

<Part ?EVERY MINUTE COUNTS: Temporal Discipline in Schools and in the Household>Hani Motoko and the Spread of Time Discipline into the Household

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PREFACE

Morning: between 9:30, when you finish your laundry and other daily morning chores, and 11:30, when you begin preparing lunch, you have two hours. Start immediately on the housework to be done in these two hours (plan the work to be done in this period the night before); otherwise the morning will be frittered away, you will have accomplished nothing, and feel unhappy the entire day. You can accomplish a great deal in two hours, if you use them to the full. If you allow yourself to be disturbed by tradesmen seeking orders, it is your own fault. There are many ways to avoid being bothered. For things other than fish, say, where you must directly examine what you buy, you can just write your order on a blackboard and leave it outside the door. Or you can go out to shop for groceries in the afternoon. Find the means that best suits your own circumstances.¹

Such was the advice of Hani Motoko, who pioneered the introduction of time discipline into the household, and who in 1908 founded *Fujin no tomo* (*Lady's Companion*), an influential women's monthly still published today.²

Hani was born in 1873 in northern Japan, in Aomori prefecture. Her grandfather was a samurai. She entered elementary school in 1879, and completed the elementary, secondary, and advanced courses; she was the only girl to complete the advanced course.

In 1888, she came to Tokyo with her grandfather and entered the second grade in a public girls' high school in Tokyo. In this period, she learned of Christianity and was baptized. She graduated from high school in 1891, and entered the advanced course in the Meiji Girls High School, a private Christian institution. There Hani experienced dormitory life, and for the first time, she "learned how comfortable for both body and soul leading a well-regulated life could be."³ This experience may have been one source of her later ideas on time discipline. During those days, she attended the church of Uemura Masahisa, an evangelist influenced by James H. Ballagh, a figure in the American Great Awakening.

In 1892, she returned to her hometown, and taught elementary school. Before long, however, she moved on to a Catholic girls' school in Morioka, in northern Japan. She

married, but divorced just six months later. Moving to Tokyo, she began eventually to work for the Hōchi Shinbun, and in 1896 became the first newspaperwoman in Japan. At the paper, she met Hani Yoshikazu, and married him in 1901. She was 28 years old; he was 21. This marriage forced her to resign from her job.

After her second daughter died of pneumonia in 1906, Hani's religious inclinations became more pronounced; she would later write that her daughter's death had made her a truly religious person.⁴ Although she didn't belong to any particular denomination, her writings after the loss of her daughter display marked Protestant influences, and these may also have affected her advocacy of time discipline in the household.

In 1903, she and her husband founded the magazine *Katei no tomo* (*Family Companion*). In 1908, they also began the *Fujin no tomo*.⁵ In 1921 she extended her activities beyond journalism, and established a school called Jiyū Gakuen, or Free School.

Time discipline, which first took root in the railways and factories of Meiji Japan, began in the first half of the twentieth century to shape household life as well; Hani played a central role in this creation of a domestic temporal order. Surveying her writings in *Fujin no tomo*, *Katei no tomo*, and her *Collected Works*, this article examines the substance and development of Hani Motoko's thinking about household time.

1 THE MEIJI AND TAISHŌ ERAS: SCHEDULE-MAKING AND HOUSEWORK TIME

Between 1903 and the end of the Meiji era (1912), Hani's articles in *Katei no tomo* and *Fujin no tomo* regularly stressed the importance of making schedules for all family members. Household tasks, she urged, should be managed according to a plan.

She first introduced the idea of schedules in the December 1903 issue of *Katei no tomo*, where she presented her *Shufu no jikanwari* (*Schedule for Housewives*). "The housewife," Hani declared, "is the nerve center of the household, so the first step toward organizing time in the home is organizing the time of the housewife." She then went on to detail the tasks that should be done, respectively, "after dinner," "after breakfast," and in "the hour after lunch." "After dinner," for example, "you should update household accounts, and note down what groceries to buy the next day (according to the menu you have prepared in advance), what things to wash, whom to write to and what supplies, such as postage stamps and tobacco, that you need to stock up on; in short, you should mark down all the things that you need to purchase or do, and put your notes in your Miscellany Box (*zatsuyō bako*). Similarly, for the hour before or after lunch, Hani advises the housewife, that "It is best to devote this time to reading the newspaper or books. If you have time to spare after your after dinner tasks, an additional hour of reading in the evening is desirable." Compared to the timetable recommended for housewives a quarter of a century later, we shall see, this early schedule is drawn in broad strokes.

