only general terms. 74 Wang concluded that the school journals and official media contributed to the spread of 75 colonial culture, and how the regime tried to replace the previously influential May Fourth 76 Movement feminist ideology of "new women", which called for equality of the sexes and 77 freedom of choice in marriage, with a national ideology of "Good Wives and Wise Mothers" 78 [13]. Du Xueyuan focused on female student resistance against the regime [11].

79 The second group is made up of works which analyze government policies, 80 documents, and education system. Su Lin and Sasaki Kei discussed the ideological purposes 81 of Manchukuo female education was to train girls to become "good wives and wise mothers", 82 although the article included few details on how they tried to achieve those goals [14]. Cai 83 Yaqi discussed how the state sought to mold female character during wartime by using school 84 education, women's patriotic groups, and propaganda, but did try to analyze female education 85 curriculums [15]. Both Shinbo Atsuko [16] and Liu Guobing[17] studied female education in 86 Mongolian regions of the country. Again, none of these studies focused on female secondary 87 education curriculum. This paper analyzes female secondary school curriculums made by the 88 Manchukuo government during the three periods, links them to Japan's larger imperialist 89 goals, and examines Japanese intentions concerning the roles that Chinese women could 90 play in the empire.

91

92 2. METHODOLOGY

This study examines female secondary school curriculum before and during the Manchukuo period, including subjects taught and classroom hours, over three periods: 1) 1926-1937, 2) 1938-1941 and 3) 1941-1945. The data of this study come from material compiled by Fengtian Female Normal School [18] and the Manchukuo provincial education journal *Fengtian Education* [19]. This study tries to open a new way to understand females who lived in Japanese-controlled Manchuria, and thereby understand how this education impacted the thinking about women's roles in Northeast China.

101 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS: THE CHANGING CURRICULUM OF FEMALE 102 EDUCATION IN COLONISED MANCHURIA

103 **3.1 Education on Language and Confucian Morals (1926-1937)**

There is no known set curriculum for Manchukuo female secondary schools in the 105 1932-1937 period, but there are records of the 1932 curriculum for the Fengtian Provincial 106 First Female Lower Secondary School. This can be compared to the curriculum of the 107 Fengtian Female Normal School in 1926. The curriculum was changed in ways to coincide 108 with the regime's goals (Table 1).

109

110 Table 1. Curriculums of female education in 1926 [18] and 1932 [19]

1926 Fengtian Female Normal School	Classroom hours/ week	1932 Fengtian Provincial First Female Lower Secondary School	Classro om hours/ week	Units for each term	Total classroom time/ term
Foreign Ianguage	6	English	3	7	21
National language	6	Japanese Chinese	6 6	7 7	42 42
Civics	1	Morality Filial Piety	1 3	7 1	7 3
Mix math	6	Mencius Math Algebra	4 6 5	1 4 2	4 24 10
Mix science	2	Geometry Science	5 3	1 3	5 9
History	2	Nature History and	2 4	7	14 28
Geography Music Physical	2 1	Geography Music and physical	3	6	18
education Art	3 1	education Art	1	7	7
Handicraft	1	Zuo Ye (Handiwork, Household Affairs)	3	7	21
Vocational Guidance	1	Self-study	8	١	8
Health Total	2 34	Total	63		234

111

Using the data in Table 1, the changes in emphases in female education curriculum in 113 1932 will be examined. First, in 1932, some subjects were separated into two or three subjects, illustrating their importance to the government. For instance, the foreign language

course (which in 1926 meant teaching English) was divided into Japanese and Englishlanguage courses, making Japanese language instruction a key part of the curriculum.

117 Morals instruction increased significantly in 1932. In 1926, "Civic Studies" was taught 118 only one hour a week, and only for second and third graders. In 1932, this class was divided 119 into three separate courses, "Morality", "Filial Piety "and "Mencius". "Morality" was taught one 120 hour a week, in all grades. In addition, the special Confucian courses of "Filial Piety" and 121 "Mencius" were added. Furthermore, in 1933 the Fengtian Provincial Female Lower 122 Secondary School issued a revised curriculum that increased the academic hours of 123 "Mencius". This demonstrates female education's shift from a Republic of China-based civics 124 education to one which focused on traditional Confucian classics.

