

Part II. Japan's Educational Experience

Chapter 2. Educational Administration

Issues in developing countries

Issues frequently mentioned as being of concern to developing countries in the area of educational administration include the inadequacy of educational laws and regulations, excessive centralization of administrative powers, the weak organization of local educational administration, frequent changes on the part of ranking officials in the administration and lack of policy continuity as a result of the system of making political appointments, a lack of professional ability on the part of those holding posts in educational administration, bargaining or compromises with teacher unions, and lack of participation in education by parents or local communities.

Points

This chapter presents an overview of the development of educational administration in Japan since the introduction of a modern education system, showing how the system was put in place and how it has changed over time, dividing the account into prewar and postwar periods with World War II as the dividing line. Major perspectives are: legalism and over-attachment to Imperial orders in educational administration; changes in the authority and responsibilities of the Ministry of Education as an organ of central government; changes in the organization and authority of local educational administration; the struggle between democratization and the drive for increased efficiency in educational administration; the separation and unification of general administration and educational administration; recruitment of educational administration staff and career opportunities. In terms of specialist fields, particular points on which attention is focused include: curriculum administration; textbook administration; the system of educational inspectors and supervisory staff; matters concerned with teachers and teacher unions; and private-sector educational administration. Japan is said to have a centrally controlled educational administrative system, but in fact Japan had a local educational administration structure in place before World War II, with the division of responsibility arranged essentially on the basis that the compulsory education stage was a municipal responsibility, secondary education was a prefectural responsibility, and higher education was a national responsibility. Finally, the chapter touches on the current structure of educational administration and on reform issues.

1. Arranging and Establishing a Structure of Educational Administration

1-1 The Structure and Conception of Educational Administration in the Context of the Education Ordinance

In the Edo era, there was no nationwide school system, so consequently there was no educational administration organization. Public schools existed

for youngsters of the samurai class, but they were few in number, with only 1 or 2 schools in each fief, and administering them was an easy task. In the case of “private academies” or that of “*terakoya*,” which catered for commoners, there was no public administration or control over them. It was in the latter part of the 19th century, following the Meiji Restoration, when a nationwide school system was introduced on the basis of models taken over from

Western countries, that for the first time, an educational administration structure was also established. In the Education Ordinance of 1872, the first educational law in the modern period, France was taken as the model for the organization of educational administration. In terms of central government structures, the Ministry of Education was established in 1871 as the central government body in charge of educational administration. It is also worthy of note that in the early stages after the Ministry was established, an American, David Murray, was invited to Japan from 1873 and served first as adviser, then as Superintendent, giving directions and guidance on education policy until 1878. In terms of nationwide administration, the whole country was divided up into school districts (university districts, middle school districts, and elementary school districts); each school district was the basic area for the establishment of schools and was expected to become the standard unit of educational administration. Each elementary school district aimed to cover a population of around 600 people. In addition, in each university district, Inspectors' Offices were established, with the respective Inspectors appointed by the Secretary of Education. In each middle school district, 12 to 13 people of stature and influence in the area were appointed as school district supervisors, and the aim was to make each of them responsible for educational administrative matters relating to between 20 and 30 elementary schools. Each elementary school district, under the guidance of the school district supervisor, was responsible, with the city mayor or village mayor at the head, for raising funds for the establishment of schools, enforcing school attendance, and similar matters. To assist the mayor with the administration and management of schools, a number of what amounted to school administrators were appointed from among local residents.

However, the Education Ordinance was not in fact exactly implemented in the way it was conceived. In the end, only one university was established, and the Inspector for the university district was absorbed into the Ministry of Education. In addition, although this was not specified in the Education Ordinance,

prefectures became in practice the highest unit of local educational administration. Within the prefectural office was housed a section dealing with school administrative affairs, and specialist full-time staff were assigned to this office. A school district was not coterminous with general administrative districts at prefectural, town or village level, but was a unit specially designated for the purpose of educational administration. However, because of difficulties experienced by school districts in establishing schools independently from their own financial resources, in some cases 2 or 3 school districts would combine their resources to establish a school. The result of this situation was that in reality, in many cases, elementary school and middle school districts were formed using the old land divisions of county ("gun"), town and village as the basic unit. Also in many cases, because this was the most convenient arrangement, the mayor would concurrently hold the post of school district supervisor, with the result that the division between those responsible for educational administration and those responsible for general administration was ambiguous.

1-2 Putting a Local Government System in Place and Unifying Educational and General Administration

In 1878, the government introduced new laws and regulations concerning land divisions and set down local taxation regulations, thereby clarifying the authority and functions of the prefecture, the county (gun), and the municipality (ward, town and village). In 1879, the Education Ordinance was abolished, and in its place, the Education Order was promulgated. Through this Order, a new conception of a system of educational administration was realized. The system of school districts was abolished, and the units of educational administration were unified with the units of general local administration. In principle, the management of primary education was made the responsibility of municipalities (wards, towns and villages), and that of secondary education the responsibility of prefectures.

Following criticism that the Education Ordinance

had been too uniform, the direction now proposed was that education should be left to local discretion. In place of the school district supervisor, local educational administration would be the responsibility of “educational committeemen” directly elected by town or village inhabitants. This system of “educational committeemen” is said to have been modeled on the American system of boards of education. However, criticisms were made to the effect that the Education Order gave too much freedom of action to local community officials and cause the reduction of the enrollment rate. As a result, it was revised only one year after it was issued.

The “Revised Education Order” of 1880 once again expanded the authority of the Ministry of Education in local educational administration, and set out clearly the authority of the prefectural governor with regard to educational administration. In addition, the formula whereby “educational committeemen” were directly elected by local residents was changed into one whereby they were appointed by the prefectural governor, with the town or village mayor included as one of the committeemen. The intention of devolving and democratizing educational administration dropped back after a trial of just one year, and in 1885, the system of “educational committeemen” was itself abolished. From this date on, educational affairs at town and village level were placed under the authority of the mayor.

With regard to the authority of the Ministry of Education, it was made clear that this extended to issuing Guidelines for the Course of Study (curriculum criteria) for Elementary Schools, also to approval of various regulations established by the prefectural governor (regulations for enforcing school attendance, for establishing and closing schools, for the salaries of teachers in elementary schools, and for the election of educational committeemen), as well as to approval of the establishment and closure of prefectural schools. With regard to authority vested in the prefectural governor, this extended to the regulations mentioned above, to the editing and implementation of the Guidelines for the Course of Study for Elementary

Schools, to the establishment of middle schools, specialized schools, agricultural, commercial and industrial schools, and to the appointment and dismissal of teachers in town and village schools (on the basis of applications from the educational committeemen). On the basis of the Revised Education Order of 1881, the Ministry of Education established Guidelines for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools. Also in 1881, with a view to curbing participation by teachers in a political movement that emerged at this time, the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, the Ministry of Education issued an Ethical Guide for Elementary School Teachers and Regulations for Examining the Conduct of Schoolteachers. In 1886, 5 people were appointed to the position of inspectors within the Ministry of Education.

1-3 The Introduction of a Cabinet System and the Establishment of an Educational Administrative System by Imperial Decree

With the advent of the 1880s, great changes came about in the government of Japan, taking such forms as the establishment of the Meiji Constitution, the opening of the National Diet, and the introduction of the cabinet system. It was in 1885 that the cabinet system was introduced to replace the Grand Council that had existed up to that time. The former Department of Education was renamed as the Ministry of Education, and at its head, in place of the former Secretary of Education, was the Minister of Education.

The first Minister of Education to be appointed was MORI Arinori, and it was under his direction that the basic framework of the Japanese education system was put in place. There was no specific article relating to education in the Meiji Constitution of 1889, the assumption being that education was under the direct authority of the Emperor. There was great debate, in the context of the new political system, about whether the form of regulations pertaining to education was such that they should be classified as laws forming part of the legislature, or such that they should be treated as Imperial decrees. In the end, with the exception of one part of the laws, which

dealt with educational finance, the prevailing opinion in prewar Japan was that as far as educational administration was concerned, education regulations should be thought of as Imperial decrees. The Imperial Rescript on Education, issued in 1890, was in practice the supreme education law in prewar Japan.

1-4 Establishing the Basic Framework of Educational Administration in Prewar Japan

Around the same time as the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution, a number of laws were enacted, namely the City System and Town and Village System Law of 1888, the Prefecture System Law of 1890, and the County System Law, also of 1890; through these laws, the framework of the local administration system was put in place. In accordance with this system, the 1890 Elementary School Order and the Law concerning General School Regulations for Local School Matters were both promulgated in 1890, and in this way, issues of structure and authority relating to local educational administration were clarified, and the basic framework for prewar local educational administration in Japan was established.

Through the above measures, the principle was clearly established that education was not an exclusively local concern, but essentially a national concern, and the responsibility of local bodies (city, town, village) was to carry out the matters with which they had been entrusted by the nation. In accordance with this principle, the respective powers of the Minister of Education, the prefectural governors, and the mayors of counties (gun), cities, towns and villages were clarified. In the case of primary and secondary education, authority with regard to matters of educational content such as educational objectives, the curriculum, textbooks, and service regulations for teachers was vested in the Minister of Education. On the other hand, local government bodies, in particular, the city, town and village, were expected to take responsibility for educational expenses concerned with the establishment and maintenance of schools,

equipment, teachers' salaries, as well as costs of educational committeemen and inspectors. With regard to educational administration at prefectural level, the prefectural governor carried out his duties within the framework of direction and supervision from the Minister of Education, and to assist him with his duties, an Educational Affairs Section was established within each prefectural office. Below the level of the prefecture, the county governor received direction and supervision from the prefectural governor, and in turn was responsible for directing and supervising the mayors of towns and villages within his jurisdiction in respect of matters concerned with educational administration. Assistance was provided by the appointment of one county school supervisor within each county (gun). In addition, in 1897, the office of local supervisor was created in each prefecture, followed in 1899 by the creation of the office of chief supervisor; at this time, the designation of "local supervisor" was changed to that of "school supervisor." The persons appointed to the offices of chief supervisor and school supervisor respectively were in practice the persons who exercised real authority over personnel matters to do with teaching personnel, and they played a very significant role in terms of directing and supervising local educational administration. The mayors of cities, towns and villages were responsible for implementing educational matters in accordance with the duties entrusted to them by the central government. From 1890 onwards, assistance was provided by "educational committeemen," who served in cities, towns and villages throughout Japan. The usual practice was that elementary school principals or eminent persons from the local community served in this capacity. In 1926, as a result of reform of the local government system, the counties (gun) were abolished as administrative units, and responsibility for the educational duties carried out by the county governor and the county school supervisor were transferred to the prefecture. With the abolition of county school supervisors, 350 additional persons became prefectural school supervisors.

1-5 Curriculum Administration and Textbook Administration

In 1881, the Ministry of Education issued Guidelines for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools, setting out unified, basic criteria for the curriculum, which until this time had varied widely according to the conditions of prefectures and local areas. The Guidelines specified for each level of elementary school the subjects to be taught, the educational content of each subject, the number of teaching days and the number of teaching hours. In 1886, the government issued “Subjects and their Standards for Elementary School,” followed in 1900 by the promulgation of the “(Third) Elementary School Order,” and it is fair to say that as a result of this Order and the detailed Regulations for Enforcement, a system of national criteria for the formation of the curriculum was virtually completed for the prewar period in Japan.

In 1941, during World War II, elementary schools were renamed “National Schools,” and the military atmosphere in the schools was strengthened still further. On the basis of the idea that children should be trained as subjects of the Emperor, various subjects were grouped together into 4 subject areas, namely national studies (morals, Japanese language, Japanese history, geography), science and mathematics (arithmetic, science), physical training (gymnastics, martial arts), and arts (music, calligraphy, drawing, craft, dressmaking, housekeeping). For higher classes only, a further subject area in the form of vocational training (agriculture, industry, commerce, fisheries) was added, making 5 subject areas in all. However, before this subject grouping could actually be implemented, the war came to an end.

With regard to textbooks, in the early stages of its formation, the Ministry of Education set about translating and editing foreign textbooks, and at the same time, selected from among privately produced textbooks those that were deemed suitable for use, and energetically supported their dissemination. However, from around 1880, along with the rise in a reactionary ideology, changes in textbook administration also became discernible. Within the

Ministry of Education, an Editing Office was established, and it immediately set to work producing standard textbooks. The “Elementary Moral Training Primer” that was produced here subsequently became a model for the moral education subject area. In addition, an examiner was attached to the Local School Affairs Section with the task of examining the elementary school textbooks in use in each prefecture and forbidding use of any that were deemed unsuitable. According to the Guidelines for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools referred to above, each prefecture would decide on the textbooks to be used. And from around 1882, the choice of elementary school textbooks was unified within a prefecture. For its part, the Ministry of Education imposed an obligation on all prefectures to submit a report on the textbooks they planned to use. And in 1883, a system was introduced whereby the Ministry of Education “approved” textbooks for use. A further development came in 1886 with the Elementary Schools Order of that year, which stipulated that “elementary school textbooks shall be limited to those which the Ministry of Education has authorized.” In this way, the textbook authorization system came into being, and state supervision and control of textbooks was further strengthened.

In 1902, a large-scale bribery scandal concerned with the adoption of textbooks erupted, resulting in over 100 arrests, including the prefectural governor, inspectors, school principals and members of staff of the textbook publishing company involved. Triggered directly by this scandal, a system of state editing of textbooks was introduced from 1903. From that time on, the government undertook the production and editing of textbooks, and entrusted the publishing and supply of the books to a private company.

1-6 The Improvement of a Bureaucracy and the Introduction of an Examination System for Appointment to the Bureaucracy

The establishment of an appointment system to the bureaucracy occurred in parallel with the introduction of a Cabinet system and the promulgation of the

Meiji Constitution. Until this time, there were no set criteria for appointment to the central or to the local bureaucracy. Posts in the bureaucracy were filled by the appointment of those who had personal or private connections with powerful politicians within a system based on the old feudal affiliations, which had survived the Meiji Restoration. The result was that the bureaucracy was actually a system of political appointments, and when there was a change of political power or when powerful politicians lost their positions, the bureaucrats lost their positions as well. From the 1880s, however, the modernization and establishment of a bureaucratic structure became a matter of urgency for the government. In 1887, a system of examination for appointment to the bureaucracy was introduced. Under this new system, in place of the previous system of appointment as a result of personal ties and influence, a system of appointment on the basis of a competitive examination was introduced. However, the examination was not equally open to everyone, and entry to the examination was limited to those who had achieved a set academic standard, the level of which varied according to the bureaucratic rank to which the applicant hoped to be appointed. Graduates from an Imperial university were given special exemption from sitting the examination. Political appointments as a result of personal connections became few in number, and bureaucratic positions, in particular, those in the highest level of the bureaucracy in central government, were filled by persons whose level of specialist ability had been confirmed by their high academic record and their success in a national examination. Successful appointees were therefore able to acquire high status and a stable position.

From that time on, the dominant procedure in the Japanese bureaucracy became one whereby a person was appointed to a specific government ministry or agency, and rotated through a number of different sections and posts, carrying out the work of a specialized administrative officer. In the case of a post like "inspector" or "local school supervisor,"

however, persons appointed were required to have held a prescribed educational position such as that of principal of a middle school or higher level institution. However, in terms of the overall bureaucratic structure of the Ministry of Education, there was a tendency to put stress on general administrative ability, taking such forms as the ability to formulate and interpret laws, or the ability to secure and distribute budgets, rather than on specialist educational knowledge.

2. Postwar Educational Administrative Reforms

2-1 The Basic Direction of Postwar Educational Administrative Reform

At the end of the war in 1945, with Japan under the control of the Allied Forces, demilitarization, democratization, and the rebuilding of the nation were all taken forward. With the aim of examining the overall concept of educational reform in postwar Japan, the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces (GHQ) requested the U.S. to dispatch an investigation group of education specialists in the form of the "United States Education Mission to Japan." After the Mission arrived in Japan in 1946, they carried out a range of investigative activities in a very positive fashion, and produced a report containing a series of recommendations concerned with Japanese education reform. Urging reforms, the report criticized educational administration in the following terms.¹

"The Ministry of Education has been the seat of power for those who controlled the minds of Japan. In order to prevent the misuse of the power of this office as heretofore constituted, we propose that its administrative controls be reduced. This means that many present controls affecting curricula, methods, materials of instruction, and personnel shall be transferred to prefectural and local administrative units. In the past, regimentation has been compelled by a system of inspectors. This system should be abolished. In its place, there should be established a

¹ Report of the U.S. Educational Mission to Japan

system of consultants and competent technical advisers who will provide inspiration and guidance, without policing or administrative powers.”

With regard to “powers at the prefectural level,” the report continued:

“We recommend that in each prefecture there shall be established an educational committee or agency, which shall be politically independent and composed of representative citizens elected by popular vote.”

And with regard to “powers at the local level.” the report said:

“If the schools are to become effective instruments of a strong democracy, they must be kept close to the people. It is essential that teachers, school principals, and local heads of school systems be free from domination and control by higher ranking school officials.”

Through proposals and recommendations such as these, the democratization and decentralization of education was identified as a core issue of educational reform. The central pillars of this process were the reduction of the authority of the Ministry of Education and the introduction of a local educational administration structure which took the U.S. system of boards of education as its model. In parallel with the introduction of what was termed the 6-3-3-4 system of school education, the reform of educational administration was carried out in line with the direction of the recommendations in the report.

2-2 Improvement of the Fundamental Legal Structure of Education

In the new Constitution of Japan promulgated in 1946, the right to receive education was stipulated as one of the fundamental rights of the people. It was also stipulated that compulsory education should be free of charge. There was also considerable reflection on the prewar system, in which the bureaucracy decided on the fundamental direction of education, which was then promulgated in the name of the Emperor, and in which the Imperial wish constituted education law. In place of this prewar system, a legalist system was adopted, whereby the laws and regulations that formed the basis of educational administration were decided and enacted in the

National Diet. In line with this thinking, a number of educational laws determining the structure and management of the new education system were enacted in succession between 1947 and 1949, including the “Fundamental Law of Education,” the “School Education Law,” the “Board of Education Law,” the “Social Education Law” and the “Private School Law.” And in 1948, a decision was taken in the Diet eliminating and confirming the invalidation of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

2-3 The Ministry of Education Establishment Law and the Board of Education Law

In 1949, by virtue of the enactment of the Ministry of Education Establishment Law, the organization and duties of the Ministry were established afresh. Under the new law, the character of the Ministry was greatly changed from what it was in prewar days. A year previously, in 1948, the Board of Education system had been introduced, and the Ministry’s job was to put in order those items that required permission or approval and as far as possible delegate authority to local boards of education, while it concentrated on its main functions of providing specialist and technical guidance and advice as well as financial assistance. But that said, because of the need to maintain educational standards throughout the country as a whole, the Ministry retained the authority to implement financial policies aimed at establishing and maintaining educational standards.

In March 1947, with the aim of determining the standards for the curriculum and educational content under the new school system, the Ministry issued new Courses of Study. These “aimed to show important items that schools should use as points of reference when preparing and developing teaching plans. Accordingly, the Courses of Study do not show teaching plans in their entirety, and it is not required that they should be implemented in exact detail.” It was with these provisions in mind that the term “draft” was appended to the Courses of Study as a subtitle. Local educational administrators and teachers were able to use the Courses of Study as reference criteria, and prepare curricula on their own initiative in accordance with local conditions and the

needs of students. At the same time, the system of state editing of textbooks was abolished, and for the second time, an authorization system was introduced.

In July 1948, the Board of Education Law was enacted, identifying democratization of educational administration, decentralization, and the preservation of local autonomy as central ideas. The main points of the new board of education system are as listed below:

A board of education is an administrative organ of a local public entity, and is an independent organ operating under a representative system.

Boards of education shall be established in prefectures as well as in cities, towns and villages. However, it is possible for towns and villages to combine together and form an association, and for that association to establish a board of education.

A prefectural board of education shall have 7 members, and that of a city, town or village 5 members. One member shall be a member of the local assembly, elected by mutual vote from among its members, and the other 6 (or 4) members shall be elected by local residents.

The board of education will administer and implement matters concerned with education, science and culture that were formerly the responsibility of the prefectural governor or the mayor of a city, town or village. Personnel matters in respect of elementary and lower secondary school teachers shall come under the jurisdiction of the board of education.

A superintendent of education shall be located in the board of education; the superintendent shall be appointed by the board of education from among people possessing agreed qualifications. The board of education shall establish an office to deal with clerical matters. Every prefectural board of education should have a section concerned with research and statistics, and a section concerned with educational guidance.