In addition, she urged her readers to make a schedule of the sorts of chores to be

done on each day of the week.

On Monday, laundry; if it should rain, postpone to another day. On Tuesday, starch clothes. Depending on the circumstances, do laundry as well. On Wednesday, you scrub dishes, pots, and pans, selecting a different group for each Wednesday of the month—for example, cups this Wednesday, food utensils or confectionary bowls the following Wednesday, and so on. Dishtowels should also be washed on Wednesday.

The contents of the weekly schedule in this article are almost identical to that of 1927, which appears in volume 9 of Hani's *Collected Works*. It thus appears that her conception of a household weekly schedule had taken mature form as early as 1903.

In the November 1906 issue of *Katei no tomo*, she declared that it was the responsibility of the housewife not only to follow a timetable herself, but “to make schedules of tasks for family members and maids, and to make sure that they adhere to them.” By way of models, she published the timetables of her own household—those of her maid, her younger sister, and younger brother.

In 1907, she devised and sold a schedule book called *Shufu nikki* (Housewife's Diary) to aid housewives organize household chores and carry them out efficiently. An advertisement in the January 1908 number of the *Fujin no tomo* explained that, “This is a diary not for recording what has already occurred, but of what must be done in the days to come,” and continued, “It is designed for setting down the plan for the following day the night before, and the following month's plans at the end of the preceding month.”

In the March issue of *Fujin no tomo* the same year, Hani wrote an article critical of housewives titled, “Are Housewives Really Busy?” “It is because we housewives don't fully appreciate the supreme importance of time, no doubt, that we feel busy unless we are entirely free for an entire half day or day.” She advised, “Make use of spare time. Take advantage, for instance, of time between cleaning up after lunch and when the children come home.”

In the January 1910 issue of *Fujin no tomo*, she stressed the importance of annual timetables. (A concrete example of an annual timetable, however, would appear only in 1927, in volume 9 of her *Collected Works*.) She also suggested that times for getting up and going to bed should be adjusted to the season (e.g., from December to the first day of spring—as determined by the traditional calendar—rise at 5:30 a.m. and go to bed at 9:30 p.m.; from the first day of spring through May, rise at 5:00 a.m. and go to bed at 9:00 p.m.); mealtimes, on the other hand, should be fixed at a certain hour, regardless of the season.

The February 1911 issue of *Fujin no tomo* carried an article titled, “A schedule for housewives”, in which Hani set forth what housewives should do, respectively, in the early morning, the forenoon, the afternoon, and the evening. In contrast to the timetable for housewives in the December 1903 issue of *Katei no tomo*, which spotlighted only three periods (after dinner, after breakfast, and one hour after lunch), this new timetable

listed each hour of the day with the exception of sleeping time. Furthermore, the daily chores were analyzed in more precise detail. Because the contents of this article are almost identical to those in Hani's *Collected Works* vol.9, I shall discuss it in the next section, along with other aspects of this volume. In any case, it is evident that Hani's ideas about the daily timetable had already matured by this period.

It should be noted that such schedules responded, in part, to a demand on the part of the magazine's readers. December 1905 issue of *Katei no tomo* carried a letter from one subscriber who wrote: "I'm busy all day long, and don't have the time to read even a single magazine. How can I arrange my tasks in order to have some more free time?"

In sum, from the magazine's founding in 1903 through the end of the Meiji period in 1912, articles related to time were a prominent feature of *Katei no tomo* and *Fujin no tomo*. The Taishō period (1912-1926), however, saw the development of another dimension to the treatment of time in Hani's magazines: in addition to the articles on scheduling, they began to conduct research on the time required for each household task.

