State and Food in South Korea : moulding the national diet in wartime and beyond

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Chapter Six
Home Economics

> The discipline of home economics created a class of trained women with disciplinary and managerial skills who worked to transform the most fundamental of political spaces, the home, and who invested deeply in instilling new, modern ideas in the inhabitants of that space, the families of the nation.
>
> (Schneider 2011: 3)

Home economics emerged in industrializing nineteenth-century western nation states coincidently with the development of nutritional science. As part of nutritional strategies through which the states sought to economically manage societies and people's health – the physical strength for production capacity and potential soldiers – the modern scientific discipline disseminated stimulated by the governmental policies. In general, as observed by Schneider, the political connotations of home economics education have been largely overlooked by scholars due to the subject's perceived close link to the female domain and the 'private' sphere of life – food, clothing and shelter. However, the discipline was a definite field in which political actors pursued their agenda which addressed how best to save the nation, how to understand women's contributions to society, and how to efficiently and rationally manage and develop people (Schneider 2011: 3).

While the home economics education in Korea was initiated by American Protestant missionaries with explicit religious purpose, it disseminated under the highly politicised climate during the first half of the twentieth century Korea. As a scientific education of Korean women, on the one hand, the modern discipline was wholeheartedly accepted by Korean nationalist leaders who believed in the importance of women as good homemakers in their pursuit of sovereignty and modernity for Korea. On the other, to reform domestic life of Koreans, the foundation for the stability of colonial administration, through home economics, was also a highly political project for the

Japanese colonial government.

This chapter aims to document the role of home economics as a vehicle for social control by the state. In the first section, I will examine the emergence of home economics in Korea stimulated by the efforts of three actors, American missionaries, Korean intellectuals, and the colonial state. The focus is placed on the construction of the *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* 賢母良妻 (wise mother, good wife) ideology as the modern scientific motherhood promoted in parallel with home economics education. In the following section, I will demonstrate the growing importance of home economics to the Japanese government by showing the authorities' accelerating efforts to disseminate the scientific concept of the discipline as a vital instrument in executing wartime food-saving policies. By doing so, I will argue home economics was exploited by the state as political tool to maintain control over the diet of colonial Koreans during Japan's war years of the 1930s and 1940s.

6.1 Constructing the Modern Identity of A Scientific Housewife: *Hyŏnmo Yangch'ŏ*

The Introduction of Home Economics and Christian Domesticity

> It was May 31, 1886, when a young Korean woman, a Mrs. Kim, asked Mrs. Scranton to educate her. Mrs. Kim, a concubine of a Korean official, secretly visited Mrs. Scranton for fear of being seen by the neighbours. It was Mrs. Kim's husband who wanted her to learn English with the hope that she could be a translator for Queen Min. Mrs. Scranton tried her best to teach this first student, but Mrs. Kim quit her study after only three months. Mrs Scranton, however, was not discouraged, for a student entered at the end of June. This young girl was brought by her mother, whose family was poor; at least at the school her daughter would be eating properly. Shortly after, the neighbours accused the girl's mother of being a bad parent and she began to regret her decision. They told her that the missionary might take the girl to America, frightening the mother into wanting her daughter back. But Mrs. Scranton did not give up this precious student so easily. She did everything possible to persuade the mother. Finally, the mother acquiesced after Mrs. Scranton gave her a written pledge that she would never take any Korean girl

out of the country.

(Lee 1989: 11-12)

In June 1885, a few years after the first Korean-American Commercial Treaty of 1882, the first group of American missionaries was sent to Korea from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. Mary Fletcher Scranton (1832-1909), one of the members of the party, was the first female missionary sent by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. In 1886, she founded Ewha Girls' School (*Ewha Haktang*), the very first school for girls in Korea. The school became the first women's college in 1910, and until 1938, when the Sookmyŏng three-year college opened, Ewha remained the only four-year private college for women in Korea (Conrow 1956: 11; Park J. 1990: 536). The American missionaries broke a long tradition of no formal education programmes for Korean women, and had a significant impact on the development of home economics education in Korea.

Although the ultimate goal of the missionaries was to spread Christianity among the Korean people, the initial enterprises open to them were to found schools and start medical practices; missionary work was not permitted by the Korean government (Son I. S. 1971: 15). Known as 'the Hermit Kingdom', foreigners were not welcomed in Korea due to its history of national isolationism. The missionaries had to be cautious and patient in carrying out their religious mission. The Protestant missionaries were well aware of the execution in 1866 of nine French missionaries and 8,000 Catholic converts for their attempts to enact religious change (Yoo 2008: 45). Because their collective memory of these destructive persecutions was the only knowledge of Westerners that the Korean's had, Korean people did not trust Christianity, and were suspicious of and feared contact with missionaries. The incident between Mrs Scranton and the mother of her second student cited at the beginning of this section clearly demonstrates the ill feeling Korean people felt towards Westerners.

Finding it difficult to gain the trust of Koreans, Mrs Scranton thought that education would be the only way to win the hearts of the people and authorities in Korea. She made great efforts to provide high-level government officials with a better understanding of their educational situation and the pioneering work which the

missionaries were trying to initiate in Korea. As a result, Mrs Scranton gradually won the Koreans' favour. In 1887, King Kojong (r. 1863-1907) gave the name *Ewha Haktang* (Pear Blossom School) to her school as a token of his approval of the institution (Lee 1989: 8, 14). From this time on, people's initial suspicion of the school and Westerners gradually disappeared, and they came to recognize Ewha's good treatment of its students. This growing reputation increased the number of girls enrolled: by 1899, Ewha had 47 girls studying there (Yoo 2008: 49). Even after Ewha became a fee-paying school at the turn of the century, it continued to boom: as of 1910 there were 177 students enrolled at Ewha who willingly paid all or part of their tuition and boarding fee (Choi 2009a: 92).

Ewha's success was the outcome of well-calculated efforts to develop missionary work to avoid it clashing with the Korean culture, which was rooted in Confucianism. This required, first of all, that the Americans maintained Korean practices and showed respect for Korean culture, including the segregation of men and women in time and space. For example, girls' Sunday schools took place separately from those for boys and a special evening service was scheduled for women in which a curtain was hung to separate the minister from his female audience. In addition, L-shaped churches were built so that men and women could attend the same worship service but sit in separate wings (Yoo 2008: 47).

A further factor in the popularization of missionary education was the school's educational aim of creating model Korean housewives. The goal set by the school was not to westernize the students, but to 'make Korean girls better Korean girls and true Korean women' (Lee 1989: 11). This was partly avowed in an attempt to escape from the repression of the Korean government, and partly to gain the acceptance of Koreans who did not want their daughters to abandon Korean tradition to follow a western lifestyle. This educational principle was wholeheartedly accepted by the majority of Korean male intellectuals who advocated an education in motherhood for Korean women (Choi 2009a: 87).

The domestic education of Americans was grounded in the Victorian 'cult of domesticity' which was consistent with the idea of Korean traditional mores in as far as it designated the home as the woman's sphere. According to the attributes of True

Womanhood, which dominated nineteenth-century North America, domesticity was one of the four cardinal virtues of women, along with piety, purity and submissiveness (Welter 1966: 152). This concept was created to fit with religious values in a materialistic society in which values were rapidly changing amid social and economic instability. At the heart of the home, which was deemed the most 'proper' and 'safe' place for them, women were expected to comfort and cheer their husbands and sons, fulfilling their roles as wives and mothers with religious faith. The true dignity of the female character was the result of the correct understanding and faithful performance of social and familial duties. The reformation of women and their households was considered to be the missionaries' task and the beginning of the reformation of the world (Ibid.: 152-153, 162-163). Based on this idea, American women missionaries saw their task as 'women's work for women'. They engaged in evangelism by getting involved in social services as teachers, nurses and social workers in non-Christian countries, with the ultimate aim of opening up 'heathen lands' to the 'full light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ' (Choi 2009a: 52-53; Hill 1985: 4). Home economics was the most suitable educational programme for the American missionaries to implement.

Home economics, also known as domestic science, emerged as housewifery education in industrialising western societies, including America, in the latter half of the nineteenth century. With increasing importance placed on the health of the workers required to maintain economic productivity, the scientific aspect of diet – proper nutrition – drew the attention of the capitalist class and the governments (Kim H. G. 2006: 81-82; Kamminga and Cunningham 1995: 1-2). By the late nineteenth century, domestic science had become a part of the university curriculum as a result of the systematic efforts of educated women who were motivated by eagerness for housekeeping to be recognized as a profession. The name 'home economics' was given to the new discipline by American domestic scientists at a historic conference held at Lake Placid in northern New York state in September 1899. According to Ellen Richards (1842-1911), a pioneer of home economics in the US, 'home' stands for 'the place for the shelter and nurture of children or for the development of self-sacrificing qualities and of strength to meet the world' and 'economics' means the 'management of this home on economic lines as to time and energy as well as to money' (Shapiro 1986: 176-177).

The female missionaries had a shared perception that cultivating girls was fundamental to building a Christian home in the future, and this was why they devoted their efforts to female education (Choi 2009a: 86-87). Based on this Christian philosophy, the American women actively promoted Korean girls' education, bringing this newly developed concept to Korea.

The motto of the missionaries was 'women's most important place will always be the home' (Ibid.: 100). While Ewha's curriculum included a broad range of western-oriented subjects, including arithmetic, (world) geography, physiology, biology, chemistry, English and Bible studies, the school's teaching was centred on the home and the family. Even before sewing and embroidery entered the formal curriculum in 1896, the teaching of household management was carried out by using the system of boarding to educational advantage. In the girls' dormitories, which had the latest modern conveniences such as flushing toilets, hot and cold water and imported toiletries, the students learnt about modern domesticity through daily experience. The older girls looked after the younger girls with whose care they were entrusted. Girls did the washing, needlework, dishwashing, and cleaned their rooms every Saturday. As part of educational curriculum to learn how a good hostess should behave, sometimes they organized social gatherings with snacks and invited teachers (Ewha kajŏnghak 50-yŏnsa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe[280] 1979: 34-35).

The establishment in 1929 of a Home Economics Department at Ewha marked the formal beginning of domestic science education for Korean women. Even though a housework course had already been provided prior to this, the setting up of a special department devoted entirely to home economics is considered a turning point in the history of home economics education in Korea. The department was created in response to the wishes of young male intellectuals returning from study abroad who wanted to marry the college graduates. The women, who were eager to marry them, also wanted lessons so that they would be considered well-qualified housewives who could prepare western dishes for their future husbands (Ibid.: 38). Naturally, the educational goal set for the new department was to foster professional housewives: to teach scientific home

[280] EK50P'W.

management, childcare, hygiene, nursing and entertaining, and to provide academic, scientific and technical training to improve life (Ibid.: 43-44).

The setting out of an educational curriculum for the training of professional housewives was cited as a success for the home economics department. At the first student recruitment in 1929, 32 girls were selected out of 42 applicants. As of 1936, the number of students belonging to the department had grown to 107, while there were 76 students in the music department, 64 in the childcare department and 52 in the liberal arts department. In the following year, student numbers increased even further, reaching 135 (Ibid.: 43, 69).