The "Handicraft" course was changed into "Zuo Ye", which refereed more specifically to female-marked activities such as cooking, sewing, and managing household affairs. Female students were expected to learn more about family life skills than professional skills, so that they could adapt responsibility as housewives, rather than train for a handicrafts job outside of the home. Furthermore, the "Zuo Ye" class was taught three hours a week, which was triple the amount handicraft was taught in 1926.

Second, some of the subjects were merged into a single subject. For example, the courses of "History" and "Geography" were merged into one course named "History and Geography", and the courses of "Music" and "Physical Education" were merged into "Music and Physical Education". The teaching time of history and geography did not change, but the teaching time for "Music and Physical Education" decreased by one hour every week.

Third, some of subjects were deleted. For example, the contents of "Health" were deleted or added into "Household Affairs". The "Civics" curriculum was changed to "Morality", and the content changed. The 1926 "Civics" curriculum focused on the ideology of "Three People Principles", which was the guiding nationalist ideology of the Republic of China, and included content critical of Japan. So it is not surprising that it was deleted after the Manchuria Incident.

Furthermore, "Vocational Guidance," which was taught in the third year of second female education in 1926, was also deleted in 1932. It was probably deleted because female students were only expected to take charge of family affairs in the home or work as teachers in school, so giving vocational guidance for female students was probably considered to go against the state's goals.

147 Comparing the 1926 and 1932 curriculum systems (Table 1), the courses of national 148 language, foreign language and math were equally emphasized in 1926 and in 1932. But the 149 proportion of handcraft curriculum increased from 3% to 8%, a significant expansion. Other 150 subjects that also saw increases can be seen as being important to the state. These include 151 the subjects of "Japanese Language", "Morality", "Filial Piety", "Mencius" and "Household 152 affairs". Female students were expected to cultivate three skills: speaking and using the 153 Japanese language, having correct morals, especially filial piety and understanding Mencius' 154 teachings, and having the skills to take charge of housework. Some basic science instruction

155 was retained, allowing female students advance with the times. Other courses, such as 156 "Nature", "Science", "History and Geography", and "Music and Sports" were framed as helping 157 female students to gain the abilities to nurture their family, to educate their children, and to 158 accept and love their new state. Subjects that could waste energy or mislead female students, 159 such as "Civics" and "Vocational Guidance", were deleted.

160 Clearly the female education curriculum paid more attention to Japanese language 161 education, the Confucian classics, and domestic education after Manchuria Incident. The 162 Manchukuo government clearly wanted to train female students to be "good wives and wise 163 mothers". The one avenue open to women outside of the home was to become a teacher. In 164 short, female education was more liberal and comprehensive in 1926, but more narrow and 165 restricted in 1932-1937.

166 **3.2 Education on Vocational and Practical Training (1937-1942)**

167 In 1937 the Manchukuo government announced a "new education system", a 168 thoroughgoing reform of all Manchukuo education, including female secondary education. 169 The reform adjusted the school ages, lowering the ages in which girls were admitted to 170 elementary and secondary schools. The previous two-level system of lower secondary 171 schools and higher secondary schools, both of which were three-year schools, were 172 synthesized into a single-level school named "National High School". After issuing of the "new 173 education system" in 1937, some of the weaker schools were demoted to being "vocational 174 schools" [5].