With regard to the educational budget, the board of education shall prepare their own budget of necessary costs, and shall receive a budget from the head of the local public entity, and where there is a difference of opinion, the estimate prepared by the board of education shall be attached to the estimate

of the head of the local public entity, and the estimates shall be submitted to the local assembly, which will make a decision.

The independence of the board of education from general administration, the election of board of education members directly by residents, the execution of policies by the superintendent of education who should be a professional educationist, and the independent preparation of an education budget by the board of education, were all matters representing a radical reform in the previously accepted way of doing things in local education administration. Boards of education were established in each prefecture and in the 5 largest cities by 1948, and in all cities, towns and villages by 1952.

2-4 The Enactment of the Private School Law

Another area where administration was greatly changed is that of private schools. Before the war, matters relating to private schools in respect of such matters as teachers' qualifications, facilities and equipment, and the curriculum, were in principle subject to application of the same laws and regulations that applied to public schools, and various kinds of regulations created by central government were applied to their establishment and management. Religious education was forbidden in private schools as it was in the public sector. The Fundamental Law of Education clearly stipulated that private schools have a public character, and at the same time, confirmed that the right of establishment of private schools should be limited to a special legal entity called a school juridical person. Freedom of religious education was also approved for private schools. In 1949, the Private School Law was enacted, with the "objective, in the light of the special characteristics of private schools, of developing a healthy private school sector, by means of enhancing their public character while laying stress on their autonomy." Adopting the standpoint of respecting the autonomy of private schools, the new law greatly reduced the supervisory authority of government, and created the legal entity of a "school juridical person" as the body responsible for establishing private schools in place of the "non-

profit corporation” that had previously carried out this role. A further effect of the law was that subsidization of private schools from public funds became possible.

3. Revising the Educational Administration System

In 1951, the Allied occupation of Japan came to an end, and Japan regained its sovereignty. In the previous year, 1950, the Korean War had broken out, and with the deepening of East-West confrontation in the form of the Cold War structures, the situation in the region surrounding Japan also showed signs of change. Against this background, very shortly after regaining independence, the Japanese government began the task of reviewing the policies carried out during the Occupation. In the educational field, the basic skeleton of postwar education reforms was kept, but the system was adjusted to suit Japanese conditions. More specifically, slight adjustments were made to the processes of democratization, liberalization and devolution that had formed the central pillars of reforms in educational administration.

3-1 Re-examining the Board of Education System

With regard to the system of boards of education, no sooner had the system been established than various problems arose with regard to the implementation, for example, over such matters as the unit of establishment, the methods of electing and nominating members of the boards, the relationship between general administration and educational administration, and so on. In 1956, the government began to tackle the task of re-examining the system of boards of education, and submitted a new law to the Diet aimed at reforming local government administration. The main thrust of the new law was aimed at maintaining the system of boards of education as such, but at the same time curtailing their independence and authority. The superior-subordinate relationship linking central government (Ministry of Education), prefectural boards of

education and municipal boards of education (in cities, towns and villages) was also strengthened. Moreover, under the rubric of achieving comprehensive and efficient management of local administration, the new measures aimed to weaken the independence of the educational administration. In the face of the proposed reforms, strong opposition was voiced by the Japan Teachers Union, by university presidents and others, who labeled the reforms as a “reverse course,” counter to the democratization of education. Fierce debate also erupted in the Diet, and the bill was finally approved through a forced passage with exceptional police presence at the Diet. The result was that the Board of Education Law was annulled, and in its place, the “Law concerning the Organization and Functions of Local Educational Administration” was promulgated. By virtue of the new law, the system of boards of education was revised in terms of the following provisions:

The system of direct public election of board members is cancelled, and instead members will be appointed by the head of each local public body with the consent of the assembly.

Board members shall number 5 persons, but may be 3 persons in the case of town and village boards.

The superintendents of the prefectural boards of education shall be appointed by the prefectural boards, subject to the approval of the Minister of Education, and the superintendents of the city, town, and village boards of education shall be appointed by the city, town, and village boards from among the members of these boards with the consent of the prefectural boards of education.

The power of boards of education to prepare budgets and submit drafts shall be cancelled, and jurisdiction over the acquisition and disposal of educational property, and over contracts concerned with educational business matters shall be vested in the head of the local public body.

Authority to appoint teaching personnel shall be vested in the prefectural boards of education, based on recommendations forwarded by the city, town, and village boards of education.

The Minister of Education shall provide the

necessary guidance, advice, and assistance to enable prefectural, and city, town, and village educational administrators to handle educational matters properly; prefectural boards are expected to provide a similar service to cities, towns, and villages. The Minister of Education is able to demand necessary corrective measures in cases where a local board of education has acted illegally or in a clearly inappropriate manner.

3-2 Introduction of a System of Regular Job Rotation for Teachers

Under the old Board of Education Law, authority over personnel matters affecting teachers was vested in the local (city, town, village) board of education, but under the new law, authority concerning the appointment of teachers in local, public-sector elementary and lower secondary schools was transferred to prefectural boards of education. As a result, whereas previously the transfer of teachers over an area that exceeded the local boundaries of the city, town or village was difficult, this now became possible. From this time on, the personnel administration of teachers was handled by prefectural boards of education in line with a procedure whereby the principal of each school could express an opinion regarding his wish to have a particular teacher transferred to his school, and the local board of education would forward all opinions received to the prefectural board of education. In this way, the systematic practice developed, in a way very characteristic of Japan, of transferring teachers employed in public sector schools, at intervals of a number of years, on the basis of the following criteria: interchange between urban and rural areas; interchange between isolated and populous areas (mountainous and flat areas); maintaining an appropriate balance in terms of the age structure of teachers in a school; and avoidance of a long term of service in one particular school.

3-3 Curriculum Administration and Textbook Administration

In 1949, in accordance with a request from the Minister of Education, the Curriculum Council was established as an advisory body to investigate and discuss important matters concerned with the curriculum. It was on the basis of a report by the Curriculum Council that a wide-ranging reform of the Courses of Study was carried out in 1958. The reform was implemented against the background of criticism to the effect that the child-centered, activity-based curriculum that became popular as a result of postwar American influence had brought about a decline in children's academic ability. Consequently, the revision changed the curriculum in such a way as to stress the systematic nature of teaching that aimed to strengthen children's basic abilities. At the same time, for the first time since the end of the war, "Moral Education" was included in the timetable. Moreover, in the course of the revision, the Courses of Study, which until this time had been issued as "drafts," were given the character of "directives," thus strengthening their legally binding force. From this time on, it became customary for the Courses of Study to be revised approximately every 10 years in accordance with the changing current of the times and educational demands.

Under the Board of Education Law, the power to authorize textbooks was vested in prefectural boards of education. However, there was considerable opposition to the proposed procedure based on fears of the difficulties that would be encountered in implementing authorization while using prefectures as units, so with the revision of the law in 1953, the power of authorization was unified by the minister of Education. Thereafter, amidst allegations of political bias in the content of authorized textbooks, the Ministry of Education strengthened the authorization system. In 1965, the author of a Japanese history textbook who was dissatisfied with the modifications to his text proposed by the Ministry in the course of the authorization process, brought a lawsuit against the Ministry claiming that the textbook authorization system was illegal and unconstitutional. With this lawsuit as a focal point, controversy over the

textbook authorization system raged both in and outside the courts. The final result of the lawsuit, which continued for a very long time, was that the allegation of unconstitutionality was rejected. However, as a result of criticisms voiced while the lawsuit was in progress, partial revisions were made to the system, including systematization of the authorization procedures and the provision of relief measures concerning textbooks that were unsuccessful in the authorization process.

Furthermore, in accordance with the principle of free compulsory education as stipulated in the Constitution of Japan, a system of free distribution of textbooks at compulsory education level was introduced in 1963. The scope of the free distribution system gradually expanded year by year, and by 1969, free distribution was implemented over the whole country.

In the case of “national” and private schools, authority to select textbooks for use from among those that had been authorized was vested in the school principal, while in the case of “public” schools, it was vested in the board of education with authority over the school concerned. In practice, the way the choice of textbooks for adoption worked was that the prefectural board of education grouped a number of cities and “counties” (“gun”) together into “textbook adoption districts,” and the textbooks adopted were the same for all public schools within a particular textbook adoption district. About 500 such districts were established covering the whole of Japan.

3-4 The Formation of the Japan Teachers’ Union and its Opposition to the Government’s Education Policies

Within the framework of the postwar education reform, trade union activity by teachers was legalized and encouraged. In 1947, the Japan Teachers Union (JTU) was formed, and within a very short time, had become a giant organization with over 500,000 members. In the atmosphere of postwar confusion following Japan’s defeat in war, the JTU launched activities aimed at the improvement of teachers’ living conditions, advances in the democratization of

education, and support for the wholesale implementation of reforms, including in particular what was called the 6-3 school system. Following the end of the occupation, the JTU developed a movement in opposition to the government’s proposed re-evaluation of education policies implemented under the occupation, giving the re-evaluation the label of “reverse course,” indicating a return to conservatism. For a long period after this, the slogan, “Never send our students to the battlefield again,” became a central feature of JTU activities. Maintaining close links with left-wing bodies such as the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the JTU began to develop anti-war activities. For its part, the Ministry of Education strengthened its confrontational posture, using the slogan “Safeguarding political neutrality in education.” In the latter part of the 1950s and the former part of the 1960s, confrontation between the JTU and the Ministry reached its peak over the government’s attempted implementation of work performance rating for teachers and over the rights and wrongs of the implementation of nationwide achievement tests. The JTU organized nationwide strike protests, while for its part, the government invoked the criminal law against many teacher union leaders.

From the latter part of the 1970s into the 1980s, trade union activities by teachers began to show signs of stagnation. This was due to a number of factors, including the general acceptance of legal precedents supporting the prohibition of labor dispute activities by public servants, the raising of union fees to provide support for those subject to criminal law procedures, and a decrease of interest in labor movements. A further contributory factor was the large-scale improvement in teachers’ salaries as a result of a law designed to secure capable educational personnel. When membership of the JTU was at its peak, it included nearly 90% of all teachers, but by 1985, the proportion had sunk to below 50%. Subsequently, the decline continued, and particularly among newly appointed teachers, there was a strong drift away from union membership. Aggressive teacher union activities that developed over a long period in the form of opposition to and criticism of

the government's postwar education policies, had by the end of the 1980s virtually disappeared from the Japanese educational world.

4. The Debate Over Reform of Educational Administration in the National Council on Educational Reform

In the mid-1980s, the National Council on Educational Reform made a wide-ranging survey of the overall picture of education reform in Japan. Their basic thinking regarding reform of educational administration is set out in the following three points:

In the past, a tendency toward excessive uniformity, an over-preoccupation with trivial matters, and a closed, exclusive atmosphere in education has become apparent. With a view to breaking with these tendencies and realizing a form of education that puts stress on vitality and individuality through creativity and ingenuity in the classroom, where education is actually carried out, there is a need to take forward a bold and meticulous process of deregulation, including a re-evaluation of the forms of permission and approval, criteria, aid, direction and advice.

There is a need to put stress on strengthening systems of autonomy, self-reliance and responsibility in schools, prefectural and local boards of education, and local government bodies, and a need to confirm the principles of freedom, autonomy and acceptance of responsibility in education.

There is a need to expand the variety of choices and opportunities in such ways as diversifying the school system, creating a network of links joining the educational functions of schools, families and society, relaxing age and qualification restrictions, and admitting exceptional cases.

On the basis of the thinking expressed in the above points, the National Council on Educational Reform proposed the following specific reforms:

Re-evaluation of national criteria such as the criteria for establishing universities, the official Courses of Study, and so on;

Encouragement to establish private elementary

and lower secondary schools;

Re-evaluation of the division of national and local responsibilities;

Revitalization and accomplishment of the mission imposed on boards of education;

Improvement of the administration and management of schools (establishment of a system specifying the responsibility held by individual schools and confirmation of the leadership ability of school principals).

In 1998, the Central Council for Education issued a report dealing with the future pattern of local educational administration. In the report, the Council suggested a re-examination of the system of administration from 4 perspectives:

the division of roles regarding educational administration among the national government, prefectures, and municipalities (cities, towns and villages);

the board of education system;

the autonomy and independence of schools;

the role that boards of education should play in raising local educational functions and in developing as well as revitalizing local communities.

In particular, the report indicated 7 specific problems with regard to the board of education system, namely:

On many occasions, board of education meetings were entirely taken up with formalistic discussion on agenda items that required a practical resolution, so that there was insufficient time for discussion or examination of such matters as how to respond to a wide variety of educational problems.

There is a need for policies and devices that will enable the will of the people to be more clearly reflected in the appointment of board of education members.

From the point of view of promoting the devolution of authority, the system requiring the approval of the superintendent of education for appointments presents a problem.

Because the appointment of the superintendent of education is carried out as one part of the framework of personnel movements in local public bodies, there are cases of people being appointed

without sufficient experience of education or educational administration.

The secretariat structure is weak and there is a lack of specialist personnel.

There is a dearth of distinctive policies designed to match the realities and specific characteristics of different regions.

Within the process of planning and implementing policies, there is insufficient effort made in terms of presenting information to local residents and in terms of grasping and reflecting their hopes and wishes.

In response to the above problems, the report suggested a number of specific reform policies, including public release of the criteria and reasons for the appointment of board of education members; flexibility regarding the number of board of education members; provision of sufficient information to board of education members; abolition of the system requiring the approval of the superintendent of education for the appointment of members; measures to ensure that suitable personnel are recruited and trained for the office of superintendent of education; strengthening of the office support system for boards of education; positive efforts to establish public hearings at which views and opinions could be exchanged with local residents; establishment of an independent access point for dealing with complaints; positive measures to supply information to residents; positive efforts to open board of education meetings to the public; and encouragement of participation by volunteers in educational activities.

5. Conclusion

Ever since the introduction of a modern education system, the arrangements for a national educational administration system have constituted a very important issue for Japan. In 1871, the central government established the Ministry of Education, which played a leading role in the modernization of the education system. However, the construction of a local education system was no easy task, and in the early stages, the systems of a number of different

countries were taken as models, and various kinds of trial and error experiments were tried out. With the advent of the 1880s, the Cabinet system was introduced as the central political controlling structure, and on the other hand, accompanying the reorganization of local government in the form of the system of cities, towns and villages, the skeleton of the educational administration system was also set up in the form of a pyramid-like structure, with central government at the top, and then, at progressively lower levels of the pyramid, the prefectures, the counties (gun), and the towns and villages. The national government reserved for itself the power to deal with items directly concerned with the objectives and methods of education, including the enactment of laws and regulations, criteria for the national curriculum, the preparation of textbooks, and matters to do with teacher training and teacher service. In addition, the national government directly administered and managed the institutions that trained the future elite of Japan, including the imperial universities and the high schools, which acted as preparatory schools to the Imperial universities.

On the other hand, the administration and management of elementary schools and the former section of middle schools was entrusted to local areas. Matters over which local areas were given authority included the establishment and maintenance of school buildings and facilities, payment of teachers' salaries, encouragement of school attendance, and the allocation of educational administration staff. In the context of prewar nationalism, matters concerned with education were not the exclusive preserve of prefectures or of cities, towns and villages, but simply national matters which had been delegated to a lower level, and there was no conception of local autonomy in education. There were limits to the decentralization of educational administration, but that said, in practice, the role that local areas played in the administration and management of schools was very large indeed. From the point of view of efficiency, Japan before the war had already created a very efficient network of educational administration.

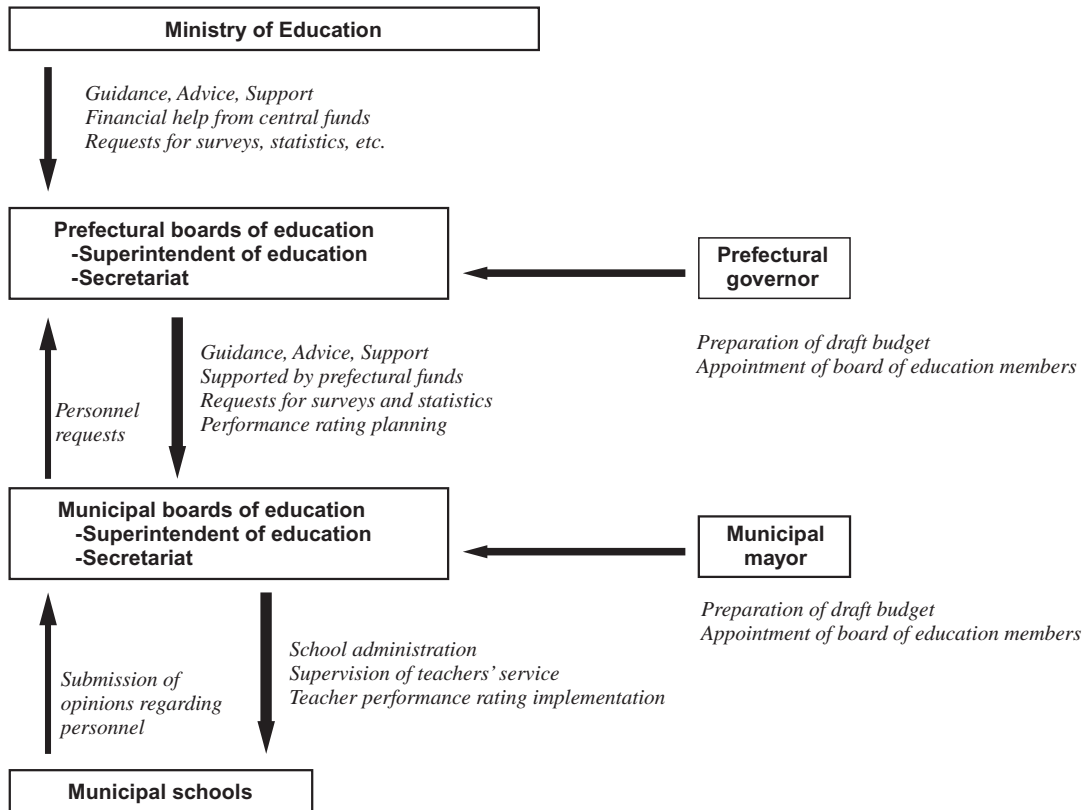
In the postwar reform of educational administration, the decentralization and democratization of education was identified as the most significant issue. The system of American-style local boards of education, which constituted one of the major pillars of postwar reforms, was adjusted to suit Japanese conditions, but has now become a completely settled feature in Japan, with about half a century of history since the system was first introduced. However, as can be seen from the recent

debate concerned with educational administration, it cannot be denied that in the Japanese education world, there is still a deep-rooted conservative tradition that wants to stick to old precedents. The core issue in the current debate is about the revitalization of boards of education and the need to re-evaluate the division of roles and responsibility as between central government and local governments.

< SAITO Yasuo, MIURA Ai >

Diagram 2-1 The current system of educational administration

1. Main administrative bodies and powers



2. List of educational administration bodies and powers

Educational administration bodies	Authorities	
Ministry of Education/ Minister of Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guidance, Advice, Support - Requests for surveys, statistics, etc. - Financial help from central funds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School establishment criteria - Textbook authorization - Curriculum criteria - School enrollment criteria - Supervision of teacher licensing - Ordinances, instructions, circulars, notices - Jurisdiction over national universities and schools - Financial help to private universities - Jurisdiction over private and public universities and granting of permission to establish them
Prefectural boards of education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Guidance, Advice, Support - Appointment of teaching staff supported by prefectural funds - Requests for surveys and statistics - Performance evaluation planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exhibiting of authorized textbooks - Granting permission for exemption from compulsory school attendance - Issuing of teachers' licenses - School administration rules and regulations
Municipal boards of education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School administration - Supervision of teachers' service - Performance rating implementation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Selection of textbooks - Setting, notifying and getting approval of educational planning criteria - Educational planning formulation - School enrollment enforcement and exemption - School administration regulations
Municipal schools		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lesson planning formulation - Notification to boards of education of non-attendance or delinquency among children

Source: Compiled on basis of *Handbook of School Laws, 2002 edition*, edited by MORI Takao

Chapter 3. Educational Finance

Issues in developing countries

Developing countries have worked hard to secure sources of finance in order to expand and strengthen their educational provisions. However, in recent years, with the reduction in public educational budgets as a result of “structural adjustment policies” required to cope with economic crises, they have had to attempt a variety of educational financing policies, including still more effective use of funds, prioritized distribution of funds to the educationally disadvantaged, diversification of sources of funding provision, funding distribution formulae incorporating the principle of competition, and the introduction of private funding.