The founder of the department, Harriet Palmer Morris (1894-?), was one of the most influential individuals in the history of Korean home economics education. Based on her two years of experience as a home economics teacher in America after graduating from the University of Kansas, she was the first person to teach nutrition to Korean women. With the implementation of her cooking lessons in August 1921, Ewha's culinary education programme became visibly active. Her classes included lectures on nutritional knowledge and cookery training, which put the theory into practice (Ibid.: 38). Ewha's nutritional education and cookery classes using the latest cooking facilities were praised for their innovation (No C. Y. 1939: 94). Girls' skills, acquired in the classes, were practiced at meal preparation time in their own dormitories in order to gain real-life experience (EK50P'W 1979: 38-39). Students were required to spend one semester in the last year of their course in the 'Housework Training House', which was established for the practical teaching of homemaking. Through experiencing all kinds of household chores, such as managing family finances, buying ingredients, childcare, meal planning and cleaning, they gained practical domestic skills (Ibid.: 49).

A true pioneer of Korean home economics education was Pang Sin-yŏng (1890-1977), who is considered to be the founder of modern Korean cuisine. Pang was educated at Chŏngsin Girls' Higher School in Seoul, studied at Tokyo Nutrition School in 1925 and 1926, and taught for 22 years at Chŏngsin and Keijō Female Commercial School. With the foundation of the home economics department in 1929, Pang became a professor on the household management course at Ewha. Prior to her retirement in 1952, she wrote a

number of cookbooks and text-books: *Yori chebŏp* 料理製法 (Cooking Methods) in 1913, *Chosŏn yori chebŏp* 朝鮮料理製法 (Methods of Cooking Korean Food) in 1917, *Tarŭnnara ŭmsik mandŭnŭn pŏp* 다른나라음식만드는법 (Methods of Cooking Foreign Food) in 1957, and a text-book, *Chungdŭng yori silsŭp kodŭng yori silsŭp* 中等料理実習 高等料理実習 (Secondary Cooking Practices and Higher Cooking Practices) in 1958 (Han'guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn 1995: 332-323). For more than 40 years after its first publication, *Methods of Cooking Korean Food* was continuously revised and enlarged, with a 16th edition published in 1964 as *Urinara ŭmsik mandŭnŭn pŏp* 우리나라음식만드는법 (Methods of Cooking Our Country's Food) (Chŏng H. G. 2007: 165).

Pang played an invaluable role in disseminating knowledge of home economics to those beyond academic circles, reaching ordinary people through a variety of popular magazines. In an article for a women's magazine, for example, she insisted that home cooking was not merely a skill but a branch of academic learning. She argued that housewives should increase their own interest in foodstuffs and nutrition, and make the effort to study them. She emphasized the importance of applying nutritional ideas to domestic cooking by describing the function of nutrients in the human body for maintaining the health of family members and the benefits of maintaining economical domestic accounts (Pang S. Y. 1936: 36-37). In this way, educators at Ewha played a significant role in disseminating the idea of learning home economics among ordinary women.

Women educated at Ewha also had a critical impact on home economics education throughout Korea. It was not until 1938 that Ewha's graduates were certified as public school teachers by the Japanese colonial government. However, prior to this they had already been teaching in many private schools or at missionary-led educational institutions for ordinary women. For instance, at a missionary-established girls' school in the East Gate, one of 22 day schools in Seoul in 1911, a Ewha graduate offered classes to 78 students in a church basement (Yoo 2008: 50-51).

While 51 of the 81 graduates from the home economics department during the first

five years chose to become professional housewives in accordance with the goal of Ewha, 23 girls got teaching jobs at private Christian institutions (EK50P'W 1979: 54). Some of them, for example Kim Ham-na, Kim Pun-ok, and Kim Mae-bul, continued their education at Oregon State University, and returned to Ewha as professors in the 1930s (Ibid.: 210). Ewha and other missionary schools provided an important basis for the development of home economics in Korea.

However, the missionaries' educational activities in Korea failed to ensure continued success due to the Japanese colonial authorities' attempts to suppress private education. When Japan officially annexed Korea in 1910, missionaries were active in education, establishing numerous primary, secondary and higher educational institutions such as Ewha, and often stimulating the Korean people's existing educational zeal, which was connected to a burst of patriotism (Tsurumi 1984: 295).

Fearing the dissemination of nationalistic sentiment among Koreans, the Japanese authorities imposed a series of administrative restrictions on private schools in order to curtail educational activities. With the promulgation of the Private School Ordinances (*Shiritsu gakkōrei* 私立学校令) of 1908, they set various standards for school operation concerning equipment, buildings and grounds. Schools were obligated to conform to the standards, which required considerable expenditure (Yoo 2008: 62). On the basis of the School Text-book Authorization Regulations (*Kyōikuyō tosho kentei kitei* 教育用図書検定規定) and Publication Act (*Shuppanhō* 出版法) established in 1908 and 1909 respectively, text-books used in schools were put under the Japanese authorities' censorship system. As a result of these acts, many text-books (written by Korean authors) used at private schools were prohibited by the administration (Chŏn M. G. 2004: 4). By 1925, Bible studies and the teaching of history and geography by teachers not authorized by the government were banned, and lecturers were ordered to learn the Japanese language. From 1938, all the classes at Ewha had to be in Japanese and teaching was conducted through an interpreter since neither the teachers nor the girls were good at speaking Japanese (EK50P'W 1979: 67). In 1911, only 39 private institutions were recognised by the government, and between 1910 and 1925, the number of private schools fell from 1,973 to 604 (Yi Song-hŭi 2005: 21; Yoo 2008: 62-63).

However, until 1940, when all American citizens were forced to evacuate Korea as enemy nationals of Japan, the women missionaries were undoubtedly influential in spreading female education in Korea. Notwithstanding the increasing influence of the Japanese education policies, as of 1935, the girls studying at missionary schools accounted for more than 65.4 per cent of the total number of secondary-school girls, and 60 per cent of the total number of women receiving college-level education (Pak S. M. 2007: 53). The American missionaries laid the foundations for the modern scientific education of Korean women in home economics. Most importantly, they contributed to constructing an image of modern housewifery that involved managing the household scientifically and rationally. The results of American missionaries' educational activities were made possible by their organized efforts to spread Christianity in Korea; however, another important factor behind the dissemination of home economics education was the zeal of Koran people for women's education, as will be discussed in the following section.

Civilizing Domesticity, Strengthening the Country

Korea's first attempt to construct a modern educational infrastructure was made as part of the Kabo Reforms (*Kabo Kyŏngjang*), a series of major reforms led by pro-Japanese Korean officials, such as Kim Hong-jip (1842-1896), between 1894 and 1896. The reforms, which were intended to reorganize Korean society into a modern nation-state, were encouraged by Japan, which had successfully removed China's claim of suzerainty over Korea by winning the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) (Kim Y. H. 1995: 124).

By this time the need for mass education in Korea emerged as an issue. Recognizing the urgent need to modernize Korean society in order to fight Japanese aggression, in 1895 King Kojong announced the introduction of equal educational opportunities for everyone in Korea: [t]he knowledge of our people is the basis for the restoration of national power…the security of the Court and the power of the country entirely rest upon the education of our nation' (Hong Y. H. 1997: 288). The King's intention was to abolish the traditional Korean civil service examinations (*kwagŏ*) which were only open to men in the upper echelons of society (the *yangban* class) and to import a modern educational system based on the Japanese model. Beginning with the promulgation of the Primary Schools Ordinance (*Sohakkyoryŏng* 小學校令) and the

establishment of the Hansŏng Teachers' School (*Hansŏng sabŏm hakkyo* 漢城師範學校) to train female primary school teachers in 1895, a broad range of plans for a modern schooling system was developed (Son I. S. 1971: 28-29).

Despite this ambition for educational expansion, women's education did not gain attention from either the government or society. This was the result of the observance of an old Confucian custom regarding female education in Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910). During the Chosŏn dynasty women had no access to formal education; women's education meant informal training in domesticity. As a hierarchical social structure defined Chosŏn society, there was a rigid and strict division between men and women, even within families. The strictly ordered family hierarchy granted greater authority to the men, compelling women's subservience to men under the code of the *samjong chido* 三従之道(three obediences): obedience to their fathers, husbands, and sons (Yoo 2008: 19-20). Yi Ik (1681-1763), a progressive intellectual in Chosŏn Korea wrote, 'Reading and learning are the domain [of] men. For a woman it is enough if she knows the Confucian virtues, she will bring disgrace to the family [if she knows more]' (Kim 1976, quoted in Yoo 2008: 39). Although the Kabo Reforms were led by a progressive faction, many of whom had experienced study abroad, the deeply rooted notion that education was pointless for women continued to prevail in Chosŏn Korea. Not one public school for girls was established, despite the foundation of five primary schools for boys in the late nineteenth century (Yoo 2008: 43).

However, the absence of girls' schools did not necessarily mean that there was not a debate about the need for female education. Rather, the rise of a nationalistic consciousness among progressive Korean male leaders polemicized the issue of women's education. These men called for qualified women to contribute to the desperately needed national revitalization. This idea was rooted in a major surge of nationalism inside Korea.

The Korean leaders' nationalism was born out of the realization that their country was politically weak. Internal reform and the self-empowerment of the country were emphasized as the way to maintain national sovereignty in the patriotic struggle Korea faced from the impingement of foreign powers. Such ideas surfaced with the nineteenth-century policy change which saw Korea move from isolationism to an open-door policy,

beginning with the Kanghwa Treaty signed with Japan in 1876. This first modern international treaty conferred extraterritoriality and economic privileges upon the Japanese (Kim Y. H. 1995: 120, 124). Recognizing Korea's insecure international position, progressive young intellectuals who were acquainted with the outside world argued that Korea had to become a rich and powerful nation by developing relations with foreign countries. Korean nationalists embarked on a journey of 'self-strengthening' and 'enlightenment' with the aim of achieving national empowerment (Yoo 2008: 40).

The most powerful stimulus for the Korean enlightenment movement was the social and cultural development that accompanied the modernization of Japan, which had skilfully adopted Western technology after the Meiji Restoration (1868). Korea sent official delegations to Japan soon after the Kanghwa Treaty was signed: Led by Kim Hong-jip, Vice-Minister of Rites, 58 ministers were sent to Japan in 1880, and the following year another twelve more junior Korean officials were dispatched to Japan to undertake a three-month study mission (Ibid.). They inspected a wide range of modernized institutions, including government offices, shipyards, regular (girls') schools, industrial buildings, hospitals and prisons.

What particularly struck the officials was the high value placed on female education by the Japanese government. The report written by the mission highlighted not only the number of schools, but the breadth of the school curriculum for girls, which included astronomy, geography, military strategy, science, agriculture, literature and painting (Kim Y. H. 1995: 134). Reflecting on the status of Korean women, some delegates stressed the need for a reassessment of women's roles in the family and society in order to make Korea a truly modern nation. The social value and political utility of women's education was acknowledged by them: educated mothers would raise accomplished and learned men who would strengthen the moral and intellectual fibre of the nation (Yoo 2008: 41).