175

Curric	ulum	Grade 1	Grade2	Grade 3	Grade4	Percentage of curriculum in Grades 3 and 4
National	Japanese Chinese	6	6	6	6	16%
language	or Mongolia n	3	3	3	3	8%
National Morality		2	2	2	2	5%
Math		3	3	١	١	0
Science		4	4	١	١	0
History and Geography		4	4	١	١	0
Music		2	2	2	2	5%
Physical		2	2	2	2	5%
Art		1	1	1	1	3%
Sewing		5	5	8	8	21%
Vocational	Lecture	2	2	2	3	13%
Training	Practice	-	-	2	3	. 370

176 Table 2. Female National High School curriculum hours, 1938 (Hours/week) [5]

Household	Lecture	2	2	3	4	18%
Affairs	Practice	2	2	3	4	1070
Education		1	1	2	2	6%
Total		38	38	38	38	

177

178 Several changes can be found by comparing Table 2 with Table 1. First of all, the 179 curriculum of "Morality" was changed into "National Morality". "National Morality" was taught 180 one hour more a week than the 1932 "Morality" class. The separate traditional morality 181 classes, "Filial Piety" and "Mencius", were eliminated. The "New Education System" also 182 marked the Japanese language's rise in status from a "foreign language" to one of the 183 "national languages". The English language course was deleted, and Japanese was classified 184 as one of two "National language" courses, along with Chinese (called "Manchurian" [manyu]) 185 or Mongolian. The academic hours allotted to Japanese language instruction was increased 186 from three hours to six hours every week. In contrast, the curriculum of "Manchurian" or 187 Mongolian was set at just three hours every week. The regime clearly emphasized Japanese 188 language instruction more than the Chinese and Mongolian languages.

The subject "Music and Sports" was re-separated. Each subject was given two hours every week, an increase from the three total hours in 1932. The 1932 drop in time may reflect a return to a more traditional view of women not participating in these activities, while the 192 1936 rise may indicate the growing influence of the Japanese female education philosophy, which emphasized improving female health and perseverance.

Academic hours of "Mathematics" were cut in half from the 1932 level, from 6 to 3 hours. Academic hours of "Science" were increased by one or two hours every week. However, the "Mathematics", "Science" and "History and Geography" courses only existed in the first and secondary year. The government appears to have felt that women did not need to gain a deeper knowledge of these subjects. Basic knowledge, which may be used in family and daily life, was enough for them.

200 It is noteworthy that "Zuo Ye" (Handicrafts) was divided into two independent courses: 201 "Household Affairs" and "Sewing". "Household Affairs" and "Sewing" were taught for four 202 hours and five hours per week, respectively. Therefore, the academic time of "Zuo Ye" tripled 203 from three hours to nine hours per week. What is more, the academic hours were increased 204 to fifteen hours per week in the third and fourth years. In these years, these subjects were 205 taught five times the amount that they were taught in 1932. The subjects "Household Affairs" 206 and "Sewing" took up large proportions of female secondary education. Female students were 207 expected to acquire knowledge and skills for nurturing the family, including conserving the 208 country's precious resources. They would also be encouraged to use their domestic skills to 209 directly serve the country, such as helping to sew soldier's uniforms.

Besides these changes, the curriculums of "Shi Ye" (Vocational Training) and Education" were added into female education in 1937. "Shi Ye", which included theoretical and practical courses, was taught for two hours per week in the first and second year and five hours per week in the third and fourth year. "Education" was taught two hours per week in the 214 last two years for female students, to prepare students to become teachers. These vocational 215 education courses indicate that despite the greater emphasis on domestic training, the 216 government was also becoming more open to women working outside of the home.

217 In general, the 1937 academic hours for female students increased five hours per week 218 beyond the 1932 levels. In addition, while the most emphasized subjects in 1932 were 219 national language, foreign language and mathematics, the most emphasized subjects in 1937 220 were Japanese language, "Household Affairs", "Sewing", and "Vocational Training". Academic 221 hours for mathematics, science, history, and geography were cut down and shifted into 222 learning household affairs, sewing skills and practical training. Furthermore, time for learning 223 English language was diverted into Japanese language learning. Japanese language, sewing, 224 handicrafts, and vocational education were the primary knowledge the government wanted 225 females taught from 1938 to 1942.