Points

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the history and current state of educational financing in Japan. It will examine how responsibility for the provision of funding for Japanese education came to be divided among national government, prefectural governments, cities, towns and villages, parents, and community residents. One particular characteristic of Japan is that whereas in the area of educational administration, Japan has displayed very strong centralizing tendencies, in contrast to this, in the area of educational finance, right from the early stages of the introduction of a modern education system, the process of providing and distributing educational funding has been carried out within a significantly decentralized system. The latter part of this chapter explains the current system of educational financing. In addition, the paper also looks at movements to expand government subsidies to specific educational areas, including the correction of disparities in educational conditions, children’s welfare, the promotion of science education and industrial education, and the encouragement of private schools. Particular emphasis deserves to be placed on the results of the “Law to Secure Capable Educational Personnel,” which aimed to realize wide-ranging improvements in teachers’ salaries during the 1970s.

1. Educational Financing in the Prewar Period

1-1 Large-scale Dependence on Community Residents and Parents

The “Education Ordinance,” constituting the first modern educational law to be enacted in Japan, used the concept of a school district as the unit for educational administration; the school district was also adopted as the unit for educational financing. Putting this in more specific terms, each school district was expected to raise the necessary funds for

establishing and running the school that served that district, so that an elementary school district would find the funds for the elementary school in that district, and a middle school district would do the same for the middle school serving that district. The priority for the national government at this time was to establish a system of higher education so that Japan could speedily incorporate the skills and knowledge from Western countries. With this aim in mind, the government used the larger part of its educational budget to employ many foreign teachers at very high salaries, and to send Japanese students to

study overseas in advanced Western countries. The result of this situation was that the construction and running of elementary schools inevitably depended on local government funds, taxes levied on local residents, and income from tuition fees. Specifically, each school district was required to put together the necessary funding by means of a combination of taxation, donations and tuition fees. Regulations regarding the payment of subsidies from central government to prefectures did exist at this time, but the amount involved was very small, and the distribution formula was unclear. And in 1880, the system of national subsidization was itself abolished. As the country moved toward a new age, the government emphasized the necessity of self-enlightenment, the provision of opportunities for advancement through education, and the practical value to be gained from education; in this way, it justified the formula used in educational financing, whereby “those who benefited should bear the burden of the cost.”

In this situation, it was entirely natural that there should be outbreaks of resistance by residents and parents against the considerable financial burden imposed on them by the use of this formula. An expression of this resistance can also be seen in the low enrollment in the early days of the introduction of a modern school system. Moreover, in some cases, resistance even went as far as burning down schools. But that said, and despite the use of the formula as set out here, within a few years after the implementation of the modern school system, over 20,000 elementary schools were in fact established throughout Japan. Looking at these figures, it seems fair to say that among residents and parents in Japan at this time, there were those who anticipated great things from the new schools and who were ready to submit to the financial burden and to make efforts to raise the necessary funds. This is why, in contrast to the centralized pattern of educational administration, if we look at schools from the point of view of funding, it is entirely legitimate to say that the starting point of elementary schools in Japan was very clearly community based.

1-2 Unification of the Educational Financing Burden Levied on Municipalities, and Movements to Begin (restart) the System of Central Government Subsidies

The 1880s, when local government bodies initially took shape, gave way to the 1890s, when as a result of the Second Elementary School Law of 1890, the total costs of elementary schools became the responsibility of municipalities (cities, towns and villages). In principle, the system of tuition fees was maintained, but the income was in fact treated by municipalities as a minor handling charge, and in 1893, those municipalities that were able to do so, were permitted to abolish tuition fees completely. In 1900, as a result of the Third Elementary School Law, tuition fees were abolished in principle for all elementary schools. On the other hand, along with the spread of compulsory education, the burden of educational financing borne by municipalities steadily increased. It is against this background that increasingly strong demands were made for a restoration of the system of national subsidization, which had been in abeyance since 1880. In 1896, a national subsidy toward primary education costs was restored in the form of assistance in improving teachers' salaries (special allowance for long service). Moreover, in 1900, through the enactment of the “Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Municipal Elementary School Education Expenses,” the government broadened the scope of the national subsidy for primary education costs. The amount of the national subsidy was set at 1 million yen a year, and was distributed to prefectures in accordance with the number of children of school age and the number of children attending school. In addition, in 1907, the duration of compulsory schooling was extended from 4 to 6 years, and accompanying a substantial rise in elementary school teachers' salaries, provision was made for each prefecture to pay from 1908 a subsidy equal to that received from the national treasury; the sums received in this way were used to supplement the salary of elementary school teachers and to make a payment toward the cost of their housing.

But even with all the above, despite the start of a

system of subsidy from the national treasury, the percentage of the total running costs of municipal schools met by this subsidy throughout this period did not rise above the very small figure of 1%. In contrast to this, teachers' salaries paid by towns and villages in the 1900s exceeded 40% of their total disbursements. Consequently, the demands for higher national subsidies toward education costs became increasingly strong.

1-3 A Legal Base for the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory Education Expenses

In 1918, the "Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Municipal Compulsory Education Expenses" was passed. Under this law, the national treasury would disburse the sum of 10 million yen or more a year as a payment to partially defray the cost of salaries of teachers employed in municipal (city, town, village) elementary schools. In contrast to the previously existing law, which had focused on "assistance" from the state as its main objective, a noticeable characteristic of the new law was that the concept of sharing or apportioning responsibility for compulsory education expenses between the national government and the municipalities was firmly established. The basis for the distribution of the national government's share was the number of teachers and the number of children, but a formula was adopted whereby those municipalities that were particularly weak in terms of financial resources could receive an extra amount. The sum disbursed by the national government as its share amounted to 40 million yen in 1925, 70 million yen in 1926, 75 million yen in 1927, and 85 million yen in 1930.

In 1940, the financial relationship between central and local government was changed, and a financial adjustment system took shape, whereby the central government returned money acquired from tax revenue to local governments. At the same time, the "Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Municipal Compulsory Education Expenses" was revised, and a new law, namely the "Law Concerning the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory

Education Expenses" as well as an Imperial edict, "Concerning the Salary and Travel Expenses of Municipal Elementary School Teaching Personnel," were promulgated. Under the new laws, the formulae employed were that responsibility for the payment of teachers' salaries and their traveling expenses on the occasion of transfer to a different school was transferred from the municipality to the prefecture, and that half the sums involved would be paid by the national treasury. In other words, instead of a fixed sum being paid by the national treasury, a fixed percentage amounting to half of the actual sum disbursed by the prefecture would be paid. The transfer of responsibility for the salaries of elementary school teachers from the municipality to the prefecture, removed the burden on municipal funds, and at the same time, opened the way to the possibility of strengthening educational conditions relating to school facilities and structures, and adjusting the criteria governing teachers' salaries to an appropriate level over the country as a whole.

2. Postwar Educational Financing

2-1 Postwar Reconstruction and Educational Financing

Postwar Japan faced problems of securing finance to deal with such problems as restoring school buildings and facilities destroyed by war and constructing new buildings to cope with the effects of the decision to make secondary education compulsory. For its part, the national government agreed to pay half of the cost of constructing school buildings and one-third of the cost of equipment. However, in practice, confusion continued with, for example, education budgets being cut by 10% or funds for the construction of lower secondary schools being completely wiped out as a result of budget shrinkage caused by postwar inflationary pressures. One case followed another of the heads of local government bodies resigning or committing suicide in their desperation at their inability to find funds to construct lower secondary schools. Furthermore, on the basis of recommendations made by a mission of tax system specialists sent from the U.S., the "Law

Concerning the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory Education Expenses" was annulled, generating confusion in efforts to secure teachers' salaries. The inadequacy of education budgets and the accompanying confusion lasted until about 1950, but in 1952, the above law was resuscitated and a system of support newly established. From this time on, the formula whereby half the personnel costs of teaching staff in compulsory education schools were borne by the national treasury became the basic formula for educational finance. And by the enactment in 1953 of the "Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Local Public School Construction" and the "Law concerning Special Measures to Promote the Reconstruction of Dangerous Schools Buildings," a legal foundation was laid down for national government assistance in the construction or reconstruction of school buildings and facilities. In 1958, these laws were reformulated and unified into the "Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Expenses for Various Compulsory Education School Facilities." Through these various laws, it was decided that the national treasury would bear half the cost of necessary expenses for the construction or enlargement of buildings for public elementary and lower secondary schools, half the cost of the expenses for the construction of indoor gymnasias, and one-third of the cost of expenses for reconstructing buildings which were in a structurally dangerous condition.

2-2 Aid for Private Schools

A combination of war damage and postwar confusion also inflicted heavy blows on private schools. For this reason, the government decided in 1946 to create a special fund for the reconstruction of war-damaged private schools and to introduce a system of lending public funds to private schools. In addition, in response to demands calling for the strengthening of the system of long-term, low-interest loans of public funds targeted at private education, the government enacted in 1951 the "Private School Promotion Law," and established the totally government-funded "Private School Promotion Association" as a special juridical entity

with the purpose of creating a channel for the ongoing loan of public funds aimed primarily at the expansion and strengthening of private school facilities. Since its establishment, the Association has continued to function in this way.

2-3 The Enactment of the Laws to Promote Various Priority Measures and the Establishment of Financial Support for Specific Target Areas

Through measures of the kind outlined above, the government had by about 1952 put a basic framework for postwar educational financing firmly in place. In parallel with this kind of framework-building, from the beginning of the 1950s, the government identified areas within education which were lagging behind in their development, or in which there was a particularly urgent need for action in terms of policy-level priorities, and adopted measures to give such areas favorable treatment in terms of educational financing. The succession of laws enacted with these aims in mind includes the "Industrial Education Promotion Law" (1951), the "Science Education Promotion Law" (1953), the "Law for the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas" (1954), the "School Lunch Law" (1954), the "Law concerning the National Treasury's Share for the Encouragement of School Attendance of Pupils having Financial Difficulties" (1956), and the "School Health Law" (1958). Through these various laws, the government set out specific criteria aimed at strengthening the facilities and infrastructure in the areas targeted by the respective laws, and decided that in cases where local government bodies or schools made determined efforts to meet the criteria, national funds could be used to meet one part or the majority of the costs involved.

With regard to running costs in local education other than the examples given above of special assistance from the national treasury, the government undertook to meet these by establishing a source of finance whereby a fixed percentage of the revenue from different kinds of taxation (income tax, corporation tax, liquor tax, consumption tax, and tobacco tax) would be granted to local bodies

(prefectures and municipalities) through a local grant tax allocation system.

2-4 Securing Capable Personnel and Improving Teachers' Salaries

In 1974, the “Law to Secure Capable Education Personnel”¹ was enacted. This law was based on a recommendation in the report issued in 1971 by the Central Council for Education on the need “to change and renew the system of teachers’ salaries so as to ensure that the salary a teacher receives is sufficient to encourage outstandingly capable personnel to wish to enter the teaching profession of their own accord and to be ready to respond to the responsibility of a post that demands a high level of professional specialization and administrative skill.” In the context of the lively activity that the labor market had displayed during the continuing period of high economic growth, there had been a tendency for people of outstanding talent to concentrate in private companies, and the intention of the 1974 law was to recruit such capable people into the teaching profession in opposition to this tendency. Following the enactment of the law, during the period 1974-78, the salary of teachers in compulsory education schools was revised three times, so that at the end of this process it had risen by 30% and was higher than the salary paid to general civil servants. There is no doubt that after these reform measures were implemented, the traditional image of a teacher’s job as being equal to a low salary was completely dispelled. Following the measures, the competition in the examination organized by prefectural boards of education for appointment as a teacher rose sharply, and in economic terms too, the teaching profession became a very popular option among young people. Moreover, from this point on, it was possible to observe a lowering of the organizational power and influence of the Japan Teachers Union, which had been maintained for a long period after the end of the war, and its aggressive posture also became weaker.

3. The Educational Financing Reform Debate in the National Council on Educational Reform

The National Council on Educational Reform, which deliberated and issued its report during the 1980s, made the following suggestions concerned with educational financing:

(1) A new division of roles between the public and private sector and a system of cooperation

Since the Meiji era, the foundation of Japan’s national objectives has been, the report said, to catch up with the advanced industrialized nations of the West, and by the end of the early modern period, the levels of education, culture and daily life in Japan had risen remarkably, and the people were demanding more sophisticated and more diversified content in the various activities comprised in the fields of education and research, and of culture and sport. With a view to responding flexibly and effectively to this situation, there is a need to tackle the restructuring of the respective roles of the public and private sectors, aiming at an effective system of cooperation in a new dimension which can bring together on the one hand the public service configuration and on the other hand, the private service configuration, which sets free competition and choice as its preconditions. From this perspective, we propose that Japan should continue, the report said, to set out clearly the areas in which educational administration and finance should be involved (responses to basic needs) and the areas which should fundamentally be entrusted to the vitality of the private sector (responses to diverse and high-level needs which go beyond basic levels), and should make a radical examination of the ideal pattern of meeting educational costs from public funds.

¹ The formal title of this law is: “Special Measures Law Concerning the Securing of Capable Educational Personnel in Compulsory Education Schools for the Maintenance and Enhancement of School Education Standards.”

(2) Strengthening of educational finance and prioritized distribution

With regard to the promotion of educational reform, the report said, there is a need, while making efforts to achieve a prioritized and efficient distribution of funds which has regard for the direction of reform, to devise appropriate measures which have regard for public finance as a whole. From now on, the report said, while continuing to respond to changes in the domestic and foreign environment, Japan should endeavor to achieve a bold, prioritized distribution of funds, with the aim of qualitatively enhancing educational and research standard in such areas as the strengthening of basic research, the qualitative strengthening of higher education, and the strengthening of healthy bodies and minds.

(3) Rationalization and increased efficiency in educational finance

There is a need to re-evaluate the division of roles and the division of expenses between central government and local governments across the whole range of existing systems and policies, and to aim at rationalization and increased efficiency in educational finance, carrying out a re-evaluation from such perspectives as the rationalization of management tasks, appropriate adjustment of the balance in terms of the burden to be borne by beneficiaries, and utilization of financial resources. On the basis of this kind of thinking, such items as the methods of providing national funds for compulsory education, the ways of providing school lunches, and the utilization of properties should be looked at again.

(4) Exploiting private-sector vitality

There is a need, the report said, to aim at positive encouragement of private-sector vitality through deregulation and other ways, from the perspective of promoting the revitalization and rationalization of education. Measures that should be considered include relaxation of the regulations concerned with the establishment, administration and management of schools, the use of tax measures to encourage

donations, simplification of procedural formalities, utilization of the third sector and of volunteers, and entrusting facilities to the private sector.

(5) Reducing the burden on households of educational expenditure

The excessive rise in the cost of education has also become a problem from the perspective of guaranteeing equality of educational opportunity. Accordingly, it is necessary, when thinking about tax reforms, to take special account of those sections of society on which the burden of educational costs falls heavily, for example, people in their forties and fifties who are likely to have children in upper secondary school or university. Efforts should be made, the report said, to improve and strengthen the scholarship system, including examination of scholarships and student loans operated in parallel and targeted at outstanding graduate students and those engaged in high-level research.

4. Conclusion

A major characteristic of Japan is that whereas in the area of educational administration, the Japanese system had a highly centralized character, in contrast to this, in the area of educational finance, right from the very early stages after the introduction of a modern education system, the provision and the distribution of educational funding was carried on within a relatively decentralized system. Even within the area of public-sector education, the system adopted was that higher education was a national responsibility, secondary education was a prefectural responsibility, and the responsibility for the costs of the compulsory stage of primary education rested completely with individual municipalities (cities, towns, villages). In principle, central government did not contribute to the costs of compulsory education, but in practice there was a gradual expansion of disbursements by the national treasury in the form of assistance given on an exceptional basis for specific purposes such as the construction of school buildings or improvements in teachers' salaries. During World War II, responsibility for the running costs of

compulsory education was shifted to prefectures, and a law was enacted specifying that half these costs would be met by the national treasury. This system continued in the postwar period.

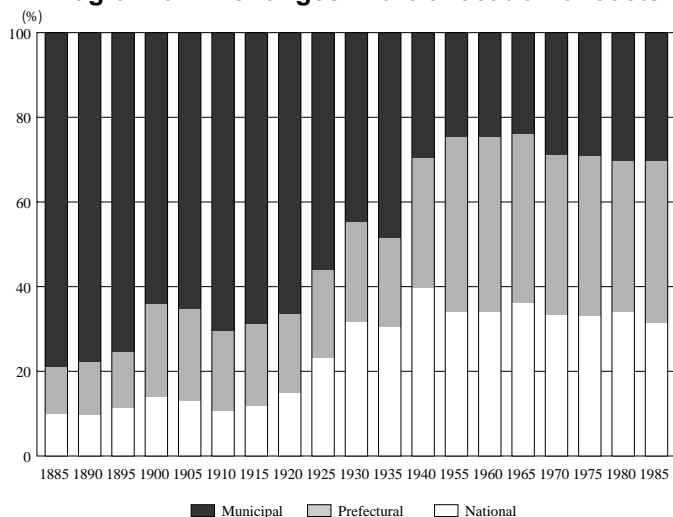
Explaining the above situation in a different way, central government did not take complete responsibility for funding primary and secondary education, and there was a fear that under a system which made this the responsibility of local governments, disparities and inequalities between regions would be generated in terms of educational finance. However, looking at historical developments in Japan, this situation did not occur to any marked degree. It is certainly true that squeezing out money for educational costs was a great burden on local governments, but the tremendous enthusiasm of the people for education and the expectations they had of

it generated efforts to find ways of overcoming this problem.

Looking at the situation described here from a different perspective, the system whereby general running costs are largely the responsibility of local governments has enabled central government since the war, through the enactment of a series of laws designed to promote specific aims, to provide financial assistance for defined objectives, as, for example, with the law to secure capable personnel or the law to provide assistance to private schools. In this way, it has become possible for the government to concentrate assistance from the national treasury in specified priority policy areas.