The inspiration of those who visited Japan stimulated the already emerging consciousness among Korean nationalist leaders of the significance of women's education. For example, Sŏ Chae-p'il (1866-1898), one of the influential progressive Korean reformers who insisted on safeguarding Korean's sovereignty through education, emphasized the need for female education in an article in the *Tongnip sinmun* newspaper

in 1896:

> If the government sets up schools and educates Korean girls, who have been long neglected, the abandoned half of the population will become useful citizens within a few years. There will be no greater benefit to the country than this.
>
> (The *Tongnip sinmun,* 5 September 1896, quoted in Kim Y. H. 1995: 126)

Given that Chosŏn Korea's educational philosophy excluded women from education, this forceful argument was revolutionary. However, one thing should be noted: women's education was not advocated for the benefit of women, but for the benefit of the country. Korean enlightenment thinkers believed that female education could form the basis for the nation's strength and would thus ensure their country's independence. In what specific ways did they attempt to educate Korean women for the sake of national revitalization? These are elaborated in another editorial in the *Tongnip sinmun*:

> Women's education means a reinstatement of tens of millions of women, half of our population, from the state of lost things to human beings. From now on, women will no longer be mistreated, because they will retrieve their rights. Children will obtain loving teachers and men will acquire beautiful friends whose friendship will last over a hundred years. And Korea will naturally develop into a civilized country.
>
> (The *Tongnip sinmun*, 26 May 1899, quoted in Kim Y. H. 1995: 127)

While the majority of Korean reformers agreed to secure national independence by introducing Western- (and Japanese-) style modernization and denying the Korean caste system, with regard to women's education, they claimed they had to maintain the patriarchal order which limited women's territory to the domestic sphere (Kwon I. S. 1998: 398). The goal of the modernization of Korean women was to train them to be good housewives and mothers. This foreshadowed the introduction of the new ideal of 'wise mother, good wife', which was to epitomize the model for Korean women by 1930 (Kim Y. H. 1995: 127).

In the eyes of Korean reformers, many of whom were exposed to modernity during their education overseas in places such as the United States or Japan, the degraded lives of Korean women were seen as linked to the evil customs of old Korea, and were viewed as something that needed to be overcome in order to modernize the country. Furthermore,

they believed that valuing women's education and treating them better were signs of an advanced civilization (Choi 2009b: 5). Accordingly, the issue of women's education as good homemakers emerged on the social agenda in the Korean reformers' pursuit of the self-strengthening and enlightenment of the country. This created a favourable atmosphere for the missionaries' educational activities, which stressed the centrality of domesticity and the woman's role at its core.

As Korea succumbed to the Japanese colonial power, which increased in 1905 as a result of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Korean nationalists' aspirations for female education erupted and they accused the state of neglecting this area of development. A provision included in the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 further confirmed the Korean people's belief that only self-strengthening through education would bring independence. In response to Kojong's refusal to sign the treaty, the Japanese delegate, Itō Hirobumi, added a clause which limited the efficacy of the treaty 'until Japan acknowledges Korea to be wealthy and strong enough' (Pak C. S. 1992: 44-45). This provision provided the momentum for subsequent independent movements and the mass education of Koreans, which was how many Korean reformers stressed that Korea would overcome its social weakness and become stronger.

The Korean nationalists' zeal for self-empowerment manifested itself in a social movement founded in the 1920s after the failure of the March First Movement, a mass-scale independent movement headed by Korean students and intellectuals. Under the three slogans of building a new culture (*sinmunhwa kŏnsŏl* 新文化建設), cultivating one's ability (*sillyŏk yangsŏng* 實力養成), and national reconstruction (*minjŏk kaejo* 民族改造), the mass education of the Korean race was carried out as part of the Cultural Movement (*Munhwa undong* 文化運動) (Pak C. S. 1992: 197). Led by gradualist Korean intellectuals, the movement called for moral and mental training, unity among all classes of Koreans, and long-term commitment to the reconstruction of all areas of life, from the individual to the family and nation (Wells 1985: 836).

The new type of domesticity promoted within the movement could be explained by the distinct ideals of the 'new home' (*sin kajŏng* 新家庭). Influenced by the domestic ideology which had disseminated throughout Japan by 1920, the Korean version of the

‘new home’ became popular in 1920s’ Korea. The neologism *sin kajŏng* suggested a bourgeois and modernized domestic space reformed in the Western style and included, as a fundamental component, a peaceful family life led by a *hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ*, an educated professional housewife (Chŏn M. G. 2004: 17; Yu Y. H. 2006: 9). The rubric of new housewifery rested on a bourgeois middle-class model of a two-generation family composed of ‘a husband, wife and children’, rather than the late Chosŏn family which generally included the husband’s parents. In this concept, ‘filiality’, the Korean married women’s traditional virtue, was replaced by ‘efficiency’ (So H. S. 2006: 130; Yoo 2008: 85). In the new profession of house ‘mistress’ (*chubu* 主婦), great emphasis was placed on mothers and wives managing their home democratically, scientifically and economically (Inoue 2006: 120). The *hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ* function of educated women was crucial to constructing the new culture of domesticity in colonial Korea.

The basics of home economics – thrift, simplicity, hygiene, household finances and efficiency – figured prominently in the new ideology of modern housewifery. The key phrase of ‘scientific management of the domestic household’ called on women to transform their family life into one that was clean, healthy and comfortable (Yoo 2008: 86-87). The movement also called for increasing the efficiency of household chores and eliminating wastefulness, including the time, money and energy spent on housework. The ideology of *sin kajŏng* and *hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ* was strengthened by the proliferation of articles in Korean ethnic newspapers and popular magazines which exploded in publishing world in the 1920s Korea by relaxed publication control of the colonial authorities.

Among household chores, the reforms regarding diet were the major subject of argument among reformers pushing for the modernization of the Korean home. For example, the number of side dishes served at each meal was one of the typical problems highlighted by them. Although it was normal to hire domestic help in middle-class Korean households at that time, many Korean housewives prepared three family meals by themselves, each of which was accompanied by five or six different side dishes (Modŏn Ilbonsa 2007: 209).

To enhance the efficiency and rationality of the diet, reformers encouraged the

elimination of a number of side dishes and more attention to be paid to nutrition. For example, in his contribution to a 1931 issue of the women's magazine *Sin yŏsŏng* 新女性 (New Women) a male educator, Pang Chŏng-hwan (1899-1931), urged Korean women to learn about the nutritional components of ingredients, stating that nutritional knowledge enabled housewives to prepare nutritionally suitable family meals at a lower cost (Yi H. H. et al. 2004: 101).

In parallel with the cost benefits, the matter of nutrition was emphasized as a virtue of the educated women who brought science into domestic life. Apple states that the growth of home economics and the development of the ideology of a 'scientific motherhood' influenced the emergence of nutrition as the woman's domain, and enhanced her position at home, giving her an arena in which to practice science (1995: 129-130). For the male Korean reformers, who sought to modernize the Korean home by keeping their wives in the domestic sphere, the rhetoric of a scientific motherhood was most appropriate for the accomplishment of their goal. Denying the 'masculine nature' of science, the male reformers frequently asserted that educated women should adopt nutritional knowledge in their home cookery to improve living standards and ultimately to advance the culture (Chŏng K. Y. 1938: 78-80; Yŏn'gu konggan suyu+nŏmŏ kŭndae maech'e yŏn'gut'im 2005: 232). For example, Yi Kwang-su (1892-1950), one of the most prominent leaders of the Cultural Movement, praised O Ŏk's book *Saenghwal chillo* 生活進路 (The Pathway of Living), which dealt with nutritional issues in the diet, so highly that he said that housewives should memorize it (Yi K. S. 1971: 287). Nutritional knowledge was not just utilised practically to make savings in the household economy, it also had a moral element for educated professional housewives, and the housewife's mastery of nutritional knowledge increasingly came to symbolise the modernization of the home.

Another key issue related to the dietary reform often discussed by Korean reformers was the synchronization of home-cooked meals. According to Confucian ethics, Korean family members were not allowed to eat meals together: the spaces and times allocated for eating were strictly segregated by sex and age. Housewives prepared meals on separate low tables for each group and carried them to the room where the group ate,

as traditional Korean houses did not have separate dining rooms. Moreover, the table had to be prepared sequentially following the hierarchical order in which the male and older family members came first. The food left over from the previous group's meal was served to the next group. Such meal preparation practices were an enormous burden on housewives, to the extent that both men and women said that by '[p]reparing family meals from morning till night, [Korean women] waste their entire lives …' (So H. S. 2006: 130). Eating home-cooked meals together was part and parcel of increasing the efficiency of kitchen work.

An important argument for synchronizing the time and place of meals was the new meaning of family dining in the modern home. As mentioned previously, family life under the philosophy of *sin kajŏng* was epitomized as peaceful and joyous, and the term 'family circle' (*ilga tallak* 一家團欒 or *kajok tallak* 家族團欒) became ubiquitous with the rise of the ideology of the modern home (Cho P. C. 1940). The reformers sought to create this close family atmosphere through family members eating together. Juxtaposing the conventional practice of 'eating alone on an individual tray' with the 'happy harmony' (*hwagisurŏun* 화기스러운) and 'pleasure' (*chŭlgŏun* 즐거운) attained by synchronizing the time and place of the meal, eating together with family members was often depicted as the chief time when the 'family circle' was formed (Yi S. 1932: 104; Songwŏn 1923: 33). To assemble the family in one place for meals, the reformers advocated transforming Korean eating habits by moving the main emphasis of meals from breakfast to dinner so that everyone could enjoy leisurely meals (Songwŏn 1923: 33).

All these examples show that the housewives who scientifically and efficiently ran their households were recognized not only as modern, but also as virtuous women within the newly constructed model of *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ*. At first, the ideology of the modern home and housewifery was strongly advocated by a nationalistic male group, however, in tandem with the increasing visibility in the 1920s of educated women's social activities, many educated Korean women, especially home economics experts, supported the ideology, identifying themselves as the professional guardians of the home (Kim H. G. 2006: 256).

Yet, not all educated women accepted the idea of *hyŏnmo yangchŏ*. From the mid-

1910s, criticism of the *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* ideology intensified through the rise of the *sin yŏsŏng* (New Women). Formed in the early twentieth century, the *sin yŏsŏng* were a group of educated intellectual women who could be distinguished from more traditional Korean women. They challenged the moral system of Confucian patriarchy and society (Kwon I. S. 1998: 382). They objected to the gender-based division of labour and the oppressive nature of the *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* concept. These progressive women called for liberation and the freedom to work in public, and asserted that financial independence could truly enable women's empowerment (Pak S. M. 2007: 204, 207-208).