3.3 Education on New National spirit, Physical Training, and Off-Campus Labor (1943-1945)

The Manchukuo government again revised the curriculum in 1943, with significant changes in three areas: history and morality education, physical education, and vocational education. History and geography were curtailed and folded into morality education to create a new "Founding Spirit" course. "Physical Training" replaced the earlier "Physical Education", moving away from sports, and towards military training and obedience. While there was a slight decrease in classroom instruction of vocational education, there was a significant increase in off-campus hands-on labor.

235 **3.3.1 "Founding Spirit**"

236

In 1943 the regime created the new course, "Founding Spirit," for the female national
high schools. It was created by combining the courses "National Morality" and "History and
Geography" [20].

240 Manchukuo education official Hikari Yasuhiro's explained the logic behind combining 241 the two old courses into a new "Founding Spirit" course by discussing these two old courses' 242 objectives: "The course of 'National Morality' was to teach students Manchukuo's position and 243 mission in the world, and comprehend the essence of "Founding Spirit" completely [21]. The 244 course of 'History and Geography' was to teach students more details about the development 245 of culture and the current situation of Manchukuo, Japan and other key countries all over the 246 world, and to make a stable foundation for the development of "Founding Spirit". ... So it is 247 reasonable to combine these two courses into one. ... Both a "Founding Spirit" textbook and a 248 "National Situation" textbook will be used in the new course "Founding Spirit" [21].

Kazuo Isoda has noted, "Because of [Japan's] defeats in the war, the planned
"National Foundation" textbook . . . was never published...The "National Situation" textbook
has not yet been found, so it is difficult to find more information about it [20]." However,
Manchukuo education official Nagao Gunta wrote in 1943 about the contents of the two new

253 textbooks. "National Situation" was to include material about Manchukuo and the wartime 254 situation, and "Nation Foundation" which was to focus on morality, particularly loyalty to the 255 state [22]. On the new "Founding Spirit", he wrote, "1) the basic points of the course are the 256 foundation of country and the purpose of imperial edicts. 2) The goal of the course "Founding 257 Spirit" is to train students become a loyal citizens who could understand the meaning of 258 "Founding Spirit" and have a new view on Manchukuo ... 4) The citizens' moral cultivation 259 and practical training should meet the special needs of our country, both its comprehensive 260 and practical needs [22]." According to Nagao, the "National Situation" textbook, which 261 replaced earlier history textbooks, would largely ignore the region's pre-1931 history, 262 including the Manchukuo Emperor's own ancestral Qing dynastic history. Instead, it would 263 focus on the state's practical needs. Students were expected to become loyal subjects of 264 Manchukuo, understand the wartime situation as the government presented it, and cooperate 265 with the war aims of a united Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

266

267 **3.3.2 "Physical Training"**

268 In the new education act in 1943, the course "Physical Education" was changed to "Ti 269 Lian", or "Physical Training". Hikari Yasuhiro expounded the goals of the course "Ti Lian" in 270 detail: "This course should try to build up a strong constitution and active personality based on 271 the students' body and mental situation, and pay high attention on national group training, 272 obedience to rules, coordination, responsibility, and other good gualities for training nationals." 273 [21]. He continued, "It is done in order to foster citizens with pure honesty and loyalty, and 274 improve their ability for the national defense. "[21] Female secondary education also included 275 this "Physical training" course. "Physical Training" was different from "Physical education"; it 276 placed a greater emphasis on military training and obedience, while nothing was mentioned 277 about playing sports. Female secondary education not only had the purpose to strengthen 278 students' bodies, but also intended to prepare the girls to be able to support the military in 279 wartime.