< SAITO Yasuo, MIURA Ai >

Diagram 3-1 Changes in the allocation of costs for compulsory education, 1885-1985

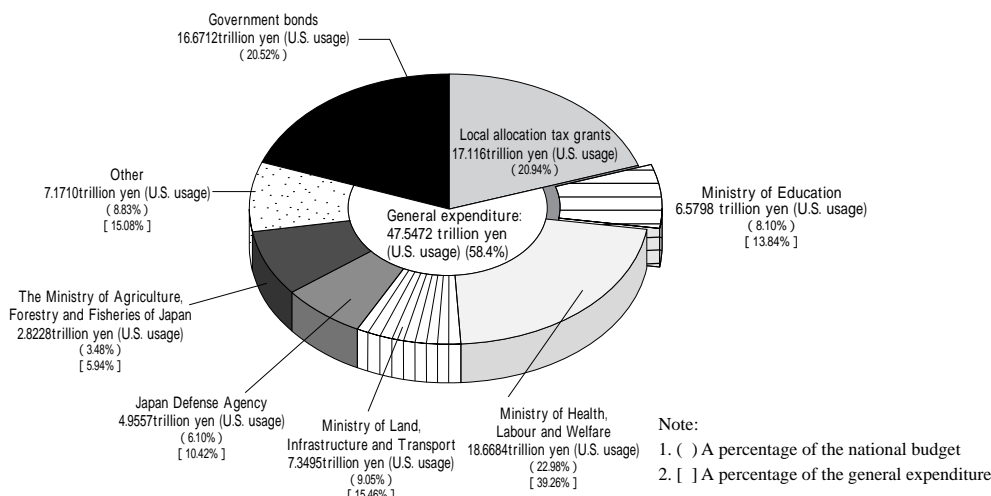


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	Year	National	Prefectural	Municipal
Prewar	1885	1,036	1,222	8,643
	1890	931	1,188	7,487
	1895	1,598	1,874	10,772
	1900	5,834	8,845	26,347
	1905	5,666	9,012	28,143
	1910	9,010	15,835	60,472
	1915	10,566	17,158	62,437
	1920	44,066	55,783	200,558
	1925	100,388	92,582	249,458
	1930	143,320	105,612	204,010
1935	151,100	103,102	242,878	
1940	270,673	199,697	201,540	
Postwar	1955	126,668,000	151,670,000	93,668,000
	1960	208,954,000	250,578,000	152,960,000
	1965	499,465,000	549,865,000	335,681,000
	1970	951,513,000	1,095,098,000	837,756,000
	1975	2,664,905,000	3,075,362,000	2,378,647,000
	1980	4,744,756,000	4,927,083,000	4,333,881,000
	1985	5,201,696,000	6,270,114,000	5,096,369,000

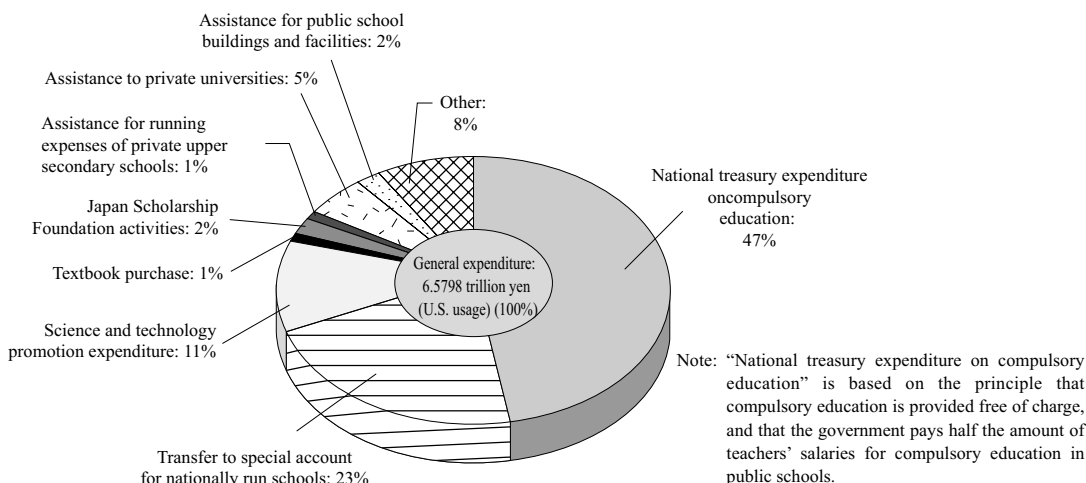
Sources: Data from the Ministry of Education

Diagram3-2 National budget breakdown for fiscal year of 2002



Source: Data from Japanese government

Diagram3-3 Ministry of Education: composition of general accounting budget for fiscal year 2002



Source: Data from Japanese government

Chapter 4. School Management

Issues for developing countries

In recent years, considerable attention has been paid to the role played by school management, and decentralization has been implemented as far down as school level. In terms of issues for developing countries, two issues that could be quoted as examples are the need for schools to adopt self-help measures to ensure their own continuance in a context of limitations on government resources and the fragility of administrative functions, and the need to implement school improvement in a way that involves all the staff connected with the school, with the principal in the lead, with the aim of realizing a system whereby teachers can teach in an appropriate way and make effective use of educational resources. In addition, the participation of local residents in the process of school education is also recognized as an important issue in the context of trying to make appropriate adjustments to school management and secure independent sources of finance. Various projects have been implemented in the area of educational cooperation, aimed at the improvement of school management; these include training for school principals and programs of participation by local residents.

Points

From the early formation stages of its school system, Japanese schools were administered and managed within a framework of strong central government leadership, but in the postwar period, voices were heard demanding greater autonomy for schools in management in the context of regional decentralization policies. The role of the school principal as the person with the highest level of responsibility within a school also changed with the passage of time, from that of simply acting as an administrator to that of someone expected to take a leadership role in school improvement. Even in the early days of the Meiji era, divisions of duties within schools were organizationally structured with the aim of achieving efficient school management, and positive efforts were made to hold meetings and training sessions for school staff.

And in the area of participation in school management by local residents, what were initially school support groups, in which parents of children in school took the lead and which aimed to provide financial backing, developed over time into what amounted to parent-teacher associations (PTAs), in which parents and teachers cooperated with the objective of ensuring a happy period of growth for children. In 2000, a system of “school councilors” was introduced as a mechanism to encourage participation in school management not only by parents, but by a wider circle of local residents.

1. Overview

1-1 Historical Changes in School Management in Japan

The form of school management since the creation of a modern school education system in Japan became more complicated and diversified in line with

changes in national ideology and educational thought. In the Meiji era, which can be defined as the period when school education was given a firm foundation, on the basis of the state’s view of strict administrative control, the term used for “school administration” denoted administration within a strict legal and regulatory framework. The role of schools

was seen as loyal implementation of strong initiatives on the part of the state. In the Taisho and early Showa eras, characterized by liberal thinking that came to be known as “Taisho democracy,” stress was put on the importance of allowing schools to strengthen and improve educational activities on an autonomous basis, and the concept of “school management,” which placed school functions within an autonomous framework, was born. Following the educational reforms introduced after World War II, the idea of democratization was introduced into the administrative views that had held sway until that time, and the concept of school management¹ was seen as inherently embracing the dual aspects of the “maintaining and administrative function” and the “creative and formative function,” which together aimed to realize the educational objectives of the school.

(1) Establishing a system of school administration

Following the promulgation of the Education Ordinance in 1872, large numbers of schools were constructed all over Japan on the basis of the idea of education for all the people. The birth of school education was accompanied by the emergence of the concepts of school organization and school administration, neither of which was previously known in Japan. When elementary schools were being created, administrative posts such as those of principal and deputy principal did not exist, and representatives of the towns and villages were responsible for establishing, maintaining and running elementary schools. In 1879, “educational committeemen” were appointed in each school

district with responsibility for office and administrative matters covering the whole of education. They combined supervisory and administrative duties, supervising the work of teachers and making confidential reports to prefectural authorities. At this time, all matters relating to schools, from their initial construction to daily management, maintenance and administration, were implemented on the basis of the responsibility of local governments. Moreover, because the necessary funds had to be raised by a combination of tuition fees, donations and collections within the school district (quota contributions levied on residents in accordance with their financial means), a very considerable burden was imposed on residents in respect of education.

Around the end of the 1880s, the number of children enrolling in school increased, a system of grades was introduced into schools, and numbers of teachers were allocated to each school. In this situation, gatherings of school staff were frequently arranged under such names as “school staff committee,” “teachers’ committee” and “teachers’ conference,” and these gatherings developed as places where a unified point of view or mutual understanding could be reached on matters concerned with school administration². In comparatively large schools, the objectives, organization and methods of running such bodies were set out in “Regulations for meetings of staff” within the school regulations as a whole.

With the enactment of the “Second Elementary School Order” in 1890, a county school inspectorate system was established, in the days when the “gun”

¹ Professor MAKI takes the view that only when a systematic framework concerned with public education and introduced into schools through the medium of educational administration is set up in line with the conditions of individual schools, will it be possible to see it as performing its real function. More specifically, the systematic framework consists of a skilful combination of the twin wheels of, on the one hand, school administration, namely the function of providing an indirect guarantee (maintaining and enhancing educational levels) of educational practice, and on the other hand, school management, namely the organization and management required for efficient advancement of educational practice by means of a combination of the four conditions of people, money, materials, and organization.

² Even before this date, from around 1875 onwards, “educational conferences” and “teachers’ conferences” were set up in many different areas of the country, but even though, in order to administer and manage a school, it is necessary to listen to the opinions of teachers, in fact, the way the conferences were set up, in line with the direct demands of the administrative authorities, was that representative teachers were elected from each schools and they then assembled together so that they could be questioned by administrative officials. Hence, the conferences had a very formal, administrative character.

(county) still existed as an administrative unit, and the inspector had the job of supervising schools in respect of such items as school facilities and equipment, the diligence of the teachers, and the achievements of the pupils. At the same time, school regulations became more diversified, and detailed rules connected with school administration were formulated covering such areas as cleaning rotas, collection of school fees, and grade regulations. The tendency toward more detailed administration extended to the pupils themselves, and from the end of the 1890s, regulations were established covering pupils' daily lives. Also, from around the 1880s, different kinds of school events were organized, including school trips and excursions, sports days, and so on.

The position of school principal with the function of unifying a school was first set out in a systematic way in 1881, and over the next decade, the characteristics of the position were given additional clarification. With the issuing in 1891 of regulations concerning the duties and conditions of service of elementary school principals and teachers, the authority and powers of the principal were set out in terms of responsibility for "organizing the affairs of the school and supervising the staff attached to the school." Even for some time after this, the position of school principal was still not a common feature throughout Japan, and in 1893, school principals were found in only 20% of the total number of elementary schools in the country, but with the growth in size of schools, the organization of school administration was rapidly implemented, and by the time of the Third Elementary School Order in 1900, the post of principal had been established in all public elementary schools. At first, the principal's duties were defined simply as "school affairs," denoting business matters concerned with the school, but as the system of school administration became more complicated due to the increase in the size of schools, the concept of "division of labor" emerged, and the principal's task changed into one of issuing directives to teachers and organizing the division of duties among the school staff.

School administration at this time was located at

the lowest level in a centralized hierarchy consisting of central government, local government and the school. Its role was to apply the educational law and rules within the school that pertained to the running of the school as an organization. The principal had complete supervisory authority over school administration, and the job of teachers was to carry out their appointed teaching or other official duties in accordance with the principal's orders.

[The germination and the withering away of the concept of "school management": 1918-1945]

At this time, while the fundamental framework of school administration in the Meiji era remained unchanged, there were signs that criticism of the traditional, "top-down" methods of administration was becoming more prominent. The influence of Western liberal thinking in education began to be felt in Japan from 1918, and in contrast to the term "school administration," signifying the interpretation and application of Meiji era educational rules and regulations, the term "school management" signifying the realization of educational ideas and policies, and the implementation of educational practice in line with the characteristics of the locality and the children, came to be used more prominently.

However, in the context of the centralized and bureaucratic educational structure of this period, the idea of "school management" was restricted to very localized and technical reforms, and did not exert any noticeable influence on the actual running of schools. Instead, with the rise of Fascist education in the early days of the Showa era, there was a return to the traditional administration methods of the Meiji era.

[The democratization of school management: 1945-1950]

As a result of the postwar educational reforms, educational decentralization was implemented, and the very great power held by the Ministry of Education was delegated to local educational administration bodies, schools, and even individual teachers. The powers of the Ministry of Education

Box 4-1 Acquisition of discipline through school education

From 1890 on, the way of thinking that equated daily life with discipline became widespread in school education, and discipline for children was implemented within the school setting, resulting at the same time in discipline and behavior within the home being taken over into school education.

(Example) Regulations for Children, 1906:

- Do not forget things.
- Bring an umbrella on rainy days.
- When entering or leaving the classroom, open and close the door quietly.
- Use the toilet at the beginning of the break period and do not soil anything.
- Don't waste drinking water and pay attention to hygiene.
- When leaving your home or returning home, make appropriate greetings to your parents.
- Carrying the things that you will need in school, assemble in the school yard before the start of classes.
- Do not say or do things that will be unhelpful to you and others.
- Always inform the school if you will be absent or late, or if you will return home early.
- Do not buy things on your way to and from school.
- Work hard to keep the school clean.
- Take care of things like school property, plants in the school ground and so on.
- Do not sing vulgar or coarse songs.

Source: The Comprehensive Educational Center(1972) *The history of Shizuoka Prefecture*, Vol. 1, p. 570

were diminished, and a system of publicly elected boards of education was launched; schools became much more able to carry out educational activities on their own initiative. Educational research activities were also invigorated as a result of the organization of teacher unions and the spontaneous formation of educational research bodies.

This period has been given the label of "democratization of school management," and certainly management activities were carried out in a comparatively free way, but this democratization did not originate in the classroom or the school but was rather something imposed "from above" and was limited to such procedural matters as decision-making methods in teachers' meetings or the way in which the principal issued directions and advice. In addition, the prewar system of "class head" whereby on the orders of the teacher, one pupil would take on various duties including supervision of the other children, was abolished, and instead a new system emerged, whereby a "class representative" was freely elected at a meeting of the children, and other children would take on roles of "persons in charge" in relation to various class activities.

[Strengthening of the administration-based system: 1950-1970]

With the enactment in 1956 of the "Law Concerning the Organization and Functions of Local Educational Administration," the democratic ideas of school management which had begun to grow after the war did a quick about face and were transformed into a strengthening of the administration-based system. Boards of education were appointed instead of being elected, and in practice, educational administration was directed by the secretariat of the superintendent of education. Successive innovations, such as the introduction of performance evaluation for teachers or national ability testing also made it difficult for autonomous school management activities or educational practice to be carried on.

[Expansion of the modernization of management: 1971-1988]

In 1971, the Central Council for Education submitted a report entitled "a fundamental policy for the comprehensive expansion of Japan's education system," and around this time, those concerned with educational administration and school affairs displayed a heightening of interest in school

management topics such as links with local society or the improvement of organization and activities within schools. At the same time, there were calls for the establishment of schools with special characteristics, and importance was attached to the formulation of objectives which reflected the actual state and the characteristics of schools, children and communities.

The prewar division of labor with respect to school administrative duties was simply a way of parceling out jobs within the framework of administering teachers, but the organizational division of administrative work in this period came to be recognized as a way of putting in place a system of functions and implementation designed to make school activities work more efficiently and effectively. It was as a result of these changes that work connected to PTA and teachers' union activities came to be included in school administration duties.

With regard to school events, children participated enthusiastically in the planning through the medium of the "children's meeting," so that their thinking was reflected in the result, and spontaneous participation by children could also be observed in the process of managing the events. However, on the other hand, it was pointed out that leaving too much to the children could result in the significance of educational guidance being diluted.

[Recent initiatives: 1999-]

In the pattern of school management as described up to this point, considerable emphasis has been put on ensuring that all children are offered the same kind of education, but this has not necessarily resulted in the formation and development of school-level autonomy and independence. Against a background of reflections of this kind, some attempts have been devised recently to support autonomous management on the part of schools. Increasing emphasis has been put on developing a type of school which is open to the local community or which has characteristics that reflect the actual state of the school and the children, and efforts have been made to expand the scope of the discretion given to schools in ways such as establishing a system of school councilors with the aim of forming opinions and

reaching a common understanding with parents and members of the local community on the nature of school education, or encouraging the process of autonomous curriculum development on the part of the school.

1-2 Historical Changes on the Road toward Participation in School Management by Parents and Local Residents

If we look back over the history of Japanese school education, we can see that right from the earliest stages, parents and local residents have played a very significant role. At first, participation focused on the construction of school buildings, but today, albeit partially, we can find cases where participation can be seen as extending over the whole area of school management. This account focuses mainly on the concept of the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), introduced as a model from the U.S. after the end of World War II, and provides an overview of characteristics and functions in each of four periods: the prewar period, the postwar reconstruction period, the period of development and stability, and the present day.

[Prewar school support associations: -1945]

With the promulgation of the "Education Ordinance" in 1872, the provision of equal opportunity in education and compulsory education became topics of concern, and from the moment that a school education system was first introduced, stress was put on parental involvement in the dissemination of compulsory education. Furthermore, at a time when the national budget was still very low, a system of tuition fees was introduced, based on the principle that the burden should be borne by those directly concerned, so it can be presumed that there was a very close connection between schools and local residents. Cooperative activities by residents taking such forms as the establishment of "schools for the poor" by rich local people were a familiar sight, and such movements could still be widely observed in the latter part of the Meiji era.

In 1899, stimulated by the U.S. PTA movement⁴, a “school support association” was formed in Tokyo, and this was followed by the organization of similar bodies in large numbers of schools. In 1900, the period of free compulsory education was set at 4 years, and by 1907, a 6-year system of compulsory education was realized. but in the case of many PTAs, their main activities consisted of donations toward the cost of school events and the like, so while their objective was to promote education, in practice, they can be thought of as financial support organizations for the school.

[PTAs in the period of postwar reconstruction: 1945-1959]

After World War II, PTAs were directed and established by the occupation forces with the aim of furthering democratic education. The Ministry of Education encouraged the formation of PTAs, and in 1946, established within the Ministry a “Committee for Associations of Teachers and Parents,” and the committee produced a number of publications such as pamphlets, sample articles of association and handbooks for the formation of a PTA. By as early as 1948, PTAs had been established in nearly 70% of elementary and lower secondary schools, and by 1950, the number had increased to 93% of elementary, and 89% of lower secondary schools. In addition, as the organization of PTAs spread widely throughout the country, regional coordinating bodies were formed, and in 1952, an all-Japan organization was formed as the prototype of what was to become the National Congress of Parents and Teachers Associations of Japan. The Congress issued regular publications, made awards to outstanding PTAs, established a “PTA week,” and as the highest advisory body on PTA matters, set up investigations and inquiries, and issued reports of the results.

In the context of this widespread dissemination of PTAs within a very short time, the role played by the

media was considerable. However, in a not insignificant number of cases, the transformation of prewar school support associations into PTAs involved little more than a change of name, and the truth was that there was no organizational change. Furthermore, in answers to surveys, the most common motive given for starting a PTA was “directions from the prefecture,” signifying that the organization of the PTA was carried out as a result of administrative instructions. The PTAs were created on the basis of American instructions, and used the pattern of American PTAs as a model, but at this time, PTA activities which aimed to raise the level of child welfare, as happened in the U.S., were not successful in taking root in Japan. But on the other hand, at a time when money was very tight, the PTA budget was a source of support for such items as school staff salaries and allowances, or maintenance expenses, or for the costs of building construction or facilities for public education, or for the running costs required for educational activities (teaching materials, books, consumables, or school events). Because money was collected from parents in the form of donations, there was a noticeable trend for powerful local people to dominate the scene in the form of local “bosses.”

[Changes in the administrative system and in the participation of PTAs in school management at a time of development and stability: 1960-1999]

In 1960, under a revision to one section of the Local Finance Law, payments from citizens toward the personnel expenses or the building maintenance or repair costs incurred in the case of public elementary and lower secondary schools were banned, with the result that contributions from parents via the PTA channel were gradually extinguished⁵. From this time on, therefore, PTAs aimed to strengthen their activities as essentially

⁴ The American PTA began its activities in 1897. See: <http://www.pta.org/aboutpta/history/mile1890.asp> (as of January, 2004)

⁵ With regard to the current parental share of school budgets, taking the position in 2001 in the Tokyo metropolis as an example, the annual cost to each family per elementary school child was 45,814 yen. Breaking down the cost to beneficiaries, i. e. parents, 73% of the amount was used for school lunches, 12% for subject-based educational expenses, 9% for excursions, travel expenses on school trips, etc., and 6.5% for school ceremonies and events. For details, see: http://kyoiku.metro.tokyo.jp/toukei/14_noufukin/syo.pdf

social education organizations managed on an autonomous basis, in which teachers and parents cooperated to promote children's happiness and growth in the same way as the American PTAs that had served as a model when the PTA concept was first introduced into Japan. Their activities were not restricted to making requests to bodies with direct links; with the aim of promoting the welfare and healthy growth of children, they organized a wide range of activities, including research and training programs, educational events for young people, and jointly sponsored events of all kinds. (for specific details see "2-5 PTA activities" below).

But the above said, PTAs encountered problems, including difficulties in finding volunteers for the various posts (chairperson, secretary etc), cases of activities being monopolized by one group of parents, low participation rate of fathers, difficulties in getting cooperation from teachers, and so on. The result was that it could not really be claimed that the PTA, as it developed up to this time, was a mechanism which enabled participation by parents in school management. A further point is that the standard pattern was for parents to join the PTA automatically for as long as their children were in the school concerned, and in principle, participation by local residents was not permitted, so the set pattern of a PTA was that of an organization composed only of teachers and parents.

[Decentralization and parents – expectations of participation by local residents in school management: 2000-]

In the year 2000, with the aim of trying to reflect the views of parents and local residents, a system of "school councilors" was introduced. Under this system, it has become possible for the first time for local residents to participate in school management in a systematic way; the system is initiated in a school on the basis of a decision by the board of education concerned, and in accordance with a request from the school principal, the school councilors are enabled to express their opinions regarding the management of the school. Councilors are selected on the basis of a recommendation from the school principal or the

board of education from among persons who have a certain level of understanding and knowledge regarding education. As of August 2002, of all public schools in Japan, about half had a system of school councilors in place, 30.6% were "considering setting up a system," and 22.4% were "not considering the matter." It is also hoped and expected that PTAs will be revitalized as a result of the introduction of the new system.

2. The Present State of School Management in Japan

Currently, school management in Japan has been defined as "putting in place the necessary conditions (Persons, Materials, Money, Organization and Management) for the efficient realization of school education objectives on the basis of the 'plan, do, see' management cycle." However, the fact is that the actual conditions are different from school to school, and there is a need to grasp the actual conditions in each school in an appropriate manner, and then implement school management practice in accordance with these. It follows that on the basis of a number of factors ranging from "soft" aspects such as human resources, teaching materials and teaching implements, in other words, the core of school education for teachers and pupils, to "hard" aspects such as facilities and equipment, stress is laid on what kind of organization "our school" constitutes and on how it should be managed.