In contrast, there were also moderate female intellectuals who were in favour of the centrality of domesticity. According to the views of these 'domestic feminists', women would only be able to gain a legitimate position in the family and become true members of society and the nation by being good mothers and wives (Kim H. G. 2006: 82-83; Choi 2009b: 12). Its advocates saw the status of the *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* as a 'power' which would bring women the prosperity and advancement that traditional Korean women had never had. The scientific knowledge essential to the ideology of *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ*, sharply distinguished the modern housewife from the former uneducated 'inside helpers' (Pak S. M. 2007: 202, 206). This romantic solution to the radical feminism discourse was in harmony with the views of Korean male intellectuals, who only paid attention to the role of the housewife in as far as it was a source of hope for national independence. By 1930, the public debate on the modern womanhood of Korea had been concluded in favour of the *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* ideal. Notwithstanding its initial well-educated, bourgeois connotations, the concept of *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* spread beyond the privileged class, providing a model which many Korean women aspired to follow (Choi 2009a: 9).

From Ryōsai Kenbo to Hyŏnmo Yangch'ŏ

The notion of *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* tends to be portrayed as confirming traditional values, in contrast to the progressive thoughts of the 'New Women'. This is because there are some common denominators, such as obedience, loyalty and diligence, between Chosŏn Korea's Confucian ideology of *pudŏk* 婦德 (womanly virtue) and the ideology of *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ*. However, these ideological models were completely different. As

scholars point out, the former put the greatest stress on the role of daughters-in-law, based on the idea of 'filial piety' (*hyo* 孝) – that is, supporting her parents-in-law and producing offspring. Under the norms of *pudŏk*, married women's housework meant putting the 'piety' into practice, and housewives were expected to tend to their parents-in-law with filial piety (Hong Y. H. 1997: 19; Kim H. G. 2006: 250). In the latter, as explained earlier, the major emphasis of the married woman's role was placed on being a good wife and mother, and providing adequate support for her husband and children (Hong Y. H. 1997: 19).

The *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* was a modern construct which developed under considerable influence from the Japanese ideal of womanhood, *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 (good wife, wise mother) which carried political connotations (Hong Y. H. 1997: 22-23). *Ryōsai kenbo* was the model of womanhood created within the educational policies of Meiji Japan (1868-1912). As part of the country's modernization, under the Meiji Civil Code of 1898, Meiji leaders set education as a national priority, and made efforts to teach the Japanese people basic literacy, economic utility and political obedience (Tsurumi 1984: 275-276). Embracing well-functioning households as the basis for modern nation-building, Meiji bureaucrats focused on the reproductive domain, and especially on the potential of Japanese women, who had previously been excluded from the formal education system. *Ryōsai kenbo* was based on an explicit understanding of gender segregation which determined the 'inside of the house' as the woman's exclusive realm. Within the ideology, the Japanese woman was obliged to serve to her country by being a 'good wife' by supporting her husband who would devote himself to making Japan a strong and wealthy country, and by being a 'wise mother' to future Japanese citizens (Aoki 2010: 465).

Ryōsai kenbo was officially set as the aim of education for Japanese women with the promulgation of the 'Ordinance for Higher Girls' Schools' (*Kōtō jogakkōrei* 高等女学校令) in 1899 Japan (Koyama 2007: 38). By making the ideology the key educational philosophy for Japanese women, Meiji education taught Japanese girls about modern housewifery, household finances, nutrition, childcare and hygiene, in a curriculum of housework (*kaji* 家事) (Sand 1998: 195). The ideal of *ryōsai kenbo* penetrated society at

the same time as the expansion of female education: by 1902, 70 per cent of Japanese girls were enrolled in primary school, and as of 1925, the rate of secondary education among Japanese girls had reached 46 per cent (Cwiertka 2006a: 98; Sin Y. S. 1999: 108). From the 1920s onwards, the ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* was further disseminated with the emergence of new middle-class households composed of husbands with white-collar professions and educated housewives. The modern and thrifty domestic household, run by an educated housewife – represented as *katei* 家庭 (home) and *ryōsai kenbo* – served as a symbolic model of domesticity in Japan (Cwiertka 2006a: 88-96). It notably influenced the construction of the rhetoric of the new home and *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* in 1920s' Korea.

Japan's nation-centred educational philosophy laid the foundations for educational policy in colonial Korea. As the Meiji leaders had highly valued public education when modernizing Japan, the colonial authorities also used education to transform Koreans into loyal Japanese subjects equipped with modern but humble living practices and attitudes that would contribute favourably to the Japanese Empire (Tsurumi 1984: 294-295; Shin and Robinson 2000: 12). The systematic suppression of Christian (private) schools in Korea, even before the official annexation of the country, as described earlier in this section, clearly demonstrates that schooling was one of the central areas of life used by the colonial authorities to control Korean society. Women's education was of especially great political significance to the achievement of Japan's key policy of 'assimilation' (*dōka* 同化).[281] This is clearly revealed in a statement made by Japanese counsellor Ōno in 1936.

> Of economic and social assimilation, the two foundation stones of colonial policies [in Korea], social assimilation is the harder to achieve. However, once accomplished, it shall be the 'cement' which will have a more powerful effect than economic assimilation. For this purpose, we must start out by educating women through whatever means…Needless to say, women are more easily influenced than men, as they are emotional without self-consciousness or awareness. Once influenced, however, their thoughts are not easily changed. Moreover, men will naturally follow such women….Only after consolidating the foundations from the

[281] For details about the Japanese policy of assimilation, see 5.1.

> bottom, will we be able to truly solidify the ruling system of [colonial Korea]. By reforming the Korean home, the whole of Korean society shall be civilized….
>
> (Ōno 1936, quoted in Chŏng H. S. 1978: 16)

As a means to implement the educational strategy stated above, Japanese teachers, especially female teachers were strategically dispatched to Korea by the Japanese government, as they were the most favourable agents who could effectively penetrate Japanese womanhood into Korean society (An T'.Y. 2008: 13; Chŏng H. S.1978: 16). In the research on the role of Japanese female teachers at Keijō Women Teachers' College (Keijō joshi sihan gakkō 京城女子師範学校), a Japanese scholar Sakimoto, for example, documented the effective conveyance of *ryōsai kenbo* ideology from Japanese teachers to Korean girls not only through educational curriculum but also exemplary attitude as models of *ryōsai kenbo* in her study (1999). The roles of Japanese female teachers were, according to Takasaki, the vanguard of 'Japanization' projects in colonial Korean transforming Koreans girls to Japanese *ryōsai kenbo* (Takasaki 2006: 169).

Such an importance notwithstanding, the expansion of public education in Korea was very slow. The colonial authorities paid special attention to keeping Korean people out of higher education so that they were not exposed to 'dangerous thoughts' such as nationalism (Son I. S. 1971: 48-49; Park J. 1990: 536). The expansion of education among girls was insignificant: as of 1944, 89 per cent of the total female population were illiterate, compared to just 67 per cent of men. The ratio of secondary school graduates did not exceed one per cent of the total female population until 1945. However, the number of students continued to increase, especially after 1920: while only 116 girls were attending public girls' high schools in 1912, the number of students had grown to 1,062 in 1921, and had reached 3,243 by 1927. By 1936, the number of students enrolled at the 16 public girls' high schools in Korea totalled 6,532[282] (Kim H. G. 2006: 106-107; Kim S. J. 2006: 499-500).

The promulgation of the Korean Education Ordinances (*Chōsen kyōikurei* 朝鮮教育

[282] The source does not indicate whether the numbers included the students at private schools, but it seems likely that they only included students enrolled at public schools. According to Pak S. M., 9,177 girls attended secondary-level schools (including vocational schools) in 1936 (2007: 40).

令) in August 1911 marked the beginning of the incorporation of Japanese educational policies into the Korean educational system. Based on Meiji Japan's Imperial Rescript on Education, the emperor-centred educational principles established in 1890 in Japan, the ultimate goal of Korean education was to make Korean citizens into 'loyal subjects' of the Japanese Empire (Aoki 2010: 473). The ordinances were revised in 1922 and again in 1938. Concerning secondary education for women, Female Higher Normal School Regulations (*Joshi kōtō hutsū gakkō kisoku* 女子高等普通学校規則),[283] Female Higher Normal School Provisions (*Joshi kōtō hutsū gakkō kitei* 女子高等普通学校規定), and Higher Female School Provisions (*Kōtō jogakkō kitei* 高等女学校規定) were decreed within the respective ordinances. In the 1938 revision of the female education ordinance, teaching of the Japanese ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* was explicitly proclaimed as an educational goal (Sakimoto 1999: 83). Since this amendment, along with the knowledge of home economics and *ryōsai kenbo* ideals were integrated in national agenda to enhance war power of Japanese Empire, as I will discuss in the following section.

With consistent emphasis on fostering womanly virtue, home management was central to the Korean women's educational curriculum. Through three- or four-year courses of secondary education,[284] students studied a wide range of subjects, including Japanese, housework, history, science and music, for 30 (or 31) hours per week. The hours spent on housework were consistently kept at four hours a week until 1945. The number of hours spent on this subject was second only to the five (or six) hours a week spent learning Japanese.

Women education in colonial Korea was shaped within the Japanese framework of home education system; the contents of the Japanese home economics lessons provided a model for the discipline in Korea. The school text-book censorship of 1908, explained earlier in this section, was one of the initial administrative steps taken by the Japanese authorities to establish a Japanese-style educational system in Korea. Even before government control was established, text-books published in Korea had been

[283] The terminology of 'normal' was used until the 1930s to distinguish the schools for Koran people from those for the Japanese in colonial Korea.
[284] The courses were for three years at first, extended to a four-year course by the 1922 ordinance revision, and from 1938 ranged in length from three to five years, depending on the school.

strongly influenced by Japanese books. For example, two out of the three home economics text-books, excluding one by an anonymous author,[285] issued for the first time in Korea in 1907 were translations of Japanese books. The original was *Sinsen kaseigaku* 新撰家政学 (The New Selected Home Economics) written by Shimoda Utako 下田歌子 (1854-1936) and published in 1900 in Japan. Shimoda was a pioneering women's educator who established Toyō School in 1882 in Japan and wrote many books that aimed to educate women (Chŏn M. G. 2005a: 136). Her book was first translated into Chinese and published in China in 1902. The Chinese translation, *Hanmun kajŏnghak* 漢文家政学 (The Chinese Home Economics), and the new version in Chinese with Korean characters, *Sinp'yŏn kajŏnghak* 新編家政学 (The Newly Compiled Home Economics), were both published in Korea in 1907 (Ibid.: 150). These books were authorized as school text-books by Government-General in 1910 (Chŏn M. G. 2004: 5).