280 "Physical Training" was considered just as important as any of the other subjects. 281 The Manchukuo government wanted female students not merely to acquire basic modern life 282 knowledge and skills but also to build healthy bodies and obedience at the same time. There 283 was 2 hours per week arranged for Physical Education in Middle schools in 1936. In 1938, it 284 remained 2 hours. But in the 1943 system, it was increased to 3 hours per week for National 285 High Schools and Female National High Schools [23]. The emphasis can be seen in the 286 creation of special physical training days. Under the 1943 Ministry of Education regulations, 287 special all-day vocational and physical training sessions were created. The boy's National 288 High Schools spent 45 days a year on vocational and physical training, while the Girls 289 National High Schools spent 20 days a year, or 9% of school days, on vocational and physical 290 training. Clearly the normal study time for students was significantly reduced, and greater 291 weight given to physical training and labor service.

292 **3.3.3 "Shi Wu"** 293

294 For the third point, in National High Schools and Female National High Schools, 295 another new course, "Shi Wu" was created by combining five courses: "Education", 296 "Household Affairs", "Sewing", "Handicrafts", and "Shi Ye" (Vocational Training)[21]. The 297 objective of the new course "Shi Wu" was "vocational training' with the purpose of educating 298 and training students in daily life knowledge and skills, help them to adapt the environment, 299 cultivate in them a diligent spirit, guide them understand their duty, and teach them to devote 300 themselves to the public. Now we all know Manchukuo education need to develop its 301 vocational education characteristics . . . So we decided to combine these courses into one 302 course [21]." That is to say, the new course "Shi Wu" had three main goals: 1) Modern 303 knowledge: it would train students to become modern females who keep up with changes in 304 daily life skills. 2) Diligent spirit: it would train students in traditional female morality; 3) Public 305 devotion: it would cultivate students' ability to recognize their responsibilities to devote 306 themselves to the country by doing work.

307 In another article, the textbook editor Fu Xizhen wrote about female education, 308 particularly on the course "Shi Wu" in the Female National Higher School. "The objective of 309 the course "Shi Wu" was established based on the reality of national life, with the aims to 310 educate and train students with knowledge and skills of household affairs, train the students 311 in research and creativity skills, and let them use these skills on their own. Meanwhile, this 312 course should train them in the good morals of diligence and thrift, and train them with good 313 habits, such as compliance with orders, cleanliness, and obeying public morality." [24] She 314 pointed out two more key points on the course "Shi Wu": training in research and creativity 315 skills, and the good habits of thrift and other public morals. Fu Xizheng stated, "The course 316 'Shi Wu' could be taught in three sections: 1) Household affairs and Farm work; 2) Parenting 317 and Education; 3) Sewing and Handicrafts." [24].

So, while "Household Affairs", "Sewing" and "Vocational Training" were emphasized
in female middle schools in 1937, female students in 1943 were also expected to learn farm
work.

321 In 1937, the course of "Vocational Training" in female secondary education trained 322 students for a specific set of vocational opportunities, such as being a teacher, clerk, or 323 secretary, which required mental work, but not hard physical labor. But in 1943, Kai Guilu, the 324 chancellor of Xinjing No. 2 Female High School, commented, "To resolve the shortage of 325 labor, women should work in society to take place of men. Some jobs such as mechanical 326 workers and operators can be done by women." [25] Kai's comments indicate the contents of 327 the "Vocational Training" course in 1943 became wider and more diverse. It had come to 328 include training females to do jobs which required physical labor.

Vocational education time in secondary education rose significantly in 1938, going from two hours per week for each grade in 1932, to 12 to 21 hours a week in the 1938 system [23]. In 1943, the number hours for "Shi Wu" decreased to 10 to 12 hours a week. However, at this same time a new program of "whole day internship" was created, in which secondary

333 students spent as many as 15 7-hour days on hands-on projects outside of the school 334 grounds, for a total of 105 additional hours a year. Therefore, although classroom vocational 335 education may have decreased, the amount of total time spent on vocational training actually 336 increased greatly under the 1943 system.

A second education reform in 1943 aimed to prepare students to contribute to the war effort in a more concentrated fashion. Vocational education, forced student labor, and, surprisingly, a more student-focused, flexible education approach were all seen as ways of training women to take an active part in the war effort, and not just prepare them for domestic roles.