While a school autonomously develops school educational activities on the basis of the authority and responsibility of the school principal, in the final analysis, the board of education, as the juridical body in charge of the school's establishment, is the device or mechanism which bears responsibility for the administration and management of the school. As far as the PTA is concerned, it is not a subsidiary organization of the school, but as an organization which carries out activities designed to promote children's happiness and growth by virtue of liaison and cooperation among families, schools and the community, its role and activities aimed at improving school management should not be overlooked.

2-1 School Functions in the Context of School Management

(1) Setting educational objectives

Educational objectives are vitally important and indispensable in the implementation of all educational activities, including the management policy and organizational formation of the school.

In Japan, education is carried on within a broad and comprehensive framework of educational laws and regulations, including the Constitution of Japan, the Fundamental Law of Education, and the School Education Law. It follows that the educational objectives of each school are based on the foundation of the nationally determined direction of education. On the basis of different kinds of laws and regulations, each school has to define practical educational objectives in line with its own actual situation. These defined objectives then have to be presented to the board of education, and they can be included in the school's prospectus and other documents. Once the objectives have been set, the school will then formulate specific plans for all its educational activities designed to meet these objectives.

But all this said, it has been pointed out that there are cases where the educational objectives show almost no change from year to year, or where any change that can be seen is no more than cosmetic retouching, or where the objectives are abstract and far removed from real practice, or where it is very difficult to translate the objective into concrete terms within the context of daily activities.

(2) School management organization

Within a school, the organs responsible for deliberating and making decisions on the achievement of the educational objectives would include staff meetings, management committees and so on, while the school management organization⁶

has responsibility for implementation.

The school principal is the person charged with managing the school's business affairs, but in reality, it is impossible for the principal to carry out this task alone, so necessary tasks are delegated internally by the principal to various teachers. The structure that is formed in this way is the school management organization. In other words, the school management organization is the organizational body in which, with the principal in the lead, all the teachers utilize their respective professional status, their subject specialty, their qualities, abilities and character, and by means of a division of labor and responsibilities, contribute to the efficient realization of the educational objectives of their own school, while the principal bears the responsibility for representing this body vis-à-vis the outside world.

In Japan, the posts of principal and deputy principal are recognized as posts established in law. While the positions denoting responsibility for various duties are seen as marks of professional status and have their basis in the school implementation regulations. As the person with the highest level of responsibility within the school, the principal has a legal duty (School Education Law, article 28, clause 3) to preside over the school's business affairs and supervise the staff attached to the school. The vice principal is charged with the legal duties (School Education Law, article 28, clauses 4 and 5) of assisting the principal, arranging the school's business affairs, and taking charge of the children's education when this becomes necessary⁷.

It should also be noted that in the case of public schools in Japan, the principle is that school expenses are borne by the local public body responsible for establishing the school, and authority for drawing up and implementing the education budget, including school expenses, is vested in the head of the local public body. This is why there is no system whereby

⁶ The school (educational and administrative) staff apportion and deal with administrative duties, and constitute the means of managing the school. For such as Staff conferences or Planning Adjustment Conferences include research bodies and bodies that participate in decision making. Nowadays, responsibility for these tasks is assumed by teachers with special responsibilities.

⁷ Formerly, the post of deputy principal combined teaching and administrative duties, but in 1974, it was established by law as an independent position, i. e. responsible for administrative duties only.

a school raises funds independently and efficiently administers and manages these.

2-2 School Activities (Annual Events)

Table 4-1 is an example of school events throughout the year. At compulsory education level in Japan, the year is divided into 3 terms. Among the school events, examples of formal ceremonies are ceremonies marking the opening and closing of the school term, and ceremonies marking entry into and graduation from the school. Interwoven with these are events carried out as special activities, including excursions, school trips, the school sports day, presentations of children's achievements, and so on. As will be clear from the table, parents participate in school events in some form or other regularly throughout the year. Furthermore, in the first term, a special "class observation day" is designated for parents to visit the school and observe classes.

2-3 Characteristics of School Management in Japan

The activities that fall within the category of school management are very wide-ranging; the activities taken up and commented on here are meant to be particularly characteristic of Japan.

(1) Special responsibility systematization

At a 1985 OECD-Japan seminar, the system of designated special responsibility teachers was the focus of attention as being particularly characteristic of Japanese school organization. The concept of teachers with special responsibility was systematized in 1975 by means of the announcement of "Basic common standards throughout Japan," which clearly set out the different areas of responsibility and the professional duties attached to each, replacing the existing pattern whereby many different kinds of designated responsibilities were set up by individual schools.

Table 4-2 sets out the different responsibility areas and associated professional duties considered necessary in elementary schools. Each designated teacher comes under the supervision of the principal and is charged with the duties of implementing

liaison, guidance and advice in respect of the designated items.

(2) Basic school investigation and delivery of the investigation results to the administrative authorities

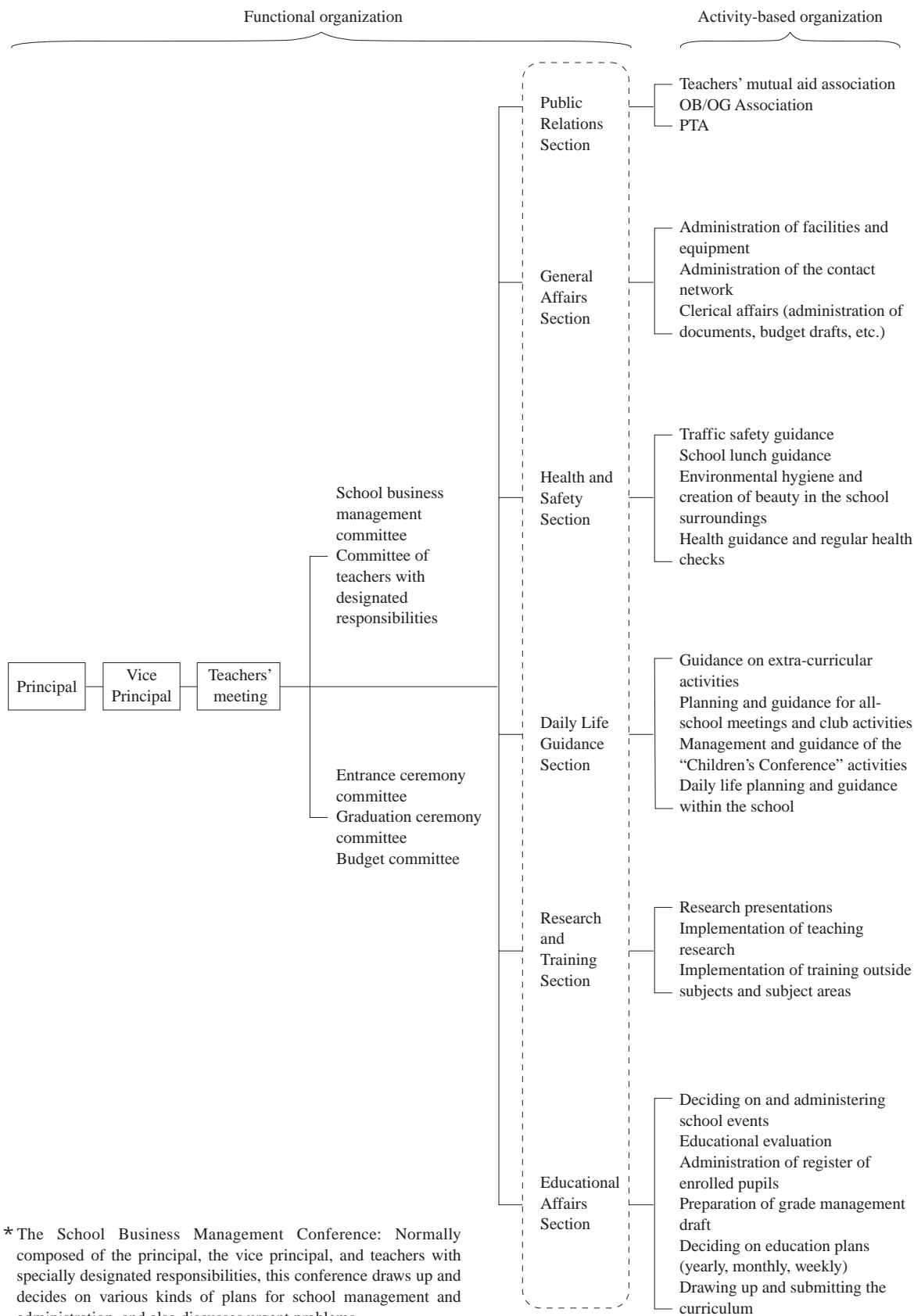
From 1911 onwards, the Ministry of Education required elementary and lower secondary schools to supply basic information through the channel of the prefectural governor's office, and included and published this information in annual reports. In 1948, the name of this procedure was changed to "Basic Investigation of Schools"; under this system, which has continued up to the present day, a survey is carried out to obtain basic statistical data relating to schools.

The school principal is responsible for making an accurate investigation of data relating to the school, including numbers of classes, numbers of pupils, and numbers of teachers, and must transmit a report of this data to the municipal board of education. On the basis of this information, a decision is taken on how many teachers to assign to a particular school. If there are 40 pupils or less in one school year, one class is formed and one teacher is assigned to the school. If the number of pupils on the school register for a year is 41 or more, 2 classes are formed and 2 teachers are assigned to the school. The question of how many teachers will be assigned is an issue of great importance for a school, and the basis for the decision is the report made by the principal to the board of education.

(3) School-based training

It was around the mid-1960s when the idea of "school based training" began to be actively developed in Japan; the aim of this was to implement educational improvement through the medium of solutions arrived at through the cooperative efforts of all the teachers in a school in tackling educational problems faced by the school. Full details of school-based training are given in Chapters 11 and 12 of this publication.

Diagram 4-1 The structure of school management (example)



*The School Business Management Conference: Normally composed of the principal, the vice principal, and teachers with specially designated responsibilities, this conference draws up and decides on various kinds of plans for school management and administration, and also discusses urgent problems.

Table 4-1 Chronological table of annual school events

Month	Term or vacation	Details of event	Parental participation
April	Spring vacation		
	First Term	School entrance ceremony	
		Formal start of classes	
Physical health check			
Visits to children's homes			
Excursion			
Sports test			
May		All-school trip	
June		Parental observation of classes and discussion with parents	
July		Whole-school cleaning, formal end of classes	
August	Summer vacation	Seaside school, forest school	
September	Second Term	Formal start of classes, exhibition of vacation projects	
October		Sports day	
November		Presentation of children's achievements (Arts and Culture Festival)	
December		Parental observation of classes and discussion with parents	
		Disaster preparation training	
		Whole-school cleaning, formal end of classes	
	Winter Vacation		
January		Formal start of classes	
February	Third Term	Marathon	
		Parental observation of classes and discussion with parents	
		Whole-school cleaning, formal end of classes	
March		Graduation ceremony	
	Spring Vacation		

(4) School education diagnosis (school management diagnosis)

As one method of evaluating whether or not a school is implementing educational activities in an appropriate manner, an evaluation procedure known as the "school education diagnosis" has been developed. At the present time, in some prefectures, schools conduct self-evaluation on the basis of the "diagnostic form," checking individual points to see how far they are meeting the objectives of the school education plan, and use indicators to clarify the policies that they are using to bring about school education improvement.

Each school diagnosis form comes in four formats: for pupils, for parents, for teachers, and for the school principal. Respondents use 5 levels for their evaluation in reply to the different questions on school education.

The results of the diagnosis are reported to the teachers' conference, and as a result all the teachers in a school are able to deepen their knowledge of the school, and contribute to the formation of a spirit of

cooperation with other teachers. With these points in mind, "school education diagnosis" can be thought of as an effective means of grasping a sense of management aimed at school improvement.

2-4 The Role of the Principal and of the Teachers' Meeting

(1) The role of the school principal in Japan

The school principal has responsibility for the management of an entire school, and his authority is defined in the School Education Law (Article 28, Clause 3) in terms of taking charge of school affairs and supervising the teachers in the school. For many years from the Meiji era onwards, emphasis was put, when defining the role of the principal, on loyally behaving in accordance with the educational laws and regulations and striving to maintain and administer the school in an appropriate manner.

However, according to a recent survey conducted by the National Institute for Educational Policy Research, nowadays, it is expected that the principal will: show a strong interest in the specialist

Table 4-2 Professional duties of designated teachers

Teacher with special responsibility for educational affairs	Preparation and formulation of educational plans (by year, semester and month) within the school.
Teacher with special responsibility for pupil guidance	Guidance of pupils within and outside the school, including out-of-school activities, problem behavior, educational advice, children's conference, cleaning of the school and making it attractive, safety guidance, and club activities.
Teacher with special responsibility for grades	Responsibility for deciding on, implementing and evaluating the grade management plan for meeting the school's educational objectives.
Teacher with special responsibility for health and safety	Preparation of the school health and safety plan, and advice and guidance with regard to the organization of health activities within the school and the children's health committee.

development of teachers; support the improvement of teaching and learning activities; make suitable arrangements to ensure that school-based training becomes an important educational activity; provide positive suggestions and materials to assist with problems that teachers are facing; and have a good understanding of teachers.

It is clear from this list that the principal today is expected to go beyond the boundaries of the traditional pattern, and display the qualities of a school leader who will give positive support to the educational activities of the school.

(2) Teachers' Meeting

Even today the Teachers' Meeting has no basis in law, but its prototype goes back as long ago as the 1880s as an important method of management and administration. It plays an indispensable role in maintaining an appropriate administration system and implementing management improvements on the basis of the opinions of the teaching staff, and it is now accepted practice that a Teachers' Meeting should be established in virtually every school.

The functions of a Teachers' Meeting in practice can be summed up under the following four headings: a place that enables staff to respond to the principal's questions; a place for deliberation on decisions that have to be made by the school on such matters as the formulation, implementation and evaluation of the school educational plan and the curriculum; a place for teachers to liaise with one another, make adjustments, and reach a common understanding on how to settle school business matters; and a place to present the results of

research and training. Reference has also been made, in terms of characteristics of the Teachers' Meeting, to its function as a place for teacher training and as a place where lively discussions can be held on the improvement of educational content and methods.

2-5 PTA Activities and a System of School Councilors

The PTA is not a subsidiary organ of the school, but is an autonomous body that organizes activities through the medium of its core organs, namely the Class Representatives Committee, the Grade Representatives Committee and the Community Representatives Committee, on the basis of the PTA rules, transmitted by the General Meeting and the Management Committee, in the context of cooperative efforts between teachers and parents to involve parents, the school and the community in promoting the happiness and healthy growth of children. The PTA also establishes numbers of specialist committees such as the Educational Affairs Committee, the Health and Welfare Committee, and the PR Committee, and tackles a wide range of concrete activities, as shown in Diagram 4-2 and Box 4-2.

In addition, with the aim of developing distinctive educational activities that are open to local communities, a new system of "school councilors" was introduced in fiscal year 2000, whereby school principals will invite opinions from parents and local residents with regard to school management.

Box 4-2 Formation of a school that serves to promote liaison and cooperation among the family, the school and the community

(1) Making a forest

Kadoike Junior High School PTA in Numazu City, Shizuoka Prefecture, by implementing the activity of constructing, maintaining, and administering a forest, succeeded in unifying families, the school and the local community. After discussions with the pupils at the school about such points as the location, name, size and image of the forest, the PTA took the lead in raising funds for the construction of the forest through bazaars, recycling of waste materials, refreshment stands at local festivals, and similar activities. Maintenance and administration of the forest is carried out by volunteers from among the PTA, pupils, and local residents. Practical results have been that the project has broadened autonomous activities by the pupils, a system is being put in place to nurture the pupils in the local community, and the links binding families, the school and the community have become stronger and deeper.

(2) Bellmark activity

As of 2000, the Bellmark movement embraces firms and a total of over 27,000 PTAs from kindergartens, elementary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools. In 1957, the All-Japan Research Movement for Education in Isolated Areas appealed for help to the Asahi Newspaper, and in 1960, the Bellmark Movement was launched, based on the wish that all children should be able to receive education in a well-endowed and fruitful environment. PTAs collect tokens bearing the picture of a bell from food packets and so on, and each token is converted into yen at the rate of 1 yen for 1 token by the Bellmark Education Aid Foundation, so that the PTA can buy necessary materials for their school from cooperating companies. 10% of the purchase price of items is donated to the Foundation, and this money is used to provide educational assistance to schools in isolated areas, schools for the physically or mentally impaired, or children in developing countries.

Source: Compiled in April 2003 on the basis of information in the Kadoike Junior High School PTA home page at http://www2.tokai.or.jp/kadoty/pta/mori/mori_00.html and the Bellmark Foundation home page at <http://www.bellmark.or.jp>

3. Conclusion

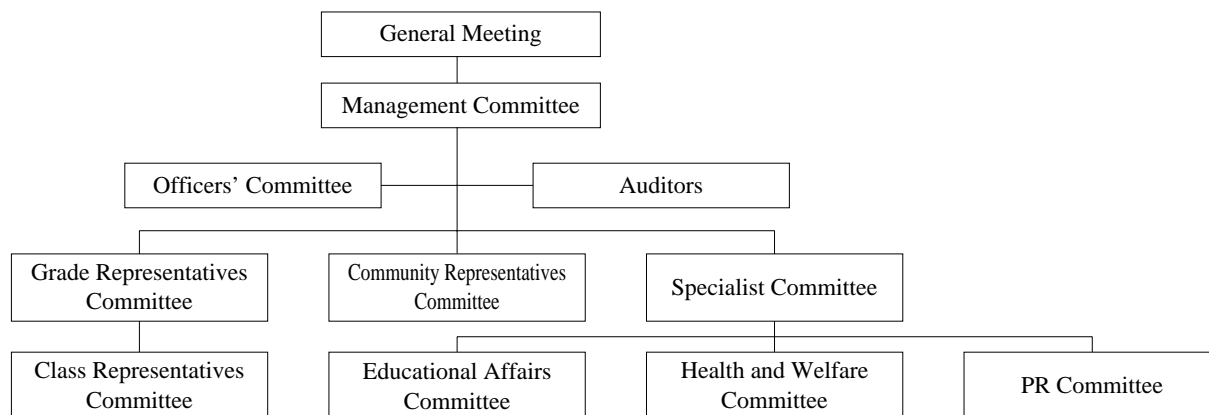
The idea that self-directed, autonomous management improvements by a school can be educationally effective has recently become a focus of attention in the context of educational cooperation with developing countries. In developing countries where satisfaction cannot be obtained from government support, it is appreciated that there is a need to aim at educational improvements which result from autonomous efforts on the part of the school.

If we look back over the history of school management in Japan, we can see that since the establishment of the school system in the Meiji era, central guidance enabled the same level of education

to be provided to every child as well as uniform dissemination of education and the uniform raising of the quality of this education throughout the whole country. Therefore, it is clear that strong initiatives by central government have also extended to the system of administration and management.

In ways such as these, even in the context of a centrally directed system, a system of division of labor has been formed, and at the same time, through such methods as teachers' meetings and school-based training, the teaching body as a whole has been able to become collectively involved in the various problems that occur within a school, and construct a cooperative system for tackling school improvement. It is reasonable to assume that factors of this kind have succeeded in fostering problem-solving ability

Diagram 4-2 Organization chart of a PTA (example)



Name	Composition	Functions
Class Representatives Committee	Class representatives, class teachers. Officers: Chair and Vice-chair of Class Representatives Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To arrange meetings of the parents and teachers of a particular class with the aim of facilitating mutual learning about children's studies and solving any problems that have occurred. - Meetings are held once a month or when necessary, at any time.
Grade Representatives Committee	All class representatives from each grade, all teachers. Officers: Chair and Vice-chair of Grade Representatives Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To transmit opinions or requests from each class to, for example, the Management Committee or the Specialist Committee. - To convey the decisions of the Management Committee or the Specialist Committee to each class. - To arrange study meetings or discussion meetings for a particular grade. - Meetings are held once a month or when necessary, at any time.
Community Representatives Committee	Elected representatives from each divided school district and teachers. Officers: Chair and Vice-chair of Community Representatives Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To endeavor to enhance children's daily lives outside the school and improve the surrounding environment. - Meetings are held once a month or when necessary, at any time.
General Meeting	All PTA members.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As the highest decision-making body of the PTA, to decide on activity plans, the PTA budget, the election of officers, revision of the rules, and any other business. A quorum is reached when one-fifth or more of members are present, and resolutions are decided by a simple majority vote. The president is elected from among persons other than members of the Management Committee. - Regular meetings are held in April (settlement of accounts, election of officers) and June (activity plan, budget), and special meetings are held when considered necessary by the Management Committee or when requested by one-tenth or more of the total membership.