All of the issues of *Fujin no tomo* in 1913 included studies on the time needed to cook various dishes. The March number in the same year also published studies on the time needed for such tasks as washing, ironing, and sewing. The whole of the August 1915 issue of *Fujin no tomo* was devoted to research on how long each household task takes. The January 1916 issue of *Fujin no tomo* presented a time budget for a family of five.⁶

2 THE BEGINNING OF THE SHŌWA PERIOD: TIME DISCIPLINE IN VOLUME 9 OF THE COLLECTED WORKS (1927)

Summing up years of schedule making and research on household time, volume 9 of Hani's *Collected Works* presented her fundamental conception of housework and family finances, as well as practical ideas for housework. In this book, she once again stressed the importance of a plan for household chores, and fixed the standard amount of time that tasks such as laundry and sewing should take.

Let us begin with her schedule for household tasks. She wrote:

You should first survey the things that must be accomplished over the entire year, and then, based on this overall survey, determine the tasks for each day.

January: Since you were busy at the end of the year—finishing off remaining business, making a budget for the following year—it is desirable that, besides carrying on routine tasks, you use this month to take a trip with your family, or visit with friends.

February: Take all the spring clothes for your family members out from storage, and devote yourself to repairs and other sewing adjustments.

March: Continue sewing, and finish making summer kimonos by 10 March. By the

spring equinox, finish taking apart and washing the kimonos for winter.

April: Starch the kimonos that were taken apart and washed the previous month, and start on sewing the clothes for autumn and winter.

May: Until the 10th, continue with the sewing from the previous month. In the week following 11 May, wash the clothes worn since March. Then, prepare the summer kimonos and accessories (Sewing for summer ought to have been completed the previous fall). Take measures to protect furniture and clothes against dampness before the onset of the rainy season.⁷

Hani continues in a similar vein with advice for each month from June through December, and then presents a weekly schedule for household tasks.

After having covered all the major tasks of the year, and parsed them to the various months, it is useful then to fix a weekly schedule so that chores such as special cleanings, washing of underwear, night wear, and sheets, and mending the clothes to be worn every day, can all be carried out without fail.

Monday: Laundry; in case of rain, some families may need to postpone the wash to another day.

Tuesday: Ironing; there may also be things that must be starched on this day.

Wednesday: Polish bowls and other utensils; on the first Wednesday of the month, you polish tea-things; on the second Wednesday, tableware; on the third, the glasses that you normally can't reach, as well those utensils that you can't polish after every use; on the fourth, the same as above. Make Thursday the day for washing all the dish towels.

Thursday: Major housecleaning. Devote each Thursday of the month to different rooms of the house; the rooms to be cleaned on a particular Thursday should be cleaned even inside the closets; if necessary, decorative furnishings should be changed.

Friday: Sewing; as mentioned before, sew the clothing for everyday use.

Saturday: Plan the outlines of the following week. Determine what chores you are going to complete, for example, or where you will visit, and note down in the Housewives' Diary, to the extent you are able at the moment, what you need to do and buy. Check if you have enough sugar, for instance, or fish stock, or cloth, and if necessary, go shopping.

All the above-mentioned tasks can be finished in an hour in the morning, or at latest before noon, so you should attend, in addition, to the other household tasks, such as sewing or laundry, assigned to each month.

Sunday: Attend church or read. Work should be left to the other six days of the week; devote yourself to cultivating your mind, or writing letters, visiting friends, or excursions....

If the times for getting up, clearing the breakfast and dinner tables, finishing clean-

ing, and closing up the house are determined in advance, in accordance with the circumstances in each home, and if there is a systematic plan for tasks such as rising, opening up the house, and preparing breakfast in the morning, and at locking up and turning out the lights at night, think of how much trouble is saved by the housewife, and how much more quickly the maid can finish her chores.⁸

As noted earlier, the basic structure and contents of this weekly schedule are essentially the same as those of the schedule found in her article of 1903. Hani thus seems to have had a clear idea of this weekly schedule from the very founding of her magazines.

Finally, the *Collected Works* volume 9 also proposes a daily schedule for the housewife:

Early morning: It good first to first pray, for it is only in the early morning, while family members are still sleeping, that you, as a housewife busy taking care of her family the entire day, have time to reflect quietly. . . .

Morning: between 9:30, when you finish your laundry and other daily morning chores, and 11:30, when you begin preparing lunch, you have two hours. Start immediately on the housework to be done in these two hours (plan the work to be done in this period the night before); otherwise the morning will be frittered away, you will have accomplished nothing, and feel unhappy the entire day. You can accomplish a great deal in two hours, if you use them to the full. If you allow yourself to be disturbed by tradesmen seeking orders, it is your own fault. There are many ways to avoid being bothered. For things other than fish, say, where you must directly examine what you buy, you can just write your order on a blackboard and leave it outside the door. Or you can go out to shop for groceries in the afternoon. Find the means that best suits your own circumstances.