With the promulgation of the Female Higher Normal School Regulations in 1911, the colonial authorities only permitted the use of text-books authorized by either the Government-General in Korea or the Ministry of Education in Japan Proper (Ibid.: 3-4, 9). It does not necessarily mean that the colonial authorities entirely prohibited the use of text-books written in Korean authors. However, as a result of this regulation many Japanese home economics text-books were introduced to Korea. According to Chŏn Mi-gyŏng's research, every book that appeared in the lists of authorized home economics text-books between 1925 and 1927 and between 1931 and 1933 was Japanese. For example, they included *Ōyō kaji kyōkasho* 応用家事教科書 (The Applied Housework Text-book) written by Ōe Sumi 大江スミ (1875-1948) of Tokyo Women's Higher Teachers' School and *Gendai kaji kyōkasho* 現代家事教科書 (The Modern Housework Text-book) by Inoue Hide 井上秀(1875-1963) of Japan Women's University (Ibid. 2004: 5). These two educators were pioneers of Japanese home economics.[286] The Japanese home economics provided the fundamental basis for the development, in terms of both

[285] This book is *Kungmun sinch'an kajŏnghak* 國文新撰家政学 (The Newly Edited Home Economics in Korean) translated by Pak Cha'ng-dong.

[286] For example, these two Japanese educators attended the International Federation of Home Economics conference held in 1908 in Switzerland, and presented papers on 'The Training of Homemakers in Japan' and 'The Standard of Living in Japan' respectively (Pak S. M. 2007: 275).

educational principles and the contents, of the discipline in colonial Korea.

Home economics education, which placed emphasis on practical training of women as housewives, was important opportunities to Korean girls to learn modern knowledge. In Japan, according to a Japanese scholar Ehara Ayako, the practical aspects of home management were particularly emphasized since 1920 with the revision of the education act in Japan Proper (1998: 101). This change in educational policy was closely related to the Japanese social context. By 1920, the new middle-class population in urban Japan was suffering from widespread living difficulties accompanied by price rises after the First World War. In response to this, the Japanese government launched the Campaign of Daily Life Improvement, calling for thrifty living to address the economic recession.[287] Under this circumstance, there was an increased need to train skilful future housewives who were able to economically manage their households through female education (Monbushō 1972: 444-445).

In line with the Japanese educational policy, the Female Higher Normal School Provision of 1922 in Korea clearly announced that the aim of female education was to 'cultivate the qualifications of the nation by providing knowledge and skills applicable to life' (Hong Y. H. 2001: 240). In parallel with the changing educational principle, the home economics curriculum in Korea also changed. For example, fancy needlework (*suye* 手芸) disappeared from the curriculum. Housework and science, which had thus far been taught as one subject, were now separated for the purpose of intensifying the teaching of housework (Ibid.). These changes were modelled on the revision that took place in Japan in 1920.

According to Chŏn Mi-gyŏng's study on the home economics text-books by Japanese authors whose publication were consistently appeared in the lists of authorized text-books in Korea, the aim of the curriculum was to provide students with practical and applicable knowledge that utilised the latest scientific discoveries, so that they could improve household efficiency and move with the times (2004: 7-8). For example, emphasis was placed on nutritional knowledge and the scientific methods of cooking to achieve effective nourishment. Specifically, this involved calculating the nutritional

[287] For detailed accounts of the Japanese government's mass campaign, see Koyama 1999.

content of dishes, cooking to minimize the loss of nutrients and economizing on the use of fuel. For rational and economical household management, subjects such as meal planning and keeping household accounts were also taught (Chŏn M. G. 2004: 16, 19-20).

Efficiency in housework was also one of the central topics. For example, in the book *Saishin katei kanri to kaji keizai* 最新家庭管理と家事経済 (Recent Family Management and Household Economics), which was available in Korea in 1938, Ujiie Hisako, a professor at Japan Women's University, argued in favour of the standardization of housework. She placed great emphasis on time management and the rational movement of housewives to eliminate wasted time and unnecessary effort in housework in order to improve efficiency (Kim H. G. 2006: 259; Yoo 2008: 88). The home economics taught in Korea under the Japanese curriculum created a modern housewife equipped with the scientific knowledge and management skills to run the family home rationally and efficiently. This was the reason for the gaining of public acceptance of the discipline, notwithstanding the initial bourgeois connotation, in Korea.

While emphasizing practicality in managing the household, in reality, the teaching of home economics seems to have been rather more theoretical for Korean housewives. As discussed previously, home economics in Korea, both in terms of its educational principles and its text-book content, was under the direct influence of Japanese home economics education, and there seem to be many aspects of this that did not translate to Korean realities. For example, impractical cookery lessons at schools drew frequent criticism in the print media. A reporter from the popular magazine *Sin yŏsŏng* stated that '[a]lthough [girls are] taught how to make *sukiyaki* [288] and western dishes at schools, this is useless for Koreans' (T'ae H. S. 2004: 181). In another article published in *Pyŏlgŏngon* 別乾坤 (A Different World) magazine in 1930, a Korean man cynically pointed out that 'female students know how to cook rice curry and hashed beef,[289] but they can never make good bean paste soup' (Kim K. I. 2004: 131). Even though girls were taught standardized recipes in their cookery classes, it was impossible for them to follow what

[288] A Japanese hot-pot–style dish made with beef and vegetables with soy sauce, sugar and *mirin* (sweet sake used for cooking).

[289] 'Curry with rice' and 'hashed beef rice' were hybrid Japanese-Western style dishes popularised in late nineteenth-century Japan. For further detailed accounts on the acceptance of Western dishes in Japanese cuisine, see Cwiertka 1999: 49-56 and Ehara 2009: 195-264.

they had been taught when they made bean paste soup at home. This was because most bean paste was homemade at the time and the amount of salt in it differed depending on each household's recipe, thus meaning that they had to adjust the amount of bean paste to use or follow the conventional method of measuring by eye (So H. S. 2006: 151).

Notwithstanding the impractical aspects, the modern image of home economics attracted Korean women, and home economics courses were very popular among Korean girls. For example, Chŏng Tae-mun, who graduated from Kyŏnggi Public Girls' Higher Normal School in Seoul, stated that competition for a place at her school was extremely high, with 600 girls applying for 100 positions when she was a student there (Chŏng M. G. 2000: 85). The same was true of private schools, even though they did not attract as many girls as public schools due to the colonial government's strategic policies which limited job opportunities for graduates. In 1939, for example, while the departments of liberal arts and music failed to meet their student quotas, there were 2.35 times as many applicants as places for Ewha's home economics department (Ibid.: 101).

A similar tendency can be observed in Pak Sŏn-mi's research on female Korean students who had studied in Japan, and played a prominent role in perpetuating their knowledge and the ideology of *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* in colonial Korea after finishing their studies. Of the 64 surveyed women who had been in Japan between 1911 and 1944, home economics was the most studied subject (34 people) (Pak S. M. 2007: 51, 183-229). The reasons, stated by the researched, for choosing home economics were: 'it is good and useful for women', 'being advised to by teachers and parents', and 'it is necessary for Korean women and Korean society' (Ibid.: 49). These opinions reveal that home economics education was considered by Korean society to be a normative model that women should internalize, even though it was theoretical and 'useless' in practical terms.

Shin and Robinson have remarked that the modernization of colonial Korea was a dynamic process stimulated by multiple actors, but ultimately mediated through the Japanese filtering of modernization (2000: 5, 10). The fact that housekeeping reforms centred around home economics involved Christian domesticity, a zeal for self-empowerment from Korean reformers and the colonial power demonstrates that there were multiple players behind the introduction of the modern knowledge of Korean

domesticity. It is true that the scientific education had been grounded in a Western model of women education. However, the educational policy of the Japanese colonial government was a key factor in disseminating the scientifically based household management in Korean women by systematically expanding it through public educational system. The discipline of home economics and the symbolic model of *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* within it were firmly-established as part of Korean womanhood by national edict, and played a crucial role in reform Korean domestic lives and training Korean women to be loyal and obedient to the Japanese nation. The issue of the scientific motherhood which emerged with the rise of home economics came to be exploited for the colonial government's wartime austerity policies during Japan's war years after 1937.

6.2 Nutrition for the War Efforts

The Politicization of Home Economics for Wartime Food Management

> Science is continually being developed…While Germany lost the former war [World War One] due to food [problems], it is allegedly now using various kinds of military rations invented as a result of its global-level technology which was developed over the last three decades in a strategic military operation [during World War Two]. Only advances bring victory. If there is no progression in learning, it is dead knowledge. We must continue to study more so as not to lose the battle against our enemies, America and Britain, and to strive to meet our goal of 'military strength and healthy people' by making use of [our] scholarship. By engraving it in our minds, we deeply feel our responsibility for its success.
>
> (Associate professor at Keiō Gijuku University, Hara 1944: 9)

As discussed in the previous section, from 1938 the Japanese colonial authorities made serious efforts to turn Korean women into *ryōsai kenbo* (good wives, wise mothers) with the promulgation of the Higher Female School Provisions, the secondary education policy for Korean women. The idealized image of Japanese womanhood constructed within the nation-centred Meiji educational philosophy was included in the Provisions, and officially set as the model for Korean women to follow in formal education. The

major aim of Korean women's education was to 'make '[Korean women] loyal and absolutely pure imperial women by training them to fulfil their potential as *ryōsai kenbo*' (Sakimoto 1999: 83).

The revision of the education policy was part of Japan's far-reaching administrative programme to reorganize Korean society in preparation for the so-called all-out war waged by the Japanese Empire. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1937) which marked Japan's headlong path to the Pacific War, Korea was regarded as highly important in terms of Japanese military strategy to expand into China (Eckert 1996: 12). With the promulgation of the National General Mobilization Law (*Kokka sōdōinhō* 国家総動員法) in April 1938, both material and human resources became the subject of mobilization to support the war, and the educational system was revised to meet the state's needs. In an effort to mobilize the energies of the entire nation, women's roles as housewives needed to transcend the confines of the home and contribute to the national war effort. Considering the importance of the Korean woman's role, Minami Jirō, the Korean Governor-General (1936-1942), emphasized the urgent need to fix the Japan-oriented ideology of *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* as the female educational goal for the nation (Hong Y. H. 2001: 248). Under Minami's three major spiritual goals for colonial Korea of the 'clarification of *kokutai* ideology' (*kokutai meichō* 国体明徴),[290] 'Japan and Korea as one' (*naisen ittai* 内鮮一体),[291] and 'endurance and training (*ninku tanren* 忍苦鍛錬)', *hyŏnmo yangch'ŏ* was set as the rubric for the Japnese 'Imperial Women' (*hwangguk yŏsŏng* 皇國女性) (Yi Song-hŭi 2005: 27).

Considering home economics education to be a crucial contributor to achieving these educational goals, the Japanese authorities improved female education. By the 1938 revision, home economics, which had thus far only been taught to students in the third (and fourth, depending on the school) year was included on the curricula for first- and second-year secondary school students (Hong Y. H. 2001: 235, 241, and 251). In primary schools, the hours spent on the subject per week had doubled by 1938: three hours for third year girls, and four hours for fifth and sixth year students. According to a 1941

[290] For a detailed account of *kokutai* ideology, see 5.1
[291] The 'Japanization' policy implemented in colonial Korea. See 5.1.

government statement, home economics was the 'most essential', and the 'most effective' education for girls, so 'it should be continuously taught under any circumstance.' (An T'. Y. 2006a: 117)

Not only the intensification of the discipline, the home economics curriculum came to be more firmly under the administrative control of the colonial government: the discipline rested on a major reconceptualization of the housewife's role within the framework of Japanese nationalism. For example, the book *Gakkō keiei no riron to jissai* 学校経営の理論と実践 (Theory and Practice of School Management) published in 1941 by Oikawa, the principal of Chinju Public Girls' Higher School in Kyŏngsangnam-do, clearly revealed the principles behind home economics after 1938. The institution had been a private school for Korean students, but after the 1938 ordinance amendment, it was appointed by the government as the model for mixed Korean and Japanese girls' public schools. The school-reorganization project was intended to make Korean girls into true Japanese women through collaborative educational curricula. The book was used as guidance for running girls' schools and was written based on the school's two-year experience as a model school, with an introduction written by Siohara, the head of the Government-General's Bureau of Education (Oikawa 1941: Introduction).