Name	Composition	Functions
Management Committee	Officers: Head of the representatives for each grade; Chair of the Community Representatives Committee; Chair of each specialist committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As the highest executive organ of the PTA to examine draft activity plans and budgets produced in each grade local area and specialist committee, and present these to the General Meeting. - To implement resolutions passed at the General Meeting. - Regular meetings are held once a month, but are also held when the need for a meeting is approved by the Management Committee or when one-third or more of the members of the Management Committee request a meeting. A quorum is reached when two-thirds or more of members are present, and resolutions are decided by a simple majority vote. When the Chair of a committee cannot attend, proxy attendance by the Vice-chair is permitted.
Officers' Committee	Chair: 1 person (parent) Vice-chair: 2 persons (1 parent, 1 teacher) Accounts secretaries: 3 persons (2 parents, 1 teacher) Auditors: 3 persons (2 parents, 1 teacher)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To convene a General Meeting or a meeting of the Management Committee. - To deal with PTA business on the basis of resolutions passed by the General Meeting or the Management Committee. - The term of appointment of officers is 1 year. The same person may be reappointed for 1 further year, subject to election. - The auditors will check the accounts once at the end of each term, but special audits may be carried out when deemed necessary and reported to the General Meeting.
Specialist Committee	Members elected from among the parents of each class, excluding the Chair and Vice-chair of the Class Representatives Committee, teachers Officers: Chair and Vice-chair for each committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Educational Affairs Committee (with a view to making activities more purposeful and stronger, plans and implements the Supporters' Group, the Film Committee, the Books Committee, etc, and promotes learning and cultural activities. - Health and Welfare Committee (promotes study of health problems and school lunches, and carries out improvement activities) - PR Committee (has responsibility for editing and issuing the PTA newspaper) - Others (Election Supervision Committee, etc.)

Source: compiled on the basis of sample rules prepared by the Ministry of Education

and management ability on the part of teachers at the same time as enhancing their work motivation, and have contributed to enriching the children's learning environment. School management in Japan can certainly be said to have implemented effectiveness in education through the way in which it has set systems in place to deal with school affairs and ensured that these function in an efficient manner. It is also worthy of note that at an OECD-Japan seminar in 1985, internal school organization and management structures in Japan received high praise from the delegates of many OECD countries.

Moreover, the PTA has developed from being a body of supporters who served to provide financial support into a pragmatic, working organization which aims to promote children's happiness and healthy growth by means of liaison and cooperation among families, schools and local communities. Efforts of this kind can provide many useful reference points in terms of examples of "citizens' participation in school management."

< YAMAGUCHI Naoko, SHINDO Yuko,
MURATA Toshio >

Chapter 5. Encouraging School Enrollment and Attendance in the Meiji Era – Tackling Local Problems

Issues for developing countries

In the world today, there are still about 113 million out-of-school children, and in international society, the target has been set of achieving universal primary education for all children by the year 2015. In developing countries, the opportunities for children to access to school are limited because of the inadequate number of schools, family poverty, lack of parents' understanding, etc. and finding a solution to these problems is not easy. At the present time, the percentage of children attending school is showing an annual increase, and it is expected that every country will devote maximum efforts to reaching the target.

Points

Within a few years after the promulgation of the Education Ordinance, more than 23,000 elementary schools were established. However, achieving an increase in the enrollment was not an easy task for a number of reasons, including the following: the costs of establishing and maintaining the school as well as running costs were borne by the beneficiaries; school attendance meant the loss of that child to the family labor force; and the contents of elementary school education were far removed from the reality of working people's daily lives. However, from the time when the "Education Ordinance" was first issued, various efforts were made by the government and the people working together to increase enrollment and attendance, and as a result, the figure of 90% enrollment rate for the whole country was reached by 1902, and by the end of the Meiji era, virtually all children of school age were attending elementary school.

This account will present an overview of the actual situation of education policy and school enrollment and attendance in the Meiji era with regard to elementary school education, focusing particularly on the Education Ordinance. On the basis of this overview, we will then present some case studies showing how school enrollment and attendance were tackled in different areas.

1. Education Policy as Reflected in the Education Ordinance

1-1 The Interpretation of School Enrollment in Terms of Local Educational Administration

At the time of the promulgation of the Education Ordinance in 1872, the Ministry of Education saw scholarship as something to be achieved by completing one stage at a time, so they put a lot of emphasis on elementary schools, since these

constituted the first stage. And in order to explain to local people the significance and the necessity of getting children to attend school, easily understandable interpretations of the content of the Education Ordinance were added when it was promulgated at local government level.

In practice, this meant that the sentences in the preamble to the Ordinance were broken up and easily understandable explanations were interspersed between them, consequently the content of the Ordinance with its very distinctive expressions was

interpreted in many different ways. For example, depending on the prefecture, interpretations included ones which spoke of the acquisition of scholarship that was useful to everyday life, ones which linked children's enrollment at school to the state of prosperity of the nation or to the national policy of enhancing wealth and military strength, ones which emphasized the abolition of class-based discrimination through scholarship and education, ones which saw the Ordinance as propagating the possibility of achieving worldly success through education, or ones which saw it as referring to the need for women to have access to education.

1-2 Different Kinds of Elementary Schools and Their Situation in the Context of the Education Ordinance

According to the Education Ordinance, the establishment of elementary schools was permitted in a form that was appropriate to the situation of the people (see Table 5-1), and it was stipulated that participation in any of these schools constituted "school enrollment." However, in terms of the actual implementation, the Ministry of Education took "school enrollment" as its criteria, and publicized only their methodology and regulations, so that at

local level too, only these schools were seen as the objective. Accordingly, discrepancies between the schools and actual conditions were a frequent occurrence, and prefectural offices were faced with the problems of children for whom school enrollment created difficulties.

It is also important to remember that the "terakoya" were already widely disseminated as educational institutions for the common people. In 1875, only 3 years after the Ordinance was promulgated, of the initial target of 53,600 elementary schools, more than 24,000 had been established. But an analysis of the number of public elementary schools established by 1876 shows that only 26% of these were newly built, while 36% were located in temples, 32% used private houses, and the rest used barns, storehouses for rice, and so on. The issuing of "Standard Regulations for Elementary School Facilities" in 1891 aimed to introduce a system of standardization.

It should also be noted that at this time, the cost of establishing and maintaining elementary schools was met by a combination of money collected within the school district, donations, tuition fees, and money entrusted from the national treasury, but in practice, disbursing the required costs represented a major

Table 5-1 Overview of elementary schools specified in the Education Ordinance

Kinds of elementary school	Targeted children	Characteristics
Ordinary schools	Boys and girls 6-9 (lower division); Boys and girls 10-13 (upper division)	Elementary schools consisted of an upper and a lower division, and both boys and girls within the specified age range were expected to attend without fail until graduation. The curriculum consisted of 14 subjects in the lower division, and 18 in the upper division, with additional subjects added as necessary. Each school had rules.
Girls' schools	Girls	In addition to the standard school curriculum, handcrafts were added.
Village schools	Children of farmers who lived in distant villages or people outside the standard age range.	Much more relaxed rules than in the standard schools. Evening classes which harmonized with working patterns were also permitted.
Schools for the poor	Children from poor families.	Institutions supported by donations from rich families. Also known as "charity schools."
Elementary private academies	Unclear.	Lessons given in private houses by teachers who held a teacher's license.
Infant schools	Infant boys and girls below the age of 6.	Pre-school education.

Source: compiled on the basis of "Education Ordinance."

burden for individual families.

2. The Situation Regarding Enrollment and Attendance in Elementary Schools

2-1 The Reality of Enrollment and Attendance in Elementary Schools

With the promulgation of the Education Ordinance, a system of education was put in place, and increasing numbers of schools were established, but for some time, enrollment rates stagnated and did not match up to the aim expressed in the words “Schools for the entire nation.” The main reason is that the ordinary people of Japan were a very long way from enjoying affluent living standards. More specifically, the main reasons can be adduced as follows: the costs of establishing and maintaining schools as well as ongoing miscellaneous expenses were calculated on the basis of the principle that the beneficiary pays the costs, and it was far from easy for ordinary people to pay out the money required; when children attended school, the result was that families lost their labor force; the educational content in elementary schools was very clearly far removed from the educational demands of ordinary people’s everyday lives.

In circumstances such as these, the promulgation of the Ordinance gave rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction. For example, in the period from 1871 to around 1877, numerous farmers’ uprisings occurred all over Japan. These were rooted in general criticism of and revolt against the control of the Meiji government, but schools came under attack as symbols of “modernization” policies, and in some cases, school buildings were even burned down.

Consequently, there was a certain inevitability about the development that took place, from the methods of forcible demands for school enrollment following the promulgation of the Ordinance of 1872 to the much more relaxed approach of the First Education Order of 1879, which pointed the way to adjustment of strict conditions so as to match the living conditions of the people in local areas, and to a more simplified and more practical orientation of the educational content. However, as a result of a

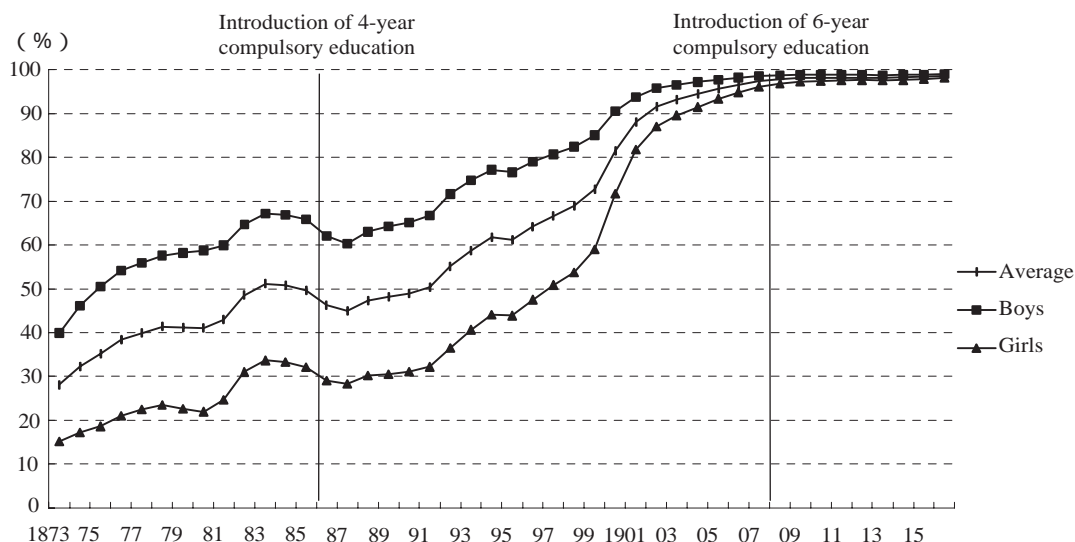
revision of the First Education Order that took place in 1880, the system of forcible demands for school enrollment was once again strengthened; in 1881, the Draft Regulations for Enrollment Demands were issued, and attempts were made to unify over the whole country the pattern for investigating educational statistics. At the same time the administrative system of enrollment and attendance demands made via the management line consisting of the Ministry of Education – local administrative officials – school committeemen was further strengthened, and it is reasonable to link this to improvements in school enrollment and attendance.

However, from 1883, the school enrollment rate again dropped as a result both of the economic depression which had its origin in the costs of the aftermath of the Seinan War (1877) and of the growing severity with which the collection of tuition fees was enforced.

But in the following decade, encouraged by economic development following victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and by the abolition of tuition fees in 1900, school enrollment rates moved sharply upwards. The result was that in 1905, about 30 years after a modern education system was first introduced, enrollment rates exceeded 95%, and problems regarding school enrollment were virtually eliminated.

However, it should be emphasized that not all the children who were targeted for school enrollment actually attended school every day, and while the number of children enrolled in elementary school was high on paper, included in this figure were infants who were below school age or adolescent youths. Consequently, in the early formation period of elementary schools, the number of children of school age who regularly attended school was between 20% and 30%, and in the period before tuition fees for compulsory education were abolished, enrollment remained below 50% (Table 5-2). So it is fair to deduce that while on the one hand, the system of school enrollment and attendance demands was strengthened, on the other hand, getting people and society to take a positive attitude toward education was not easy, and time was required.

Diagram 5-1 Changes over time in school enrollment rates in Japan (elementary school)



Source: Data from the Ministry of Education

2-2 Disparities in School Enrollment

As shown in Diagram 5-1, in 1873, the school enrollment for boys was 39.9%, while that for girls was 15.1%, revealing a very wide gender gap. This trend continued until compulsory education was made free of charge in 1900, and can be seen as reflecting the social view of the time that “learning is not necessary for girls.” Consequently, until the late 1890s, the enrollment rate for girls remained less than half that for boys (Table 5-2). Also the fact that in some prefectures, the enrollment rate for girls was particularly low can be seen as one factor that aggravated the disparity even further (on efforts to encourage enrollment and attendance by girls, see Chapter 6, “Girls’ Education”).

It is also clear from Table 5-3 that the overall enrollment varied widely from prefecture to prefecture. Reasons for this can be found in economic disparities, which had their roots in varying productivity levels in agriculture, commerce, and so on, and in the influence from differences in the enthusiasm or political will of local educational

administrators with regard to the promotion of school enrollment and attendance.

3. Tackling the Promotion of School Enrollment and Attendance at Local Level

3-1 The Distribution of Persons Responsible for School Enrollment and Attendance Demands

Taking Saitama Prefecture as an example, according to the Law concerning Enrollment Demands in cases of Non-School enrollment and enacted in 1875 as part of the policy for enforcing school enrollment and attendance within the prefecture, designated posts were named as being responsible for requiring enrollment and attendance of out-of-school children. Specifically, these comprised, in the category of education specialists, the school district supervisor¹ and school head², and in the category of persons who were charged with duties as attendance enforcers in conjunction with

¹ The post at the lowest level in the education administration hierarchy (subsequently to become head of the town or village). Because the person occupying this post was responsible for several school districts, it was impossible to carry out administration at the individual school level.

² This post can be thought of as representing the people of a town or village and assisting the School District Supervisor. The post was responsible for the maintenance and administration of individual schools and for enforcing school attendance.

Table 5-2 Changes over time in the numbers of children enrolled in and attending elementary schools (1873-1886, 1890, 1895, 1899)

Year	Enrollment rate (M/F) %	Children of an age eligible to attend school (A) persons	Number of children (B) persons	Average number of children regularly attending school (C) persons	Percentage of children regularly attending school (C/B x 100) %	Children of elementary school age (D) persons	Average number of elementary school age children regularly attending school (E) persons	Percentage of school attendance (E/A x 100) %
1873	39.9/15.1	4,205,341	1,145,802	742,530	64.80	1,037,501	672,361	15.99
1874	46.17/17.22	4,923,272	1,590,561	1,165,922	73.30	1,464,450	1,073,464	23.18
1875	50.80/18.72	5,168,660	1,928,152	1,428,619	74.09	1,815,803	1,345,331	26.03
1876	54.16/21.03	5,160,618	2,067,801	1,547,881	74.86	1,966,288	1,471,880	28.52
1877	55.97/22.48	5,251,807	2,162,962	1,530,164	70.74	2,073,284	1,466,662	27.93
1878	57.59/23.51	5,281,727	2,273,224	1,596,976	70.25	2,169,979	1,524,473	28.86
1879	58.21/22.59	5,371,383	2,315,070	1,607,979	69.46	2,186,860	1,518,897	28.28
1880	58.72/21.91	5,533,196	2,348,859	1,655,598	70.49	2,218,834	1,563,878	28.26
1881	59.95/24.67	5,615,007	2,607,177	1,686,391	64.68	2,456,238	1,588,749	28.29
1882	64.65/30.98	5,750,946	3,004,137	1,948,362	64.86	2,838,092	1,840,618	32.01
1883	67.16/33.64	5,952,000	3,237,507	2,104,839	65.01	3,059,719	1,989,283	33.42
1884	66.95/33.29	6,164,190	3,233,226	2,126,687	65.78	3,163,080	2,080,538	33.75
1885	65.80/32.07	6,413,684	3,097,235	1,957,392	63.20	3,097,235	1,957,392	30.52
1886	61.99/29.01	6,611,461	2,802,639	1,827,123	65.19	-	-	27.64
1890	65.14/31.13	7,195,412	3,096,400	2,248,030	72.60	-	-	31.24
1895	76.65/43.87	7,083,148	3,670,345	2,829,570	80.32	-	-	39.95
1899	85.06/59.04	7,097,430	4,302,623	3,461,383	83.16	-	-	48.77

Source: National Institute for Educational Policy Research.

Table 5-3 Distribution pattern by prefecture of the elementary school enrollment rate, 1873-1880

enrollment rate	year								
	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	
Less than 10%	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	
10-19%	11	10	6	2	-	-	-	-	
20-29%	7	21	14	5	5	6	2	2	
30-39%	13	10	20	16	18	14	16	14	
40-49%	8	12	12	5	7	9	11	13	
50-59%	3	6	6	9	6	6	6	8	
60-69%	1	2	2	1	2	2	3	1	
70-79%	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	
over80%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total number of prefectures	45	63	61	38	38	38	39	39	

Source: National Institute for Educational Policy Research.

holding other posts, the head and deputy head of the ward³. Collectively, it was the duty of the persons holding these posts to provide guidance to ordinary people in respect of compulsory education. It was further stipulated that children and their parents were not to offer resistance to the duty of school enrollment and attendance. In addition, every day except official holidays, from 8.00 in the morning to 3.00 in the afternoon, a policeman would patrol the area around a school, and if he found a child who was not attending school, would urge the child to go to the school. If the child continued to refuse to go to

school despite repeated urging, it was stipulated that the policeman should take the child's name and address, and report these details to one of the attendance enforcers listed above, to the child's parents, and to the school.

It was also specified in the "Attendance Enforcement Regulations" that the police would perform duties equivalent to those later performed by Ministry of Education inspectors, so the police were considered to play a very important role in terms of enforcing and encouraging school enrollment.

Subsequently, although different designations were

³ Responsible for general administration in the town or village, and in practice, responsible for school administration.

used depending on the area and the period, it was usual for someone to be deployed within a prefecture or a school with the task of encouraging enrollment and attendance.

3-2 Specific Efforts Made at Local Level (Representative Examples)

Since a modern education system was introduced by way of the Education Ordinance, many different attempts were made to get to grips with the issue of encouraging school enrollment and attendance, not only through strong central government direction, but also by efforts at prefectural and local community level. Representative examples of the way in which different prefectures tackled this issue are summarized in Table 5-4. The content of the various

local initiatives can be mainly categorized in terms of the costs of establishing and running elementary schools and the education costs; enlightenment of children, local communities, and parents; and measures to deal with poor children.

The content of the various efforts to promote school enrollment and attendance is full of diversity, and depending on the characteristics of the period in question or the enrollment situation, the pattern of interpretation of the Ordinance changed from an initial stage of “strong demands for school enrollment and attendance from the administrative authorities,” via an intermediate stage of “adaptation to local conditions and the cultural and educational level of the local people” to a third stage of “autonomous measures initiated by schools and

Table 5-4 Concrete attempts at local level to get to grips with the encouragement of school enrollment and attendance (representative examples)

Objectives	Project name; Year: Locality	Content
To identify sources for establishing and maintaining elementary schools and for education expenses	“Three Principles”; 1873, Ehime	Under the requirements of the Education Ordinance, each household was required to find a set sum, apart from donations, to meet the objectives specified in the Order. Because of the difficulties involved in doing this, the following suggestions were made by the prefecture: abolish the custom of giving alms at each village along the route of the “88 Temple Pilgrimage”, and put the money toward education costs; economize on the costs of tobacco and put the money toward education costs; (following the abolition of seasonal festivals with the adoption of the new calendar in 1873) put the money given as presents at seasonal festivals toward education costs.
	Turning crops into money; Stopping theater performances; 1874; Kanagawa	Encouragement to parents to cultivate crops for cash when a child is born. End the puppet drama, which served as recreation for farmers, and put the money saved toward education. Also, by dismantling the stage, etc, timber becomes available for building a school. Initiatives such as these were practiced over a wide area.
	Land cultivation to raise money for schools; 1877 to early 1880s; Aomori.	At this time, the enrollment rate in Aomori Prefecture was 20%, the lowest rate of any prefecture in Japan. Because it was difficult to find all at once the large amount of money required for education expenses, the proposal was made to lend unproductive land owned by the prefecture at no cost to the school district or school to administer and cultivate it, and use the money gained in this way to defray education costs. In the early 1880s, this idea of using land to earn money for schools spread throughout Japan, and the result was that enrollment rates rose sharply.
	“Raising Poultry”; around 1885; Fukushima.	Getting the children of poor families to raise hens on village land in a village of about 15 households, and using the money raised by selling eggs to pay for tuition costs resulted in improved attendance.
To enlighten local areas, children and parents	Attendance badge; from about 1876; Kyoto, Aichi, Shizuoka, Yamanashi, Niigata, Akita, Aomori, Ishikawa, elsewhere	Children were obliged to wear a brass badge around their neck or their waist as a testimony of school attendance. As well as being a sign of honor for children and their parents, the badge served to tell attendance enforcers that the child with a badge was attending school. There were also cases of forged badges in circulation.