Afternoon: Cleaning up after lunch, you should have about a half an hour to read the newspaper. Decide beforehand that you will return to work at one o'clock, say, or one-thirty, and go through your tasks according to a predetermined plan until three o'clock, when the children return from school. . . . You may go out for groceries after listening to what the children say about their day at school, but you should always fix beforehand what time you will head out.

Evening: From five-thirty, when you begin preparations for dinner, until seven-thirty, when you put the children to bed—and then of course, the after-dinner clean up in between—you you will probably have no spare time. After the younger children fall asleep, you should work on the household accounts and fill in the Housewife's Diary, scheduling the tasks for the next day. Thirty minutes should be ample for this. It would be best if you set aside the time from eight o'clock to nine o'clock for reading. You should finish each day with some reading from the Bible or similar text, chosen according to your religion. . . .

Surveying the day thus, you realize that even if a housewife works all day, she has only about three or fours hours for concentrated work, and one hour for reading.⁹

Underpinning Hani's earnestness in schedule making was her belief that, "The planning of time is the same as the planning of the household budget."¹⁰ Time, in her mind, was money.¹¹

She measured how long it took to perform household chores, such as laundry and sewing, and established standard times for each. Her analysis of washing, for instance, looked like this :

Table 1. Standard Washing Times
Hani Motoko, *Collected Works no. 9*, p.170

Item	time of washing	first rinse	second rinse	third rinse	sum total
sheet	7 min.	1 min.	1 min.	30 sec.	9 min. 30 sec.
white summer kimono	4 min.	1 min.	1 min.	50 sec.	6 min. 50 sec.
flannel nightgown	5 min.	1 min.	1 min.	1 min.	8 min.

Furthermore, she urged her readers to "promote your efficiency in washing and sewing to match the standard times," and "make efforts to better your personal record."¹²

Her notion of analyzing chores such as washing into smaller subtasks such as washing, first rinse, second rinse, and third rinse, and then timing and fixing standard times for each obviously bears a close resemblance to—although it was rather cruder than—the method of F. W. Taylor.¹³ Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management* was published in 1911, and its contents were summarized that same year in a Japanese newspaper. It is thus possible that Taylorism influenced Hani's approach to household management.

By volume 9 of her *Collected Works*, then, Hani's thinking about time discipline in the home had already matured; her later writings on the subject reveal little significant change. The *Collected Works*, moreover, continue to be read today by subscribers to *Fujin no tomo*. A member of the Tomo no Kai in Nagoya (the Nagoya branch of the society of friends of *Fujin no tomo*) told me in an interview in 1995 that at meetings of the society, members studied the *Collected Works* "as if it were the Bible."

Was Hani alone in her concern with time discipline in households? I examined the tables of contents of two leading women's magazines during the pre-war period, the *Fujin kōron* (*Public Opinion for Women*) and *Shufu no tomo* (*Housewife's Friend*), from the first issue to the December 1940 issue, and found four articles about time in the *Fujin kōron* and five in the *Shufu no tomo*.¹⁴ This evidence suggests two conclusions. First, the idea of time discipline in households was accorded a certain importance in these publications, so was indeed a matter of interest among contemporary readers. Second, the far greater number of articles on the subject in *Fujin no tomo* indicates Hani's time consciousness (and the time consciousness, presumably, of her readers as well)—her preoccupation with forging a rational and efficient life by management of domestic time—was

exceptionally high.

But it was not just women's magazines that took notice of women's time in household tasks. After World War I, the rationalization of household tasks was a topic of discussion among people who thought Japanese women should be educated to work in place of men in the event of an all-out war. Time figured prominently in these discussions: great emphasis was placed on researching household tasks "scientifically", carrying out these tasks in an "efficient" and "rational" manner, and more generally, establishing "disciplined order" in the use of time. In other words, the discussion stressed not so much the amount of time that a well-educated housewife could save by these measures, but rather the progressive attitude that they reflected.¹⁵

Unlike those who, after World War I, advocated the education of women, Hani did not promote the rationalization of domestic time from the point of view of national interest. Nor was fostering the spirit of time discipline, in and of itself, her goal. Rather, by minimizing the time required for housework, Hani hoped to create spare time that housewives could devote to educating themselves, and to activities beyond the home. Still, it is fair to say that Hani was a precursor of the stress on domestic time discipline that would figure prominently in both educational circles and women's magazines of the Taishō period.