The book shows that the focus of home economics education shifted from training housewives to run a modern and democratic family home to ensuring that they put their patriotism into practice. While emphasizing practical solutions in home management, the end goal of home economics education was to make Korean girls into 'Imperial Women' by providing them with knowledge and skills based on the spirit of the Japanese *ie* ideology (the Japanese family system)[292] and of 'serving the country' (*poguk* 報国) (Ibid.: 439). In order to achieve *naisen ittai* among the students, Korean girls were instructed to transform their Korean living practices into Japanese ones, following the teaching of the home economics curriculum. For example, cookery classes at Chinju Public Girls' Higher School focused on teaching Japanese dishes to familiarize Korean girls with Japanese foods (Ibid.: 446). In essence, the teaching of home economics became the place where

[292] Meiji Japan's modern family system officially disseminated under the Meiji Civil Code promulgated in 1898. It is defined by lineage and is strongly patriarchal; it is also linked to the state myth of the emperor as the national patriarch. For details on the *ie* 家 system, see Sand 2003: 21-25.

future Korean housewives learnt the method of running a Japanese-style home that was grounded in Japanese nationalism.

In her book *Keeping the Nation's House*, Schneider states that the Chinese authorities, who efficiently managed the family life of their people as the basis for national power, made efforts to train home economics experts to have the right 'national ethics and scientific knowledge' during the Second World War (2011: 129). The same holds true of colonial Korea: the basic principle of home economics – the scientific and rational management of living – remained central to the Japanese strategies of the reform of the domestic lives and social management in Korea until 1945. This was due to the fact that the lean management of family life that maintained a minimum standard of living and was based on scientific thinking and attitudes was relevant to the wartime government's austerity policy.

In particular, scientifically appropriated efficient nourishment was indispensable to securing the health of the people amid an increasingly worsening food shortage. Food rationing began in 1940 to handle increasingly worsening food, and in 1943 a uniform nationwide rationing programme for staple foods was established by the colonial authorities (see 1.1). However, the food supply continually deteriorated, and there were invigorated black market in which foods were dealt with at very high prices, as I discussed in Chapter Three. Notwithstanding the increasing food deficit, the health of the people was important as national resources to be used to support the country's war efforts.

To mitigate food shortages while still maintaining the nation's health, nutritional education in home economics was taken especially seriously. For example, *Theory and Practice of School Management* explicitly declared that '[n]utrition formed the basis of home economics for the purposes of enhancing national health and solving food problems' (Oikawa 1941: 446). A home economics text-book edited and published by the Government-General in 1941 for secondary school use emphasized the importance of the nutritional aspect of home-cooked meals. As a specific way to prepare nutritious home-cooked meals and budget economically, a week's meal planning was encouraged. The described benefits of meal planning were that it enabled one to 1) prepare well-balanced nutritional meals with an increasing variety of dishes; 2) keep food expenses within

budget and eliminate the time spent on cooking and buying foodstuffs (Chōsen sōtokufu 1941: 70-72). Scientific and efficient nutrition was an essential part of home economics, both from the view-point of family health and from that of the country's wartime food strategy.

The pursuit of nutritional knowledge in the framework of home economics was well explained by the idea of the 'nutritional component-centred view' (*eiyō seibun honikan* 栄養成分本位観) which appeared in *Senji kaseigaku* 戦時家政学 (Wartime Home Economics), issued in Japan in 1944 by Japanese scholar Hayashi Yūki. This was the guiding concept for cooking in home economics and it was politically linked to supporting the wartime food policies. On the basis of this theory, eating meals was nothing but the consumption of nutrients. What was to be considered first when people ate was not what kind of food they consumed, but which nutrients were taken into their bodies. For instance, people were encouraged to eat white potatoes as a substitute for rice during the rice shortage, despite potatoes being a staple that was not preferred as rice to most Koreans. According Hayashi, there was no difference between eating rice and potatoes since both were to be absorbed as carbohydrates in the body. He insisted that this view was that of the scientifically-based innovation of diet. From the view-point of nutritional science, individual food preferences, such as the adherence to eating white rice, were to be broken as faddish choices (Hayashi 1944: 205-207).

Given that Hayashi wrote many books on food and home economics education including *Nōson kaji kyōiku no kensetsu* 農村家事教育の建設 (Construction of Housework Education in Rural Areas) in 1932, *Joshi kyōiku kaji kyōiku* 女子教育家事教育(Female Education, Housework Education) in 1933, and *Senji shokuseikatsu nyūmon* 戦時食生活入門 (Introduction to Wartime Eating) in 1942, it is likely that the view expressed in *Wartime Home Economics* was widely acknowledged in the home economics world at that time. Even though Hayashi's book was published in Japan, if we consider that the Korean curriculum of the discipline followed the Japanese model, and that the Japanese text-books were used in the classes in Korea, as explained in 6.1, it seems reasonable to say that the nutritional view was highly influential in Korea. After all, the home economics view was that cooking in this way offered the most scientifically

appropriate way to ingest nutrients for the biological survival of human beings. However, this view was nothing but an expedient catalyst to drive people to come to terms with substitutes and to restrict people's food consumption. This centrality of nutrition home economics theory remained the rationale behind the state's wartime food strategies aimed at dealing with the increasingly deficient food resources.

Putting Nutritional Science into Practice in the Framework of the Wartime Food Policy

The centralization of the nutritional concept in eating was disseminated beyond the specific field of academic study through its adoption as part of the government's policy of retrenchment. As discussed in 6.1, the scientific approach towards home-cooked meals in Korea spread during the 1920s, chiefly stimulated by Korean nationalist reformers. At first, the scientific management of home-cooked meals carried strong bourgeois connotations since it was a marker of a *sin kajŏng* run by a housewife who had received a modern education. Despite its bourgeois nature, the use of nutritional science in family cooking was accepted broadly as a virtue of modern housewives, and had become part of the idealized image of women by the 1930s. The image of nutritional science combined with modern housewifery provided a fertile ground for the colonial government's promotion of a nutrition-centred diet as part of the wartime strategy of food management.

Nutrition was an essential concept within the colonial government's wartime food policies. For example, as mentioned in 4.1, 'to eat simple meals focusing on health enhancement and nutrition' was included in the 'Guidelines for the improvement of life in a time of national emergency'. These guidelines were assembled in 1939 to provide advice to ordinary people on how to lead a frugal life during the wartime shortages. They were established by the Korean Federation of the Total Mobilization of National Spirit, [293] a semi-official organization that led a major war campaign through a nationwide network of sub-organizations, *aegukpan* ('patriotic units') (see 2.1). The widespread adoption of nutrition in the daily meals of ordinary Koreans was part of the agenda of the

[293] Hereafter I will refer to this organization as the 'Korean Federation'.

wartime campaign. Nutritional knowledge was not, therefore, specialized academic knowledge that belonged only to a handful of educated people.

The term ‘nutrition’ became increasingly important and came to feature frequently in *Sōdōin* 総動員(Total Mobilization), an official publication of the Korean Federation. For example, in November 1939, a themed issue of *Sōdōin* was published on the topic of the food shortage. The publication of this special issue coincided with the serious failure of the rice crop in Korea. Due to Korea’s pivotal role as a rice supplier for Japan, controlling the consumption of rice in Korea was part and parcel of the Japanese government’s food policy which sought to secure rice to export to Japan (see 1.1). Subtitled ‘A special edition on the food problem’, it contained various articles on saving food based on the nutritional concept including ‘Rice-saving campaigns’(Siohara 1939: 4-6); ‘Food issues in colonial Korea during the emergency situation’(Yamamoto 1939: 7-13); ‘The improvement of staple food’(Nomura 1939: 14-20); ‘The nutritional values of substitute foods’(Satō 1939: 21-25); ‘How to select foodstuffs and improve cooking methods’(Pang S. Y. 1939c: 26-28); and ‘Eating brown rice’(Wada 1939: 40-44). Comparing the nutritional qualities of a variety of foods, such as white rice, seventy per cent polished rice, brown rice, potatoes, and sweet potatoes, the articles emphasized the importance of consuming highly nutritious foods at a low cost while avoiding eating white rice. In addition to nutritional information, they also discussed how to cook these ingredients without losing their nutritional benefits. Through these channels, the government’s food management policies were conveyed to people as scientifically-appropriated foods.

One important example of the Japanese wartime government’s utilization of the nutritional concept in promoting the frugal consumption of food was the establishment of the ‘national diet’ (*kungminsik* 國民食) in 1941 Japan Proper. This set out the nutritional standards of the Japanese nation as determined by the Patriotic Food Union *(Shokuryō hōkoku remmei* 食糧報国連盟), a special group created in the previous year composed of Japanese dieticians and officials from the Health and Welfare Ministry. As the first official nutritional standards set by the Japanese government, the standard daily calorific

intake requirements for the Japanese nations were set according to groups categorized by age, sex and type of labour, with separate requirements for pregnant and nursing women (Chang S. H. 1941c: 30-31).

After the establishment of the standards in Tokyo, they soon appeared in the print media in Korea, including in the government-controlled magazine, and were introduced as a rational method of obtaining proper nourishment. The purpose of it was stated as 'setting out a national diet was to standardize consumption and to show how many calories and other nutrients were needed as a minimum in order to maintain one's health' (Ibid.). However, its purpose was not necessarily to encourage people to consume enough nutrients. It was more important to encourage people find their own way of meeting the requirements in the most economical way. One important reason behind the establishment of the standards explained in a magazine article was rational nourishment: 'During wartime, it is unavoidable that the quality of our lives be lower, however, it is important to prevent deterioration in the physical and labouring power of the nations since they are the sources of national strength…in order to maintain our productivity in a more economical way … the rationalization of nutrition comes first…'(Ibid.)

With regard to the practical application of the 'national diet', Hara Minoru, an assistant professor at Keiō Gijuku University, gave a further detailed account in his book *Senjishoku no kagaku* 戦時食の科学 (The Science of Wartime Eating) published in Japan in 1944. According to him, the central objective of the national diet was to help people find the most efficient, rationalized and economical way possible to ingest nutrients while bearing in mind the food shortages, rather than to instruct people to maintain their standard calorific intake. Calling it 'cheap nutrition' (*anka eiyō* 安価栄養) and 'economic nutrition' (*keizai eiyō* 経済栄養), he argued that it was the 'duty of wartime nations' to cut food costs as far as possible by choosing cheaper foodstuffs if the equivalent nutrition was available (Hara 1944: 10-15). In terms of putting great emphasis on the nutritional components rather than the foodstuffs, the basic notion of the national diet was similar to that of the 'nutritional component-centred view' of home economics described above. For the authorities, the concept of nutritional values could be used as a

convincing justification to restrict or encourage the consumption of specific foods.