Objectives	Project name; Year: Locality	Content
To enlighten local areas, children and parents	Attendance flag From about 1876. Ishikawa, Aomori, elsewhere.	Originally, the flag was intended simply to show the existence of the school, but as a means of giving encouragement to neighboring schools or people generally, it became a sign of school attendance. It was possible to tell from the flag the condition of school attendance in the school.
	“Slide Show” or “Popular Education Talk”; all over the country.	People who were well versed in educational matters would make efforts to enlighten the people and stimulate school attendance by children. Activities of this kind were found in all parts of Japan.
	Group walking to and from school; around 1911; Fukushima, elsewhere.	The school principal and teachers enforced attendance and made home visits to encourage attendance as necessary; actions of this kind were an integral part of school management. Apart from this, groups of children would gather together and, under the leadership of a senior pupil, walk to and from school in a group. The leader was normally responsible for making sure that the school rules were observed, for looking after his charges en route, and keeping non-attendance to a minimum. The school would present a banner or a certificate of commendation to groups with a record of good achievements. The practice of group walking to and from school had educational significance as well as being effective in raising attendance levels.
	Commendations and awards of “attendance flags”; in all districts.	Commendations to diligent pupils or parents who showed particular enthusiasm for education.
Countermeasures to assist children from poor families	Relaxation of enrollment regulations depending on the level of the area (targeted at the sons and daughters of poor families).; all over the country	Various types of schools and classes were prepared, depending on the level of poverty assigned to the family, including “charity schools,” Simplified Elementary Courses, and evening classes. Other provisions included exemption from tuition fees and the loan of books.
	Adaptation of the educational content to make it simpler and more practical; around 1877; Shizuoka, elsewhere.	Classes consisted of 2 or 3 hours of reading, calligraphy and arithmetic. Also, during school time, the boys would be put to work braiding rope and cutting grass, while the girls looked after small infants. After class, they would be enabled to study spinning, and there were also classes in needlework.
	Loan of school equipment by volunteers; around 1899; Fukushima	Books and equipment for school use by children from poor families would be bought with donations or loaned to the school by volunteers. Expenses of this kind were totaled annually.
	Assistance from “Child Support Associations”; around 1906.	“Child Support Associations” provided financial support to facilitate school enrollment and attendance by the children of poor families. Basic funding came from the contributions of members who agreed with the aims of the Association and donations. The content of their activities extended over a very wide area, including loans or gifts of books or school equipment, provision of lunches, clothing, items of protection against the cold, supply of rainwear, payment of expenses for treatment of trachoma or other diseases, the cost of a haircut, etc. Sometimes the Association would decide in advance what kind of items or money to give (or loan) to which children, or when necessary, they would decide on a case by case basis. The poor harvest of 1906 acted as a stimulus for the formation of many Associations.

Objectives	Project name; Year: Locality	Content
Other	Encouragement and incentives from unions; around 1900; Fukushima.	The origin of this example can be found in a talk given in Fukushima in 1899 by a Ministry of Education inspector who said: "In the villages in Kagoshima Prefecture, organizations of "enrollment unions" are producing very good results. The children of the unions all receive stationery items without fail, and if they fail to attend school, they pay a fine." Officials from Fukushima prefecture heard this and expressed the opinion that unions should be formed in Fukushima. As a result, from the end of the Meiji era into the early part of the Taisho era, unions of some kind were formed by parents, and were successful in raising school enrollment rates. A few attendance unions were formed on the basis of existing tax associations, while many were formed on a village basis.
	Arranging school age registers.	The formulation of rules for arranging school age registers played a great role in attempts to grasp the actual state of school enrollment and attendance.
	Establishing an education fund.	An education fund was established with reparations from the Sino-Japanese War, and the money was used for school facilities and the encouragement of education. (It is possible to see from this example that the national government was in favor of making every possible effort to increase school enrollment).

Source: Compiled on the basis of documents from the National Institute for Educational Research, the Fukushima Prefectural Board of Education, and the Shizuoka Prefectural Education Training Center.

parents." The process of change was not simply a matter of bringing enlightenment to the people; there were also frequent activities that involved both parents and local residents. Visits by the perambulating inspectors from the Ministry of Education, who were able to introduce initiatives or report on conditions regarding enrollment and attendance that they had observed in other places can also be linked to the strengthening of efforts at local level to increase school enrollment and attendance.

4. Conclusion

Following the promulgation of the Education Ordinance, the government consistently adopted policies of encouraging school attendance in pursuance of its aim of achieving "school enrollment for all." The implementation of the Ordinance differed according to area in terms of results and the speed with which it was carried out, but within the framework of a strong national political will, it was supported by a cooperative network that linked together Ministry inspectors, who delivered administrative guidance to the people, local education administration officials, school educators, and people of influence in local communities.

A string of policy measures by the administrative authorities, including the abolition of tuition fees for compulsory education, aimed at encouraging school enrollment and attendance, economic, social, and cultural change, and the feelings and attitudes of parents toward education for their children, interacted together in very complex ways, and combined to resolve any outstanding problems concerned with school enrollment and attendance.

In terms of policies to encourage school enrollment attendance, many measures to counteract the effects of educational costs, and flexible procedures for dealing with enrollment and attendance by poor children were implemented, and while initiatives of this kind were carried out on the side of the administrative authorities, mention should also be made of the ingenuity at local level in adapting to different kinds of conditions, so that it is fair to say that the positive implementation of measures by officialdom and the people together was indispensable in the encouragement of school enrollment and attendance.

Box 5-1 Case study of policies to encourage school enrollment and attendance

It was found that low school enrollment rates occurred because: enrollment and attendance enforcement by administrators was not reaching its target; ordinary people did not feel any necessity for education and made their children help with household tasks; it was impossible to pay the tuition fees. In the face of this situation, a slide projector was set up in the county offices, and teachers who were closest to the office would organize a “slide show” for parents from nearby villages, and through talks about education given in an easily understandable manner, would encourage parents to become interested in education and stimulate children’s school attendance. As a result, school enrollment rates gradually improved, and taking appropriate measures when children were required to work in the home or were unable to pay the tuition fees became a matter of urgency.

Education for a child with a small baby or infant (this was very troublesome for the school, but if the child enrolled in school, then some degree of education had to be provided).

Methods of identifying funds in the face of inability to pay fees (the simplest method was to get the child to raise poultry and use the money from the sale of eggs to pay for education).

Encouraging parents (select examination answers, in the form of pictures, examples of calligraphy or compositions, to which the average person can easily assign a value, and circulate these around households in the same way as an official notification from the authorities is circulated. Even if parents who see the answers do not immediately understand them, if families get together and criticize the answers that are circulated, this will certainly have a very great influence in terms of getting the parents to notice the school and encouraging school attendance. One important point is that marks should not be given to the answers that are circulated. The reason for this is that methods of assigning marks are carried out very meticulously so as to make every effort to achieve fairness, and it may happen that among the parents, there will be someone who will accuse the school of unfairness. Accordingly, marks should be written on a separate sheet of paper, and on the circulated examples, only simple critical comments should be written. If marks are assigned, they should be written in Japanese characters so that they are easy to understand. Also, in order to raise the level of attendance by girls in particular, they should be given sewing or needlework tasks as homework because it can be assumed that by means of girls’ questions to their mothers, the social significance of the school will be better understood by parents.)

(From an article published in February 1890)

Source: compiled on the basis of documents from the Fukushima Board of Education.

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Chapter 6. Girls' Education

Issues for developing countries

It is often pointed out that among the children in developing countries who do not attend school, the majority, by a very considerable margin, are girls. The gender disparity in school enrollment rates is particularly large in South Asia, the Arab States and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa, and it is self-evident that in order for the policy objectives of Education for All (EFA) to be achieved in these regions, girls' and women's education must be treated as policy priorities. In international academic ability tests, too, it has been pointed out that a gender disparity exists with reference to educational content and quality.

On the other hand, it has recently been recognized as a matter of urgency that raising the level of girls' and women's education is also indispensable for the socio-economic development of developing countries. Many researchers have produced convincing evidence to show that raising the level of girls' education is very important for social development with particular reference to such factors as infant mortality and fertility control, or improvement of general nutrition and hygiene.

It is against this kind of background that the importance of raising school enrollment rates for girls and raising the level of girls' education has been repeatedly pointed out at international conferences such as the World Conference on Education for All (1990), the World Summit for Social Development (1995), the Fourth UN World Conference on Women (1995) and the World Education Forum (2000), and is now firmly acknowledged in international society as an issue of global urgency.

Points

In the Meiji era in Japan, a variety of policies and initiatives were implemented with the aim of achieving universal primary education for girls. However, there was no firm financial base in the early Meiji era for compulsory education, and the form of co-education advocated in a context of Westernization at policy level did not reflect the needs of local society or of parents. Consequently, progress toward the goal of universal primary education for girls was very slow. However, after this initial period, education was implemented separately for boys and girls, with the aim for girls being to educate them, in accordance with the social customs of the time, to be "a good wife and a wise mother"; as a result, within a very short space of time, universal primary education for girls was realized.

As this example shows, the Japanese experience of girls' education reflected the current of the times and the prevailing socio-cultural circumstances. To be able to offer Japanese experience in this way to the developing world is certainly significant, but the most vital point at the present time is to give very careful consideration to the extent to which the achievement of gender equality and common education for boys and girls have become globally shared values.

During the various periods through which Japan has passed since ancient times, educational activities for girls have been carried out primarily in the context of education within the family, but the introduction of a modern education system dates only from the Meiji era. At the time of the Meiji era, encouragement of access to primary education for girls was clearly identified as a policy-level issue, but it should be noted that this was seen not only as a matter for central government, but one in which individuals and communities at local level were also actively involved.

Universality of primary education for girls, which is now recognized as the most important issue for developing countries in respect of girls' education, was virtually achieved in Japan by the end of the Meiji era. Accordingly, this chapter will comprise an examination of efforts to encourage girls to attend elementary school, focusing mainly on trends during the Meiji era in the context of the "Education Ordinance" from the very early days until the end of the era, by which time universal primary education for girls had virtually been realized.

1. Trial and Error with Regard to the Encouragement of Girls' Education in the Early and Middle Part of the Meiji Era – the Education Ordinance and Westernization Tendencies in Girls' Education

The prototype of a modern education system in Japan was created in 1872 by the promulgation of the Education Ordinance. But in advance of the actual Ordinance itself, the Ministry of Education issued a notification in which it said: "On the road of human life, there is no distinction between male and female. Boys have the opportunity to study, and we must create a situation in which no girl lacks this opportunity." The notification continued by stating clearly: "the ordinary boys and girls of our country have a right to receive education on a equal basis." In the Education Ordinance itself, we find the words: "Throughout the land, without distinction of class or sex, in no village shall there be a house without

learning, and in no house an ignorant person." And with regard to the duties of parents, it is also clearly stated in the Ordinance that "parents who do not enable their children, without regard as to whether they are boys or girls, to participate in elementary schooling, shall be guilty of an error." In words of this kind, the necessity for all boys and girls, without discrimination of sex, to receive at least primary education is clearly emphasized. It is also stipulated that with regard to the employment of teachers in elementary school, there shall be no sex discrimination. It is for these reasons that the Education Ordinance is seen as the starting point for girls' education in Japan.

However, it is very difficult to think that in Japan at this time, there was any kind of spontaneous movement seeking women's liberation or gender equality. If we think of the background to this age, when the Japanese rushed headlong into "modernization," virtually equating this with "Westernization," we can easily understand that the pattern of thinking about gender equality in education was strongly influenced by the education policies found in Western countries at this time. In his book published in 1977, Professor Fukaya points out that the Meiji Government, influenced by the education system found in the Eastern part of America, advocated a "common education for boys and girls" with no provision for sewing or handcrafts. Consequently the same rules for a common education were stipulated in each prefecture, but since they did not fit the reality of Japan at this time, they very quickly fell into disuse. The actual situation was that "in areas where girls' attendance rates were high, education was implemented separately for boys and girls right from the beginning of the new system, but on the other hand, in prefectures which applied a common system of education for boys and girls, attendance rates for girls were very low."

In 1879, the Education Order was issued, stipulating separate education for boys and girls at secondary education level, and in the late 1870s, and early 1880s, sex-segregated education became the general pattern, and a distinctive pattern of education for girls, including household matters such as sewing,

was developed. Putting the situation another way, the policies and ideas that backed a common education for boys and girls in the early years of the Meiji era very quickly lost their impetus and vigour, and by the late 1870s, policies and ideas pointing in the direction of sex-segregated education were already becoming prominent. In the Education Order of 1879, sewing and other subjects aimed at girls were encouraged, and it was further stated that "In the standard type of school, boys and girls shall not learn in the same classroom. But in elementary schools, there is no objection to boys and girls using the same teaching area." By the use of language of this kind, it was made clear that the general principle was one of education segregated by sex. In his book of 1995, Ogou, taking as an example the conservative personnel decisions of the principal of the Girls' Higher Normal School, characterizes the late 1870s and early 1880s as a "reactionary age," taking the view that the Meiji Government at this time implemented a policy change in the area of girls' education, moving away from Western egalitarianism to a more conservative set of values. It is not only the introduction of sewing into the curriculum and the implementation of sex-segregated education that can be adduced in support of this view. In the document entitled "General Guidelines of the Compilers of the Primer on Morals for Use in Elementary School", the following sentence can be found: "The Primer on Morals for use in elementary schools shall be compiled in two parts, one part for the use of boys and one part for the use of girls." In moral education too, emphasis was put on the Confucianist view of feminine virtues.¹

The policy changes with regard to girls' education were repeated in a way that correlates very well with the changes in the middle years of the Meiji era between on the one hand the development and on the other, the decline of theories of girls' education based on the Western concept of women's liberation. With the completion of the Rokumeikan² in 1883, the current of Westernization in society regained its

earlier vigor, and in line with this, in about 1887, renewed emphasis was put on Western patterns of girls' education. However, although this trend exerted some influence on secondary education in urban areas, it did not have any influence at a policy level in the country as a whole.

2. Undercurrents of Girls' Education Rooted in the Nationalism of the Later Meiji Era

An examination of the graph (Educational Statistics, Appendix, p. 265) showing changes in school attendance rates in the Meiji era immediately makes it clear that up to the middle years of the Meiji era (the early 1890s), enrollment rates did not show a regular increase, but that in the very short period from 1891 to 1904, the enrollment rates increased rapidly from just over 30% to nearly 100%. Professor Fukaya points out in his book that the development of girls' education in this period can be seen as having a very close connection with the nationalist-oriented theories of girls' education rooted in the concept of training to become "a good wife and a wise mother." More specifically, the causes can be explained in terms of the following factors: The government's appreciation, as a result of its experiences in the Sino-Japanese War, of the importance of "implanting a national consciousness in girls' minds"; Following treaty revisions which permitted the residence of foreigners in Japan, the "need to implant in girls an awareness of themselves as Japanese in the light of their perceived vulnerability through ignorance to such outside trends as foreigners, Christianity, and so on"; The "quantitative increase and qualitative change in women's work" from the middle years of the Meiji era. On the basis of an appreciation of factors such as these, it is argued, the Meiji Government, stressing the importance of girls' education, achieved universal compulsory education for girls through a national campaign requiring school attendance. The sections

¹ Katayama, Seiichi (1984) "*Kindai Nihon no Joshi-Kyoiku* [Girls' Education of Modern Japan]," Kenpakusha.

² An elaborate social dance hall, designed to entertain foreign officials and the Japanese upper class.

that follow consider the approach of the very effective encouragement of enrollment and attendance at elementary schools by girls in the middle and late years of the Meiji era.

2-1 The Government's Political Commitment; Debates and Research on the Causes of Non-enrollment by Girls and Countermeasures

As will have become clear from the preceding paragraphs, the Meiji Government recognized the necessity of school enrollment by girls, and from the mid-1890s into the 1900s, focused on the repeated issuing of instructions and orders stressing the need for compulsory education for girls. It was in this context that a national debate developed on the policies adopted in different regions for encouraging school enrollment by girls. In the course of this debate, a variety of reasons were put forward to explain non-enrollment by girls, including the following: a lack of recognition by parents of the need for girls to attend school; poverty; the need to attend to household tasks such as looking after younger siblings; the pattern of thought which held that girls' education should be carried out within the family; identical content of the education given to boys and girls; insufficient pressure from the administration to attend school and a lack of sanctions imposed on parents of children who did not attend school; and early marriage. Among the countermeasures proposed were the following: the inclusion of sewing in the school curriculum; the establishment of schools (classes) that allowed children to look after smaller infants in school; lecture meetings targeted at parents; separate education for boys and girls; revision of the educational content to make it suitable for girls; the introduction of free compulsory education; enforcement of demands made to

parents of non-attending girls to enable their daughters to attend school; the introduction of a loan system for teaching materials; and an increase in the number of female teachers.³

This reasons given here for the lack of school attendance by girls and the proposed countermeasures are almost identical to the debates currently being carried on in developing countries, and reading through the list throw into relief again the similarities in the situation in Meiji Japan and the current situation in the developing world. The following sections will give an account of the countermeasures employed in Japan, but in terms of the procedures used, the Meiji Government asked the teacher associations (professional groups of teachers) in local prefectures and counties (*gun*) as well as research associations in each county and city about the problems in their locality with regard to girls' education and the countermeasures they employed. In this way, the government was able to stimulate debate and research that was appropriate to the actual situation of each area, resulting in more attention being paid to efforts to encourage girls' education. Through research and debates of this kind, it was possible to obtain an understanding of the way the issues were being tackled in each region, allowing a foundation to be laid for coordinated action by central and local governments to promote girls' education. The fact that the promotion of girls' education was carried out separately in different regions and localities made it possible to take account both of the differences in educational needs resulting from the differences between urban and rural areas, and of regional cultural characteristics. It is also reasonable to assume that this approach stimulated a desire to promote girls' education in the locality concerned.

³ Fukaya, Masashi (1990) "*Zouho, Ryosai Kenbo Shugi no Kyoiku* [Education by the slogan "a good wife and a wise mother"]," Reimeishobou and Urabe, Akira (2000) "*Meijiki no Joshi Shotou Kyoiku Fushugakusha Taisaku- Hatten Tojokoku ni taisuru Nihon no Kyoiku Keiken no Iten Kanousei ni Kansuru Kenkyu-* [Encouraging School Enrollment of Primary Education for Girls in Meiji era- Research on the Possibilities of Applying Japan's Educational Experience to Developing Countries-]," Kokusai Kyoiku Kyoryoku Kenkyu Ronshu [Papers for International Cooperation in Education] Vol.2 no.3. Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE) at the Hiroshima University.

2-2 Compulsory Education Made Free of Charge

It was stipulated in the Education Ordinance, as noted above, that “parents who do not enable their children, without regard as to whether they are boys or girls, to participate in elementary schooling, shall be guilty of an error,” thus giving primary education the character of compulsory education. In 1900, the earlier Elementary School Order was completely revised, and two principles were clearly set out, namely that school attendance at the level of primary education was compulsory and that it was free of charge. At this time, school enrollment by boys stood at about 80%, while the figure for girls was about 50%. The revisions outlined here had the dual objectives of making attendance universal for boys, and of creating a rapid increase in the attendance figures for girls.

However, the paucity of a financial base in the initial stages made it very difficult for local areas to respond immediately to these policies, so it is very difficult to draw a conclusion linking the abolition of tuition fees with an immediate increase in the school enrollment rates. It has been pointed out that it is surely rather the case that “the decision to take the number of school-age children and the number of children attending school as criteria for the distribution of subsidies from the national treasury” resulted from the efforts (of the local governments) to encourage children’s school enrollment.⁴

2-3 Providing an Education Suited to Girls Including Needlework and the Like

Even in the Meiji era, which saw a shift from co-educational to sex-segregated education, the inclusion of educational content particularly characteristic of girls was a deliberate legal intention, and stress was put on sewing as being representative of this kind of content. In fact, sewing as a subject had been encouraged even in the Education Order of 1879, but although the following decade was one in which sex-segregated education was emphasized, in practice, it took until the end of the century for the necessary facilities and equipment to be put in place

and for trained teachers to become available. With the good of the country, represented by the slogan “a good wife and a wise mother,” as a foundation, sewing education for girls was fully implemented with the aim of making girls’ education a settled feature in society and because it was the kind of educational content that parents wanted for their daughters.