3 THE GROWING PRECISION OF HANI'S TIMETABLE

In 1927, celebrations honoring the publication of Hani's *Collected Works* were held in many parts of Japan, and inspired the birth of many Tomo no Kai (Society of Readers of the *Fujin no tomo*), and this in turn led, in 1930, to the creation of national organization, the Zenkoku Tomo no Kai.¹⁶ These societies played a key role in the development of Hani's work. Based on surveys conducted by their members on the time required for household tasks, she further refined her analyses of time discipline.

Let us examine some of these studies. In the August 1932 issue of *Fujin no tomo*, the Zenkoku Tomo no Kai presented the results of a survey on the bedtimes and dinner-times of its members, under the title, "How long can housewives rest per day?" Four hundred and thirty-two housewives responded. The August 1938 issue reported the results of a survey of five hundred and forty members on the time housewives spent going out. Included in this study were how many days per week housewives went out, the total hours spent outside in one week, the average time of each outing, the places to which they went, etc. In the January 1941 issue, a survey on household time appeared under the title, "Time and work at home."

In the January 1942 issue, the society in Tokyo reported the results of research into how many hours housewives spent on meals, in which participants timed precisely how long it took to clear the table, to boil rice, and to cook miso soup. This study revealed,

for example, that for a family of seven, it takes forty minutes to clear the dinner table; taking away dishes – five minutes; washing dishes – four minutes; drying dishes with a dish towel – seven minutes; throwing household waste away and cleaning up the sink – three minutes; washing dish towels and sweeping the floor – eight minutes; preparation for the next day – eight minutes; mopping the floor and locking the house up – five minutes. Further, experiments were also conducted on how long it takes to cook six cups of rice with twelve cups of water, how long it takes to cook the same amount of rice with eleven cups of water, and which tastes better.

In the June 1942 issue, a member of the readers' society in Tokyo calculated from records of her sewing activities recorded in the *Shufu nikki* the total hours per year required to take care of the clothing for a family of five. According to her account, on an average, three hundred minutes per week were needed for sewing, one day per week for washing, drying and tailoring clothes, and a hundred and twenty minutes per day for ironing, so the total time was about ninety days per year.

Hani used such information to refine her ideas about time discipline. In the December 1942 issue, she set forth her conception of the day:

The most fundamental aspects of housework are, quite simply, time and labor. From long-term experiments by our readers' societies, we learned that on average, a housewife with a family of five (without a baby), living in a house with an area of about eighty square meters on land covering an area of about two hundred square meters, can finish the morning housework by herself in four hours. If she starts to prepare lunch at half past eleven, she can finish cleaning up by one o'clock. If she begins her evening household tasks at four, she can finish by eight. If she gets up at five o'clock, she has two and a half hours of spare time in the morning, three hours of spare time in the afternoon, and two hours of spare time in the evening. If she does her everyday work efficiently in the manner described above, she has seven and a half hours of spare time per day. She has to consider what to do during these hours.

Comparing this analysis with the articles in volume 9 of her *Collected Works* (1927), we find no change in Hani's basic thinking about time discipline. Nonetheless, we can discern two notable developments. First, her description was now supported by the extensive data from the readers' societies. The projected spare time of a housewife increased from three or four hours in 1927, to seven and a half hours in 1942. This increase in spare time owed, presumably, to more efficient housekeeping.