342 **4. Conclusions**

Female secondary education focused on three aspects to training female students as new "Good wives and wise mothers": 1) Modern science and technology education: the building of modern family under the wartime system, including the value of thrift. 2) Labor education. Under the wartime system, female was trained to have diligent ability and more professional skills to work for the national production. 3) Ideological education. Female education tried to encourage students to value the state and its ties to Japan.

349 Under the wartime system, a new concept of "Good wives and wise mothers" for 350 female secondary education developed based on the interests of country and the needs of 351 the war. In 1932 the focus of female education shifted to a greater emphasis on duty to family, 352 and then by 1943 it had shifted to a greater emphasis on duty to country. For instance, the 353 course of house economics were no longer training females how to increase the quality of life 354 for the family as it did before, but instead trained them how to save more resources for the 355 country and society. What is more, the needs of the war caused the rhetoric to change in a 356 way in which females were encouraged to find an occupation, not for their own personal 357 fulfillment, but for the contribution they could make for the country. The people were being 358 mobilized for war, and many men had left their positions to serve in the military. Women, 359 therefore, were being asked to serve the state both by taking up some of the roles that men 360 had played.

361

362 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not have been possible without the financial support of the China
 Scholarship Council. I am especially indebted to Dr. Andrew Hall who has provided insightful
 discussion.

366 367

368 **REFERENCES**

- 3691.Wenwen, Wang. Overall trends of female secondary education in Manchukuo. In Hall370Andrew and Tingshi, Jin (Ed.), Education History in Manchuria and Korea: An371International Approach. Fukuoka: Hana Press. 2016; 101-111.372Wenwen, Wang. Overall trends of female secondary education in Manchukuo. In Hall
- Wang Yeping. Dongbei lunxian shisi nian jiaoyu shi [Fourteen-year Educational History of the Occupied Northeast]. Jilin Education Press. 1989; 74. Chinese.