The project of national diet went beyond only setting of nutritional standards of people; it was promoted though the Campaign for the Wartime National Diet (*Chŏnsi kungminsik undong* 戰時國民食運動) in Korea, part of the war mobilization led by the colonial government. For example, in 1942, Kyŏnggi provincial government ordered all counties (*kun*) to organize 'National diet cookery classes' for local housewives. These classes were instigated in order to educate housewives about nutrition and scientific cookery and eating. For example, the consumption of more wild foods instead of rice and barley, the increasingly scarce staple foods, was encouraged.[294] In 1943, through the further extension of this campaign, the government initiated the 'Movement to Develop Food Resources' (*Singnyang chawŏn kaech'ŏk undong* 食糧資源開拓運動) which promoted gathering and the consumption of wild animals and plants and the study of cooking methods for these food resources. A newspaper article noted that there were 320 kinds of edible wild animals, including 27 kinds of insects, and stressed that the nutritional values of these resources were not less valuable than those of rice and other grains which people ate through mere force of habit.[295] Nutritional science was part of the state apparatus that aimed to address the increasingly worsening wartime food shortages in colonial Korea.

An important element in the implementation of nutritional strategies was mass education. As discussed in the Introduction of this study, mass education of nutrition originated in the nineteenth century Western industrialising societies to ease widespread poverty, and Japan is not the only modern nation which devoted efforts in promoting nutrition among people. However, as a late comer, Japan had an opportunity to learn from the western examples, and most of all, food was highly important component of Meiji Japan's Westernization policy in pursuit of increasing wealth and military power of the country. Due to the political significance, Japanese authorities had made concrete efforts to inculcate and diffuse nutritional knowledge among the population, and such a

[294] 'P'ilsŭng-ŭi siksaenghwal undong-pisangsi singnyang chunbi-wa kungminsik pogŭb-e manjŏn 必勝의 食生活運動-非常時 食糧準備와 国民食普及에 万全', *Maeil sinbo*, 18 August 1942, p.2.
[295] 'Singnyang chawŏn kaech'ŏk undong 食糧資源開拓運動', *Maeil sinbo*, 24 March 1943, p.2.

governmental strategy in Japan had a considerable influence on the mass education about nutrition in colonial Korea.

The National Research Institute for Nutrition (*Kokuritsu eiyō kenkyūjo* 国立栄養研究所, NRIN) in Tokyo, established in 1920, was influential in the mass education of nutrition in Japan Proper as well as colonial Korea. Led by a prominent Japanese dietician, Saeki Tadasu (1876-1959), the NRIN was a pioneering research institute on a global scale, and was entirely devoted to the issue of human nutrition. Established in response to the 1918 Rice Riots in Japan, one of the major objectives of the institute was to enable the economical nourishment of the Japanese populations using nutritional science. Its activities ranged from fundamental research to the promotion of nutrition suitable for practical use in the daily diet (Ehara 2009: 246). The teachings of Saeki and other experts at the institute played an important role in the popularization of nutritional knowledge and the importance of scientific nourishment in Japanese society (Cwiertka 2006a: 122).

The accumulated research results and dietary advice provided by the NRIN in Tokyo were continuously disseminated in colonial Korea through newspapers and popular magazines. For example, in April 1940 *Chosŏn ilbo*, a major Korean newspaper, published the dietary guidelines announced by the institute, emphasizing the significance of proper nutrition for Korean people in the daily diet amid deteriorating food shortages. With two categories, of adults and children, it offered twenty guidelines for ensuring efficient nourishment while consuming and preparing less food, including advice such as making nutritional values the top priority rather than eaters' taste preferences, eating nutrient-rich foods, and trying to consume animal products and vegetables.[296] In an article in the *Tonga ilbo* newspaper of 1938 a Korea dietician remarked on the importance of protein in human nutrition quoting the information provided from the NRIN. Reflecting on the dietary advice of the institution, he advised Koreans to put more *myŏlch'i* (anchovies) into bean paste soup in order to consume more protein, which was often

[296] 'Yŏngyang innŭn kŏs-ŭro ŭmsig-ŭn kolla mŏkcha 營養있는것으로 음식은 골라 먹자', *Chosŏn ilbo* 朝鮮日報, 3 April 1940, p.14.

lacking in the Korean diet.[297]

Women's popular magazines also often featured information about nutrition from the Japanese institute. For example, an article in *Yŏsŏng* 女性 (Women) featuring practical advice on the scientific and rational management of the daily diet suggested putting the nutritional information table from the NRIN on the kitchen wall for ease of access. It suggested that although it was difficult to memorize all of the nutritional information, doing this would increase Korean housewives' nutritional knowledge and further its application in cooking (Hŏ Y. S. 1938: 88). In this manner, the nutritional education involved by the state provided with the standard of scientific diets, and might lead housewives to the realization that academic knowledge was useful in dealing with wartime cooking.

Along with the emergence of the nutritional concept in the diet, meal planning was also emphasized as an important element in the scientific management of home-cooked meals. As explained previously, meal planning was indispensable for preparing scientifically appropriate and cost-effective meals, and was one of the central components of home economics education. Along with the stress placed on the nutritional aspect of diet, the media advocated the need to plan daily meals to ensure the economical and proper nourishment of the family. For example, an article in *Yŏsŏng* written in 1940 noted the importance of meal planning: 'in wartime, we [women] are required to achieve the perfect balance between domestic economy and nutrition…to prevent time-wasting when we buy foodstuffs, planning every day's meals is an absolute necessity' (Yi K. W. 1940: 2). Week-long sample meal plans frequently appeared in popular magazines (Im M. S. 1938: 78; Yi K. W. 1940: 2).

In July 1940, a standardization of Korean meals took place, led by the government and nutritionists in Korea, which aimed to 'improv[e] Korean people's health and nutrition on the home-front'. By this time, the rice shortage was evident, and various rice-saving campaigns, such as a ban on polishing and selling white rice, had been introduced,

[297] 'Inch'e yŏngyang-ŭi kibon chisik (sam) karori-ran muŏs in'ga 人體体營養의 基本知識（三） 카로리란 무엇인가', *Tonga ilbo* 東亜日報 16 August 1938, p.5.

together with the rationing of rice. In response to this situation, 140 'Economical and nutritional wartime menus' (*chŏnsi kyŏngje yŏngyangsik* 戰時経済栄養食), which used many different substitutes for (staple) foods, were published as 'good' and 'perfectly nutritious' meals. The meal plans were categorized by their suitability for mining labourers, factory workers, school dormitories, cafeterias and home-cooking.[298] Female educators, such as Yi Suk-chong, the principle of Sŏngsin Women's School and Tsuda Setsuko,[299] a Japanese educator who was actively involved in the campaigns to reform the daily life of colonial Koreans were involved the project. These standardized meal plans were used in canteens as mentioned above, and distributed via newspapers, magazines, radio programmes and public lectures.[300]

All of this nutritional advice and these economical cooking methods, which were spread via various channels, were put into practice by housewives. Readers' letters sent to women's magazines in 1938 show us that housewives exercised their ingenuity in managing home-cooked meals in an economical way:

> I make it a rule to use less beef [in making soup]; instead, I use MSG, *hanagatsuo*,[301] *iriko*,[302] and *kombu*[303] as substitutes…
>
> (Song K. S. 1938: 87)

> [a]mid endlessly soaring prices, it is impossible to eat as we did before, so I use cheap and nutrient-rich foodstuffs, such as dried or salted sardines instead of buying sea bream and croaker. I have reduced by half the amount of beef used when making soup, and add a small fish instead…For the children's snacks, I make porridge with boiled beans, and use the leftovers to make soup…
>
> (Pak K. S. 1938; 87)

The scientific management of home-cooked meals based on nutritional knowledge

[298] 'Chŏnsiha-ŭi yŏngyangsik subaekchong 'sikt'akp'yo' chaksŏng 戰時下의營養食 数百種'食卓表'作成' *Tonga ilbo*, 13 July 1940, p.3;
[299] See 5.1 about the campaigns of daily life improvement led by Tsuda Setsuko in colonial Korea.
[300] 'Isang-chŏk sikt'akp'yo 理想的食卓表' *Maeil sinbo*, 11 July 1940, p.2.
[301] Shaved *katsuobushi* like petals. *Katsuobushi* is dried, smoked and cured bonito (a fish). When the fillets are as hard as a piece of wood, they are shaved, and these shavings have numerous uses, especially in making soup stock.
[302] A small dried fish used for making soup.
[303] Kelp, an essential ingredient in soup.

was the central theme of the home economics taught at girls' schools. Before 1938, the scientific education for future housewives, while being called to be innovative, had been the subject of criticism in Korean society due to its impractical nature. However, by the time of the introduction of the colonial government's wartime food policies, a theoretical knowledge of nutritional science had become an essential skill for housewives who were to meet their responsibilities of economically and efficiently managing the home on a war footing.

The Rationalization of the Wartime Diet

The concept of nutrition was not the only scientific aspect that housewives were encouraged to follow in managing family life: scientifically grounded rationalization (*hamnihwa* 合理化) and efficiency (*hyoyul* 効率) were other buzzwords that came with the rise of the scientific home management discourse. As discussed in 6.1, the concepts of rationalization and efficiency were the symbols of modern domesticity, and were the definite goals of home economics education. Girls were taught to make the household budget last through budgeted living and saving, and to increase the labour efficiency of housework from the view-point of making a modern and happier family life.

The modern theory of rationalization, originally invented in Western industrial nations to improve industrial efficiency, arrived in Korea via Japan. By the mid-1910s, the 'efficiency movement' in the domestic sphere had become active in Japan, influenced by the principles of rationalization advocated by Frederic Winslow Taylor (1856-1915) (Sand 2003: 84). Influenced by the Japanese, the term 'rationalization' became a household word by the 1930s in Korea, and was promoted by educated Koreans, including home economics educators, who wanted to reshape their domestic life for greater efficiency (So H. S. 2006: 151). During Japan's wars with China and the Western powers (1937-1945), the discourse of rationalization was exploited as part of the war campaign of the colonial government which sought to mobilize all material and human resources to support the country's war effort (Chŏng K. S. 2006: 32-34).