Further, in the 1942 article, Hani detailed concrete ways to improve efficiency, breaking down activities into finer time segments. In one section, for example, she describes how to complete the morning household tasks in four hours. According to her, for the family mentioned above, the basic morning tasks of a housewife consist of dressing (fifteen minutes), preparing for breakfast (fifty minutes), eating breakfast (twenty-five minutes), cleaning up afterward (thirty minutes), cleaning the house (one hour), and doing

laundry (on an average one hour). While the size of the house and the number of family members may differ, Hani recommended that readers use this standard as a reference and make their own schedules. She set forth procedures for each activity or task, such as dressing, preparing for breakfast, cleaning up, and cleaning the house. For instance, the procedure for preparing breakfast was as follows: “Rice cooking must begin fifty minutes before breakfast time. Of course, the length of time depends on the amount of rice; it takes thirty minutes to cook three hundred grams of rice and forty minutes to cook 1.5 kilograms of rice. Fifty minutes is sufficient to cook rice and to put it into a serving container. In the meantime, one can prepare the miso soup, boiled vegetables, hot water for tea, pickles, and set the table.” Thus, knowing how long it took to varying amounts of rice, one could calculate the time necessary to prepare breakfast.

One more thing bears mention. The idea of buying electrical household appliances in order to save time and labor for household tasks appeared in the May 1929 issue of *Fujin no tomo*. It seems that it was rare to buy appliances in those days; even later, in an article in the October 1946 issue, it was stated that it was a “dream” to own electrical appliances to do household tasks more efficiently. In fact, the concept of buying such appliances to save housewives time and labor was rare before the Pacific War. It was thought extravagant at the time to spend money on improving the efficiency of housework, which after all did not create revenue.¹⁷ Attitudes changed after the war, however, with the spread of washing machines, and people came to think that it was desirable to save time and labor in housework.¹⁸ In this regard, Hani, who was advocating the purchase of household electrical appliances already in 1929, can be considered quite progressive.

4 HANI'S TIME DISCIPLINE DURING AND AFTER THE PACIFIC WAR

The Pacific War began in 1941, and the articles about time discipline in the *Fujin no tomo* did not fail to reflect its impact on people's lives.¹⁹ We can see this influence, for instance, in the monthly schedule proposed by the January 1943 issue. Thus, a program for increasing the yield of vegetables was inserted into the monthly schedule (making a one-year plan for a vegetable garden in January, buying tomato, eggplant, and cucumber seeds and planting them in February, etc.). A more cooperative life, in which one worked closely with neighborhood associations, was also encouraged. Although these associations were originally created in 1940 as a means to mobilize people, in this issue, neighborhood association activities were taken up as one aspect of the rationalization of life—a means by which housewives could save time and labor.

“A Calendar of Household Tasks for January during the Final Battle,” in the January 1945 issue, presented a twenty-four hour schedule for housewives. This included some items that did not appear in peacetime. The basic conception of time discipline itself, however, showed no change. Hani estimated that carrying out household tasks systemati-

cally according to her schedule would produce six and a half hours of spare time per day. In this issue, spare time was devoted to working in neighborhood association factories, increasing the yield of home vegetable gardens, and in the seasonal maintenance of clothes, while in earlier issues, this time had been devoted to personal cultivation or to contributing to society. Then again, it is possible that, in the context of the war, Hani regarded working in a neighborhood association factory as a social activity. As Saitō Michiko points out, "All her activities in wartime were part of campaign for the rationalization of life,"²⁰ and that Hani's chief concern during that period was how much life could be rationalized under wartime conditions. In sum, although its impact is evident in Hani's schedule making, the Pacific War did not trigger any fundamental changes in her thinking about time.

What about after the war? It is said that upon returning home from the place to which she had evacuated for safety, Hani exclaimed in the entranceway that she was filled with renewed resolve. Despite this, however, we see little real development in her thought. Evaluating Hani's work after the Pacific War, Saitō speaks of "the roots of her thought withering away."²¹ This was true as well her thinking about time discipline. From the end of the Pacific War in 1945, to 1952, when arteriosclerosis forced her to give up writing at the age of seventy-nine, the magazine's articles about time were mostly written by others. The few articles that Hani did write merely rehashed old formulas.

CONCLUSION

Through a study of Hani Motoko, this article has elucidated one aspect of the permeation of time discipline into the Japanese household. It has revealed, to begin, that already at the beginning of the twentieth century there was a concern with how a housewife could use perform household tasks in an orderly, and efficient manner—a concern that translated into a program of intensive schedule making. The article has shown too, how this mode of thought spread following World War I.

Hani's basic philosophy of time discipline had fully matured by the publication of volume 9 of her *Collected Works* in 1927. Survey data provided by readers' societies allowed her to refine her scheduling of household tasks, and to break down the composition of the day with more detailed precision. But by the end of the Pacific War, her thinking had stopped developing.