374	3.	Yamamuro Shin'ichi. Manchuria under Japanese Dominion. Philadelphia: University of
375	J .	Pennsylvania Press; 2006.
376	4.	Akira Nomura. Kyū "Manshūkoku" no kōminkakyōiku The assimilation education of old
377	ч.	"Manchukuo"]. Educational Research.1987; 22: 15. Japanese.
378	5.	Department of Education of Northeast Normal University. Wei Manzhouguo nuhua
379	0.	jiaoyu [The slave education of 'Manchukuo']. Changchun: Northeast Normal University
380		Press; 1951. Chinese.
381	<mark>6.</mark>	Qi Hongshen. Riben gin hua Jiaoyu shi [The Education History of Japanese Invasion
382	0.	China]. Beijing: People's Education Press; 2004. Chinese.
383	7.	Qu Tiehua, Liang Qing. Riben ginhua jiaoyu guan shi [The Whole Education History of
384	7.	Japanese Invasion China]. Beijing: People's Education Press; 2005. Chinese.
385	8.	Wu Qiang. Dongbei lunxian shisi nian jiaoyu shiliao [Fourteen Years Educational
386	0.	History of the Colonized Northeast]. Changchun: Jilin Education Press; 1989. Chinese.
387	9.	Wang Zhixin. Nihon no shokuminchi kyōiku Chūgoku kara no shiten [Japan's Colonial
388	<u>.</u>	Education: A Viewpoint from China]. Social Review Press 1261; 2000. Japanese.
389	10.	
390	10.	in Manchukuo. The Journal of Asian Studies. 2009; 3: 895-925.
391	11.	Du Xueyuan. Zhongguo nuzi jiaoyu tongshi [General History of Women's Education in
392		China]. Guizhou: Guizhou Education Press; 1996. Chinese.
393	12.	•
394		i qi cunzai yujing [Women's New Literature and Its Context of Existence in the Campus
395		Cultural of Puppet Manchukuo]. Collection of Women's Studies. 2008; 6: 50-58.
396		Chinese.
397	13.	Zhao Yan. Cong "Xingren Jikan" guankui weiman chuqi nuxing jiaoyu [Female
398		education of the puppet Manchukuo in the early period: Study on the journal Xingren
399		Quarterly]. Lantai World. 2015; 4: 73-74. Chinese.
400	<mark>14</mark> .	Su Lin, Šasaki Kei. 'Manshūkoku' ni okeru chūgokujin joshi kyōiku[Chinese girls'
401		education in "Manchukuoka"]. Hayakawa Noriyo, Egami Sachiko, Kato Chikako, YI
402		HyongNang (Ed.), Higashiajia no kokumin kokka keisei to jendā: Josei-zō o megutte
403		[Formation of National States of East Asia and Gender]. Tokyo: Aigi Bookstore. 2007;
404		311-325. Japanese.
405	<mark>15</mark> .	
406		[Making Shadows of the War: Women's Mobilization in Manchukuo (1932-1945)].
407		Taipei: Taipei National History Museum. 2010; 99-111. Chinese.
408	<mark>16</mark> .	
409		kokumin kōtō gakkō o chūshin to shite [Mongolian female youth education in
410		Manchukuo: Centering on Xin'an Female National High School]. East Asian Studies.
411	47	2008; 50: 3-17. Japanese.
412	17.	Liu Guobing. Manshū-koku-ka no Tai mōkominzoku kyōiku seisaku ni kansuru
413		ichikōsatsu kyō-yasu joshi kokumin kōtō gakkō ni okeru kyōiku no jirei o chūshin ni.
414		[An investigation of Mongolian ethnic education policy in Manchukuo: education in
415		Xingan Female National High School]. Annals of Educational Research. 2007; 53: 40-
416 417	10	45. Japanese.
417	18.	
410		xiaoxue mengyang yuan yilan [A-Glance on Fengtian Female Normal School and Its
419	10	Primary School and Kindergarten]; 1926. Chinese.
420 421	19.	The Fengtian First Female Secondary School. Shiwu ke zhongdneg xuexiao
421	20	(nuzi)[Embodiments of labor education]. Founding Education. 1933; 6: 9-10. Chinese.
422	20.	Isoda, Kazuo. Kōkoku no sugata o otte: Kyōkasho ni miru shokuminchi kyōiku bunka-
423 424		shi [Following "The Imperial Formation": History of Colonial Education and Culture in
424	21	Textbooks]. Tokyo: Yotei Press. 1999; 294. Japanese.
425 426	21.	Hikari Yasuhiro. Guanyu xuexiao guicheng gaizheng zhi yaodian [Revised points of
420 427	າາ	school regulations]. Founding Education. 1943; 1:11-12. Chinese.
427 428	22.	Nagao Gunta. Jianguo jingshen ke zhongdeng xuexiao (jianguo jingshen) [Founding
428 429		spirit and secondary schools (founding spirit)]. Founding Education. 1943; 1: 24-29.
429 430	^ 2	Chinese. Ou Tichua Liang Oing, Bibon ginhua iizovu guan shi ITha Whole Education History of
430 431	23.	Qu Tiehua, Liang Qing. Riben qinhua jiaoyu quan shi [The Whole Education History of Japanese Invasion China]. Beijing: People's Education Press. 2005: 160-165. Chinese.
431	24	Fu Xizhen. Shiwu ke zhongdeng xuexiao (nuzi) [The subject of physics in female
432	24.	secondary school]. Founding Education. 1943; 1: 57. Chinese.
733		Secondary schools. Founding Education. $13+3$, T. 37. OHHESE.

434 25. Kai Guilu. Nuzi jiaoyu: Zhan shi tizhi xia de r	nuzi jiaoyu [Female education: female
435 education in the wartime system]. Founding	Education. 1943; 2:16. Chinese.
436	
437	