The colonial government's statement published in the January 1942 issue of

Kokumin sōryoku (National Total Mobilization),[304] the official magazine of the Korean Federation, offers a telling example of how the discourse of rationalization gained nationalistic connotations: 'Korean people must cut all unnecessary aspects from their lives so that they can devote the time, labour and materials saved to the benefit of the country' (Anonymous 1942d: 124-125). This statement was made immediately after Japan declared war on America and Britain in December 1941. The authorities' declaration was part of a simple war strategy which required the all-out mobilization of colonial Koreans to exercise economy in their daily life in order to sustain Japan's war footing. Combined with the rhetoric of nutrition, the idea of the rationalization of home economics framed the model of scientific living, reflecting the colonial government's war policies. Like other government directives concerning war mobilization, the rationalization of the diet was promoted through various state-involved campaigns.

In the name of the rationalization of the diet, numerous guidelines to transform the eating habits of Korean people were introduced. As mentioned in 4.1, the number of side dishes at a meal was one of the issue most frequent dealt with when it came to the problems of Korean diet. Government-involved magazine articles pointed out the inefficiency of Koran diet arguing that Korean people's practice of eating more than necessary would lead to excess of calorific intake, which would end up being passed out of the body without any nutritional benefit (Anonymous 1940c: 92; Anonymous 1940d: 86). In terms of efficiency of meal preparation, the accurate measurement of all seasoning before cooking was encouraged in order to prevent waste, such as the juices left after boiling food. The importance of cooking meals according to the recipes to reduce food waste was also emphasized (Nakajima 1940: 41-42). In other words, the point of rationalizing the diet was to eat less food and to extract the maximum nutrition possible from meals using the smallest possible amount of food, time and labour. Such dietary advice to enhance efficiency of everyday diet was provided people through many kinds of austerity campaigns and mass education throughout the country.

However, as the government stated in the article of *Kokumin sōryoku* that 'Korean

[304] The official magazine of the Korean Federation, *Sōdōin,* was renamed *Kokumin sōryoku* 国民総力 (National Total Mobilization) from the November 1940 issue.

people must cut all unnecessary aspects from their lives', cited earlier, the objects which should be rationalized within the government reform drive were not just material resources, but also people's time and labour. According to Foucault, the power to control and dispose of an individual's time in everyday life was useful for discipline and could be used to impose particular responsibilities upon people, eliminating anything that might disturb or distract them from their work (1991: 236). The colonial government paid great attention to controlling Korean housewives' time, arguing that it was necessary to change their attitudes to living and their habits of time management which would enhance living efficiency. The authorities even went so far as to create housewives' timetable in 1942, as shown in Table 6-1 below:

Table 6-1: A daily timetable for housewives

06.30 → noon	Noon → 18.00	18.00 → 23.00	23.00 → 06.00
-wake up, get dressed -cleaning (hallway, dining room) -preparing breakfast and lunch boxes - *kyūjō yōhai* [305], radio gymnastics -sending children to school -clearing the table -cleaning -reading newspapers -washing, sewing, shopping, -preparing lunch	-silent prayer -eating lunch -clearing the table -going out, shopping, sewing -welcoming the children back from school (talk about school) -cleaning	-eating dinner, enjoying the family circle -clearing the table -folding the laundry, sewing -preparing for the next day's work (clothing, lunch boxes, shoe polishing) -reading and keeping books (diary, household accounts, planning for next day)	-sleeping

Source: Anonymous 1942d: 126

By following this daily timetable, housewives were required to lead an orderly life in keeping with the discipline of the state. That all domestic duties were entrusted to housewives and that the emphasis was placed on the virtuous and economical motherhood – welcoming children home from school, creating a 'family circle' at dinner time, and keeping household accounts – indicate that the epitomized domestic life and housewives suggested by the colonial government had much in common with the

[305] Performing a salutation towards the Imperial Palace in Japan.

attributes of *hyŏnmo yanch'ŏ* within the new home ideology of 1920s' Korea. However, at the same time, the authorities included disciplinary elements, such as *kyūjō yōhai* 宮城遥拝 and silent prayer, in the daily practices of housewives. Korean women were required to follow this standard, to manage their household with discipline and to practice wartime moderation. The government also urged housewives to save at least 20 per cent of the family income through rational and well-scheduled housework. All the surplus capacity achieved by efficient home management had to be contributed to the country (Anonymous 1942d: 125).

Then, what specific roles were housewives expected to carry out to serve the country by saving their time and labour? It is likely that homemakers needed more time and to work harder to reduce their living expenses to the minimum. For example, in a reader's letter printed in *Yŏsŏng*, one housewife said that she spent much more of her time sewing in order to patch and re-patch her family's clothing, as she tried to mend as much as possible instead of buying new clothes (Kim K. J. 1938: 87). In addition, housewives were increasingly required to get involved in the various war campaigns led by the government since many war mobilization projects (e.g., saving rice and collecting waste) were related to domestic duties. The fact that the *aegukpan* organizations were chiefly led by female leaders, explained earlier in 2.1, is a case in point. Korean women were the major force who took the lead in promoting war-supporting campaigns.

As the food shortages worsened, housewives were urged to turn their time and labour to production activities, in which the majority of urban women had not previously engaged. Notwithstanding the expansion of the food rationing programme, the original aim of which was the even distribution of scarce food, the short supply through the rationing channels led to a widespread black market where things were traded at prices much higher than those that had been fixed. The prices of rice and other ingredients dramatically increased in the run up to 1945: in 1944, Seoul citizens had to pay twelve times the official price to buy white rice (see table 3-3 in Chapter Three). From 1940, the home businesses run by women to acquire foodstuffs or extra income, such as kitchen gardening, poultry farming and rabbit rearing, became a frequent topic in women's magazines (Cho C. G., Yun J. Y., and Kye Y. G. 1940: 46-87; Chŏn H. J. 1940: 35).

In August 1941, Kawasaki, the head of the Korean Federation, announced official guidelines that promoted vegetable gardening. This was part of the administrative effort to secure food resources which were in increasingly short supply, especially in city areas. He urged women to plant vegetables on unused ground near houses, schools and government buildings. Led by the Korean Federation, the vegetable gardening projects, from the distribution of seeds to fertilizing and from destroying insects to weeding, were managed by *aegukpan* units (Anonymous 1941f: 89-90). In the all-out war, the rational management of family life, which had once been regarded as a symbol of the modern 'wise mother, good wife', became an essential skill for good 'wartime home managers'. The focus on efficiency in the household shifted from the improvement of individual life to the serving of the nation.

Another issue that frequently arose within the discourse of the rationalization of domestic life was the synchronization of family meals in the Korean home. As discussed in 6.1, the segregation of the time and space for family meals in Korean houses was one of the key issues discussed by Korean nationalist reformers who wanted to modernize Korean domesticity. The colonial authorities also recognized this Korean eating practice as irrational, and urged Koreans to eat together as a family. However, the main motivation behind the Japanese authorities' discouragement of this Korean eating habit was their desire to use the time for eating home-cooked meals to spiritually indoctrinate the Korean people, rather than the viewpoint of modernization of daily lives of the people.

The political significance of eating together in the Korean home was clearly represented in a booklet called *Katei seikatsu saiken undō yōkō* 家庭生活再建運動要綱 (Guidelines of the Movement for Domestic Life Reconstruction) published in 1943 by the Hamgyŏngnam-do Federation for Total National Mobilization, a provincial branch of the Korean Federation. The booklet was written to encourage the reform of Korean domestic life. Setting out its major goal as 'instilling a sense of nationhood grounded in loyalty in Korean family life by inculcating the emperor-centred Japanese spirit', the movement had four objectives: 1) *kyūjō yōhai* and offering prayers following Japanese Shinto; 2) the renovation of manners among family; 3) the improvement of eating habits; and 4) the use of the national (Japanese) language (Kokumin sŏryoku Hamgyŏng-namdo renmei 1943: 1,

2, 4, and 8). Along with other essential colonial projects which aimed to spiritually indoctrinate the Korean people during the final years of Japanese rule, the matter of the family meal was considered highly important.

The eating of a common meal with family members was promoted as a fundamental method of uplifting the spirit of national solidarity among Koreans. The avowed reasons why meals must be eaten together were more practical, such as the Korean custom being 'a wasteful practice in terms of the labour and time of housewives' and it 'depriv[ing] Koreans of the opportunities of the 'family circle', leading to the harmful effect of making housewives ignorant and of bringing a frigid atmosphere into the home' (Kokumin sōryoku Hamgyŏng-namdo renmei 1943: 7-8) However, a closer look at the detailed guidelines for home-cooked meals reveals the political intention of the colonial authorities, which sought to inculcate a totalitarian ideology among Koreans. The advice in the above-mentioned booklet instructs the Koreans to 1) wait until all members are gathered; 2) give thanks for the food before and after meals in chorus; and 3) eat together at the same table. In addition, the heads of the household were encouraged to talk about the country's war situation with their family members, and help their children understand the country's position (Ibid.). While the encouragement of the synchronization of family meals in Korea had not been stimulated with political connotation, by the time of the Japan's all-out war years, it was certainly discussed within a political frame by the authorities.

The use of family mealtimes as a political tool was one of Meiji Japan's nation-building projects which had been implemented several decades earlier in Japan. The Japanese scholar Omote states that the Japanese domestic discourse that had emerged by the end of the nineteenth century was linked to the Meiji reformers' 'policies of paternalism' (Omote 2006: 376). Initially influenced by the Victorian 'cult of domesticity', the Japanese ideology created a picture of the home as the place for family members to gather together, in addition to instilling moral and educational values. Within this ideology, according to Omote, the image of the family circle eating together had taken shape by 1890. The image was used to reinforce nationalistic ideology among the Japanese people through the conscious efforts of the Meiji leaders who identified the

Japanese Empire as a unique ‘family state’ led by the emperor (Ibid.). As a result, the synchronization of family meals, a revolution in eating for the late nineteenth-century Japanese, was disseminated within urban Japanese families during the first decades of the twentieth century (Cwiertka 2006a: 92-93). The issue of synchronization of family meals in the Korean home was a part of Meiji Japan’s political apparatus grounded in totalitarian view which escalated during the Japan’s wartime years of the 1930s and 1940s.

Women’s knowledge and skills to rationally and efficiently run households was regarded by the Japanese authorities as a vital instrument in executing war policies. While home economics in colonial emerged led by discursive forces motivated by different agenda of multiple players, the most powerful factor in the dissemination of the modern academic discipline among Koran women was the food policy of the colonial government. The Japanese government placed great faith in the scientific solution – efficient nourishment grounded in nutrition and family management – for wartime food shortages. As Cwiertka states, under the Japanese doctrine of ‘total war’, nutritional science was transformed from the domain of scientific specialists into practical advice for ordinary people (2006a: 117).

Japanese home economics education and *hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ* ideology in it turned colonial Korean women into professional housewives. Within the colonial frame, Korean women modernized themselves by practicing science in their home. After 1938, however, home economics was fully exploited adopted as the state apparatus for training Korean women to be imperial housewives who put scientific principles into practice in the framework of the wartime austerity policies. The legacy of colonial modernity in relation to housekeeping reforms and the ideology of *hyŏnmo yangch’ŏ* remain essentially intact in twenty-first century Korea, and continue to shape Korean women’s attitudes towards domesticity, which not infrequently overlap with ideas from traditional Korean womanhood.