Hani died in 1957, at the age of eighty-seven, but her ideas of domestic time discipline seem to have continued to flourish. Among her direct and most important legacies are the time surveys carried out by the Tomo no Kai. The first such survey occurred in 1940.²² In the beginning, the surveys were undertaken only sporadically and locally. But since 1959, nationwide surveys of how Tomo no Kai members use their time have been carried out about every five years.²³

NOTES

- ¹ *Hani Motoko chosakushū* (*Collected Works of Hani Motoko, hereafter cited as HMCS*), vol. 9 (Tokyo: Fujin no Tomo Sha, 1966; first published 1927), pp. 101-102.
- ² The descriptions about half her life are summarized referring to the following works: HMCS, vol. 14 (Tokyo: Fujin no Tomo Sha, 1969; first published 1929); Saitō Michiko, *Hani Motoko: Shōgai to shisō* (*Hani Motoko: Her Life and Philosophy*) (Tokyo: Domesu Shuppan, 1988), pp. 10-40; Zenkoku Tomo no Kai Chūōbu, ed., *Tomo no Kai to sono ayumi* (*The Readers' Societies and their History*), (Tokyo: Fujin no Tomo Sha, 1990), pp. 44-79; Doi Akio, *Nihon purotesutanto kirisutokyō shi* (*History of Protestantism in Japan*), (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shuppan, 1980).
- ³ HMCS, vol. 14, pp. 52-53.
- ⁴ HMCS, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Fujin no Tomo Sha, 1969; first published 1928), pp. 324-325.
- ⁵ She and her husband resigned from *Katei no tomo* in December of 1908, but the magazine continued under other editors.
- ⁶ On the contents of the *Fujin no tomo* from 1915 to 1916, see Saitō, *Hani Motoko*, p. 73.
- ⁷ HMCS, vol. 9, pp. 96-97.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-103.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- ¹¹ She did use the expression "Time is money" in her writings. But, in my opinion, what she intended by this expression was rather that time is as important as money, not that "Time is exchanged for money" (see Barbara Adams, "Time for Feminist Approaches to Technology, 'Nature' and Work," in *Arena*, no. 4, 1994/95, p. 101). Hani wrote, "It is often said that time is money. To waste time is to waste money and to spoil things. ...Time is also wisdom. Time is much more valuable than money. . . . If you devote every moment of spare time to work, you gain not only money, but also you become wise and healthy" (HMCS, vol. 9, pp. 327-328).
- ¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 169-173.
- ¹³ For background on Taylor's theories of scientific management, I consulted Takashi Uchiyama, *Jikan ni tsuite no 12 shō* (*12 Chapters about Time*) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), pp. 143-152; for Taylorism in Japan, see the article by Hashimoto Takehiko in this volume.
- ¹⁴ *Fujin kōron* began publication in 1916, and *Shufu no tomo* in 1917.
- ¹⁵ See Koyama Shizuko, *Ryōsai-kenbo to iu kihan* (*The Standard for Good Wives and Wise Mothers*) (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1991), pp. 123-197.
- ¹⁶ *Tomo no Kai to sono ayumi*, pp. 64-65.
- ¹⁷ Suzuki Jun, *Shin gijutsu no shakai shi* (*A Social History of New Technologies*), (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Sha, 1999), p. 288.
- ¹⁸ Amano Masako, "Sentakuki" ("Washing Machine"), in Amano Masako and Sakurai Atsushi, "*Mono to onna*" *no sengo shi* (*A History of the Relations between Things and Women after the Pacific War*), (Tokyo: Yūshindō, 1992), p. 144.
- ¹⁹ The aim of this article is to research the development of the idea of time discipline of Hani Motoko. The participation of Hani and the members of the readers' societies in the war are not discussed. For

information on this subject, see Saitō, *Hani Motoko*, pp. 250-310.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 302-322.

²² Michizuki Fumiko, “Dai-hachi kai Zenkoku Tomo no Kai seikatsu jikan shirabe” (“The Eighth Survey of Time Budget by the Readers’ Societies”), in *Fujin no tomo*, no. 1, 1995, p. 41.

²³ *Tomo no Kai to sono ayumi*, p. 49.