2-4 Training and Increasing Numbers of Female Teachers

A requirement for the promotion of girls’ education was the provision of trained female teachers who were able to teach matters relating to the household and domestic economy. According to Professor FUKAYA, at the Second National Education Conference in 1899, “on the grounds that female teachers are not only suitable for teaching girls but can be trained and employed at a lower cost, the resolution was adopted that ‘in each prefecture there should be established without fail rules governing methods of training women teachers.’” In 1900, the Ministry of Education, in a notification to all prefectures, “made it clear that the basic policy direction was one of establishing Girls’ Normal Schools or special classes for girls in Normal Schools” for the purpose of training teachers. In 1903, the position was that in almost every prefecture, in some form or other, “female teachers were being trained.” However, since it took a lot of time to produce a fully trained teacher in a Girls’ Normal School, in many prefectures, a shortened course aimed at producing a trained sewing teacher for elementary school was offered to graduates of ordinary elementary schools. In ways such as this, the system shifted to one of “accelerated methods of training female teachers.” Accompanying these developments in training, there was also a rapid increase in the number of female teachers employed. In the mid to late 1890s, female teachers made up about 10% of the teaching workforce, but 10 years later the number was more than 20%, and it continued to increase steadily. By the end of the Meiji era (1912), the established position of female

⁴ *ibid.* Urabe (2000)

Box 6-1 Recollections of receiving instruction while caring for a child

In former days, the school attendance rate for girls in Hamazume was very low because of the number of girls who had to stay at home to look after infants and babies in their own family or from other families. Official letters would come demanding that girls attend school, but matters of daily livelihood were concerned, so the letters were totally ineffective. But then the parents of the children who were not attending school were summoned to the county office, where they had a discussion with two teachers, Kojiro Kumakichi and Nakaya Kinjiro, and it was explained that the rules had been changed so that it was possible for children to attend school while continuing to look after smaller infants. Subsequently, many children carrying small infants on their backs entered the classroom, and either sat down as they were or if the child they were caring for was a little older, got the child to stand by the side of the desk. If an infant started crying, others would complain that it was “noisy” and the girl looking after it would take it out into the corridor and listen to the teacher through the window. Children of this kind, who had small infants to care for, were called “special students” Even if their marks in school were not very good, they would not be scolded by the parents because it was the parents who were responsible for making them look after small infants.

Source: from the History of Amino-cho, Kyoto Prefecture.



Photos provided by Nagamatsu Temple, Takasaki City.

teachers coincided with the universal provision of girls' education.

2-5 Establishment of Schools (Classes) for Infant Care

By the closing years of the Meiji era, school attendance rates for girls at the compulsory education level had grown significantly to the point where they exceeded 90%. But that said, girls in the poorest circumstances were obliged to help with the family business, or to look after smaller infants and babies, or were put out to service, and it was not possible to get them to attend school simply by sending letters demanding attendance or by changing the school system. It was with these girls in mind that schools

(classes) for infant care were established throughout the country. The school facilities of the child care schools, with the aim of helping working girls, were used after classes had finished, and concentrated instruction was given, in a short period of time, in reading, writing, sewing, morals and other subjects. (see Box 6-1)

2-6 The School Age Register and Strict Demands for Attendance

Around the turn of the century, on the basis of debates about girls' education which were conducted on a local and regional basis in different parts of Japan, one prefecture after the other started issuing sets of instructions⁵ designed to promote girls'

⁵ These instructions were not aimed solely at girls, but since the majority of children who did not attend school were girls, the instructions became in effect a way of encouraging attendance by girls.

attendance at school. According to research on the situation in Kumamoto Prefecture, in the early stages of compiling a register of school-age children, the prefecture at the same time conducted a survey to ascertain the precise numbers of children who were not attending school, and in 1899, "it was decided that a school attendance encouragement banner would be presented to schools with a high attendance record." Specifically, the banner was presented to schools which were attended by a high percentage of children in relation to the school-age population, and was exhibited within the school. Professor Urabe speculates that "because the high attendance rate achieved by a school was exhibited in a way that was immediately visible to everyone, a spirit of competition regarding school attendance developed among schools and regions, and parents too rapidly acquired a much more positive outlook toward school education by their children."

From the experience of Kumamoto Prefecture, the example has been given of the school age attendance register and its utilization. In developing countries at the present time, the establishment of systems of "school mapping" and assembling educational statistics is recognized as a foundation of attempts to raise the level of school attendance. On the other hand, "school attendance encouragement banners" are a unique device for encouraging attendance and provide evidence of the originality of Japan's experience.

3. Analysis

The preceding sections have given an overview of policy-level efforts and the process aimed at providing universal primary education for girls in the Meiji era. This section will offer some reflections and considerations on what implications can be derived from this account when thinking about the situation in developing countries.

1) From the history of the way in which the idea of co-education for boys and girls was not linked with the promotion of girls' education, we can learn the lesson that if you neglect indigenous cultural factors or the actual state of a local situation, and if you

neglect the needs of parents, and simply continue to carry on with discussions and formulate policies about girls' education, the end result will be that the relevance of the debate or the continuity of policies will be lost. Advocacy of the slogan "equal education for boys and girls," which amounted to no more than simply taking what was on offer from the West, just became a transient phenomenon, and the failure to conform to the cultural and social conditions of Japan at the time in question has considerable thought-provoking relevance for the condition of developing countries today.

However, the history of the early years of the Meiji era and the period toward the end of the 19th century, first the trend for Western fashions, as seen in the construction of that elaborate social dance hall, the Rokumeikan, and then the reaction against this trend, was not limited to education, but extended to every aspect of society. Accordingly, the government's lack of consistency in its policies regarding Westernization can be seen as blocking a form of girls' education that was rooted in co-education and Western ideas of women's liberation.

It should also be pointed out that today, ways of thinking such as the concept of basic education as a fundamental human right or the contribution of women's education or gender equality in education to social development have been refined in such international forums as the U.N. and are on the way to being accepted as global concepts. Of course, the circumstances of international society nowadays are very different from what they were in early modern Japan at the time of the Meiji era. In other words, it is not possible to draw out all the implications of taking the trials and errors and results of Japan's policies in the area of girls' education during the Meiji era and on this basis, questioning the search for universal values in a common and equal education for boys and girls. However, with regard to an issue like girls' education which embraces many cultural factors, we can at least draw out the very simple lesson that it is right to question the practice of regulating this issue by means of simply accepting the package on offer from a donor country and forcing this onto existing conditions. We must hope that the handling of the

promotion of girls' education will be carried out in a flexible way so that the universal importance of girls' education is also seen to contain values that can be accepted and can take root in a local indigenous society.

2) It is very clear that the policy-level commitment to girls' education on the part of central government and local autonomous bodies resulted in considerable gains for the promotion of girls' education. In particular, special mention deserves to be made of the history of the examination and implementation of girls' education promotion policies at the level of local autonomous bodies. In research on the promotion of girls' education in developing countries, the importance of government commitment to girls' education is repeatedly mentioned. Also frequently referred to in reports is the need for cooperation among different government ministries and agencies or between the government and NGOs in the promotion of girls' education (e.g. Stromquist, 1997). But surprisingly few references are made to the stimulation of debate or the drafting of policies at local level. At the present time, a process of local devolution is being steadily taken forward in many developing countries, and in this context a good precedent can surely be found in Japan's experience of putting weight on local policy initiatives and making use of these in the promotion of girls' education.

3) A further lesson that can be drawn from Japan's educational experience is the importance of demonstrating that the educational content matches the needs of the families and the local communities that are responsible for sending girls to school. For example, in the context of the sex-based division of labor that existed in Japanese society in the Meiji era, it is arguable that the inclusion of sewing education in primary education as an important part of education in domestic and family affairs proved very effective in facilitating the advancement and acceptance of school attendance by girls. But that said, we have to ask whether Japanese experience of this kind is really useful for developing countries today. In the leading research on girls' education in developing countries, mention is frequently made of

the importance of relevance in terms of the educational content. However, there are also instances where questions are raised (e.g. Tietjen, 1991) about taking a sex-based division of labor as a basic precondition and implementing, on a girls-only basis, education in domestic and family affairs including needlework, cooking, child-rearing and the like. It may be that this kind of education satisfies parents' expectations of girls' education and is a useful device for promoting school attendance by girls, but at the same time it encourages the stiffening of sex-based role differentiation in society. This is why there are many intellectuals (e.g. Stromquist, 1997) who continue to emphasize the need for a common curriculum for boys and girls. It follows that Japan's experience of curriculum reform in response to girls' low school attendance figures or the introduction of sewing in the context of a system of values that held to a sex-based division of labor cannot be applied in a simplistic manner to developing countries. However, it is possible to make a positive evaluation of the policies listed above as a means of giving a general demonstration, in one society, of the need for girls' education to match social needs.

4) Japanese educational experience does provide an example of the differentiated use of sex-segregated education and co-education. Even looking at current educational development in developing countries in the context of research and practice, sex-segregated education can be thought of, primarily in Islamic countries, as an effective device for promoting school attendance by girls (Bellew and King, 1993). However, on the other hand, there is also the argument that human resource development achieved through co-education is important in building a society in which men and women can cooperate and participate equally. When we consider the cultural context of gender in Japan at the time of the Meiji era, the Japanese experience can be thought of as unique in terms being an example of how, by incorporating gender-specific educational content in moderation, universal primary education was achieved in a coeducational setting.

5) The experience of childcare schools (classes)

offers an example of promoting opportunities for the poorest class of children to attend school. The provision of educational services targeted particularly at learners in very difficult circumstances is being implemented in many developing countries (Bellew and King (1993) describe a successful example in Bangladesh). In Japan too, by digging still more deeply into educational activities targeted at poor working children, it is possible to think of gleaned some knowledge which can be applied to the policies of many developing countries that are grappling with the issue of how to disseminate primary education completely, especially to the last 10%.

4. Conclusion

The issue of how to present girls' education in Japan to developing countries is also influenced by the issue of how to evaluate girls' education and the position of women in Japan today. If girls' education as currently practiced in Japan is evaluated as having failed, lessons will have to be learned from that failure, but if the reverse is true, it will have to be presented as a model of success. It is certainly true that in the Meiji era, the universal provision of compulsory education was achieved very rapidly, and it is a fact that this is linked to the high average levels of education among the Japanese people, which in turn is seen as constituting the foundation for the development of modern Japan. Moreover, the detailed exposition of the promotion of girls' education in Japan at the turn of the century has shown no fundamental difference from the practice of developing countries today. Therefore, studying this kind of actual practices in Japan is unlikely to lead in itself to offering original ideas regarding methods of promoting girls' education to international society, but Japan may be able to play a role in terms of examining and verifying the activities that have been practiced up to now for promotion of girls' education in developing countries.

However, taking a bird's-eye view of the process

of development of girls' education in the Meiji era enables us to understand that an ideological support for this process was provided by the doctrine of a "good wife and a wise mother" which, tinged as it was with nationalism, must inevitably be the target of critical questioning from the perspective of the generally accepted value systems in Japan today. We must deal with this kind of argument not as a superficial policy evaluation simply looking at the effects in terms of the rising level of school attendance by girls but as a theme that is extremely important in verifying the cultural and social values of girls' education in Japan. The way of looking at things outlined here presents the extremely radical hypothesis that present-day Japanese society with its continuing gender disparities and discrimination is structured by the history of the Meiji era, from the early and middle years when the trial-and-error approach of girls' education policies dominated by Westernization and women's liberation through the later years when girls' education policies came under the influence of nationalist thinking. The failure of Westernization policies and the success of nationalist policies in girls' education show the validity of an education system which is suited to the needs of beneficiaries and cultural conditions, and are in their own way very persuasive in terms of application. However, it goes without saying that the kind of thinking that wants simply to take these arguments as they stand and apply them to the present state of developing countries is extremely dangerous in that it is excessively utilitarian and undervalues cultural influences.

< KURODA Kazuo >

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Chapter 7. School Enrollment and Attendance Promotion Policies for Children in Difficult Circumstances in the Postwar Period

Issues for developing countries

Whether or not Education for All (EFA) can be achieved depends on whether or not the “last 5 to 10%” of children can be enabled to go to school. In general, many of these children live on the periphery in social, economic and cultural terms, and their everyday environment spans a very wide and varied range. This is why it has been very difficult for conventional policies used to date to realize school enrollment and attendance for them, and why it is now necessary to devise closely targeted and effective policies.

Points

In 1953, the Japanese Ministry of Education issued a document entitled “The present state of education in Japan – focusing on equality of educational opportunity.” This document reported the actual conditions at that time of the children who did not attend school or who were absent for long periods. Children in difficult circumstances who had problems in attending school numbered only 0.03% of the total school-age population, but in the postwar education reform context, equality of educational opportunity was very strongly emphasized, and various different kinds of measures, including legal regulations, were tried out in the form of national policies. The measures can be divided into three categories: enrollment and attendance encouragement measures targeted at poor children (provision of the necessary expenses to attend school); securing access to school for children living in remote areas; securing educational opportunities for disabled children. Together, these measures played a very important role in reducing the number of out-of-school children and maintaining a high enrollment rate. However, in today’s environment, following the period of high economic growth and Japan’s economic and social development, the importance of and has declined in relative terms, while new developments are anticipated in category .

1. Background

In 1872, following the promulgation of the Education Ordinance, various different policies were implemented, uniting strong initiatives on the part of central government, a strong political will and a sense of vitality on the part of local autonomous bodies, and understanding, tolerance and untiring efforts on the part of the people of Japan (see Chapter 5, “Encouraging school enrollment and attendance in the Meiji era”). As a result of these various policies, whereas the enrollment rate for compulsory education was no higher than 28.1% in 1873, it had risen to the high figure of 98.2% in 1912.

Subsequently, this figure did not show any great change, and by the time of the first large-scale postwar education survey in 1952 had reached the figure of 99.7%.

As pillars of postwar education reform and in accordance with the “Constitution of Japan,” in 1947, the “Fundamental Law of Education” and the “School Education Law” were enacted. The former law confirmed and clearly set out the fundamental concepts of education in the new Japan, while the latter established the regulations for the school system that was necessary to give concrete form to these fundamental concepts. In these two laws, particular emphasis was put on the principle of

“equality of educational opportunity,” and on the dissemination of free, compulsory education as a device for realizing this principle. Furthermore, given the social circumstances in which out-of-school children could not be permitted to become social dropouts, at the same time as guaranteeing education as a basic human right, it was necessary to avoid the social unease that would arise if they were allowed to slide into delinquency. For these reasons, although the non-enrollment rate in 1952 was no more than 0.03%, responding to the children who were not attending school was seen as a focus of attention, and it was considered necessary to incorporate them speedily into the school education process.

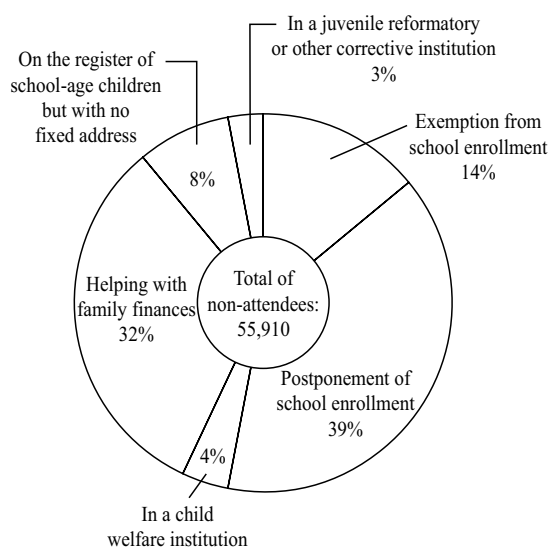
2. The Postwar Educational Situation

On the basis of the report issued by the Japanese Ministry of Education in 1953 entitled “The present state of education in Japan – focusing on equality of educational opportunity,” this section will examine the situation at this time of children who were not enrolled in the school and of those who were absent for long periods¹. A breakdown of out-of-school

children is given in Diagram 7-1. Of the total number of 55,910, 53% were children for whom “exemption from enrollment” or “postponement of enrollment” had been granted for a variety of reasons, including mental retardation, mobility limitation, a weak constitution, inability to hear or hearing limitations, inability to see or visual limitations, and those with communication or language disabilities. With regard to this kind of situation, the Ministry of Education expressed the view that “if suitable education facilities were available, it should be possible to reduce this figure still more,” thereby frankly acknowledging the inadequacy of special education facilities. In addition, 32% of out-of-school children comprised “children who were helping with family finances,” revealing family circumstances in which school attendance was restricted due to the child’s inclusion as part of the family workforce with family poverty as the root cause.

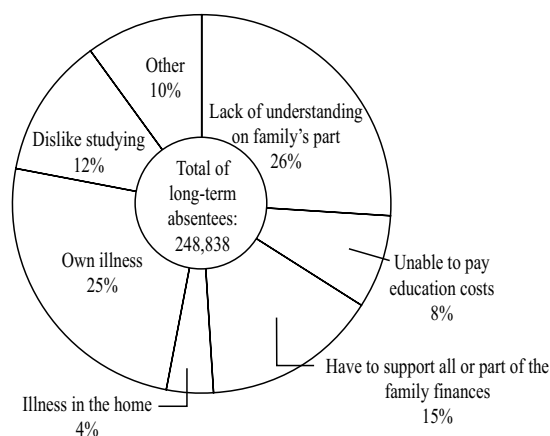
Diagram 7-2 gives a breakdown of poor attendance children in elementary or lower secondary school. What emerges clearly from this diagram is that of the total of 248,838 long-term absentees, many children who were registered with a school but were unable to

Diagram 7-1 Breakdown of non-attendance at school



Source: Data from the Ministry of Education.

Diagram 7-2 Breakdown of long-term absence from school



Source: Data from the Ministry of Education.

¹ In its statistical survey, the Ministry of Education defines as “children who are absent for long periods” those who do not attend school for 50 days or more (one-third or more of the period they should attend) in a year.

attend, are grouped in the category of “lack of understanding on the part of the family”, denoting problems with parental attitudes, or into one of the two categories of “need to support all or part of the family finances” or “inability to pay education costs”, denoting economic difficulty in the home. In addition, among the “other reasons” given for children being absent, mention should be made of “lack of items needed for school” or “nothing to wear and no shoes” denoting economic problems, or “long distance away from school” denoting problems with the school’s location.

Against the background revealed by this survey, with the objective of achieving equality of educational opportunity, legal measures were devised to combat the problems of children who were failing to attend school because of economic, geographical or health-related conditions. Special mention deserves to be made of the fact that these measures were devised in the context of a very low level of national living standards brought about by a sudden drop in national vitality accompanying defeat in war, or by economic inflation. These facts clearly testify to the importance attached to education in the context of national development.

3. Countermeasures Targeted at Children Experiencing Difficulties with School Attendance

3-1 Subsidy of School Education Expenses from Public Funds

(1) Educational assistance through the “Daily Life Security Law”

As early as the Meiji and Taisho eras, examples can be found, primarily at the level of local communities or local autonomous bodies, of efforts to get to grips with the problem of children who had difficulties in attending school due to the poor state of family finances (see Chapter 5, “Encouraging School Enrollment and Attendance in the Meiji era”), but assistance in the form of national government policy began in 1928 when the government issued “Instructions for the Encouragement of Enrollment by School-age Children.” Under these instructions,

when textbooks or educational implements were provided at municipal (city, town and village) level for the children of poor families, the national government gave a subsidy of a fixed amount to the local government concerned. However, as a result of reflections on the way in which problems of school attendance by children had their roots in family poverty, assistance with educational expenses was absorbed in 1948 into the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health and Welfare (following the enactment of the Daily Life Security Law in 1946), and the Ministry of Education instructions were revised into a form which has remained in force ever since.

It is clearly stipulated in the objectives in Chapter 1, Clause 1 of the “Daily Life Security Law” that “the government will provide necessary security for all citizens suffering from poverty in their daily lives in accordance with the degree of poverty, and at the same time as securing for them a minimum standard of living, will help them to become self-reliant.” The criteria for assistance (criteria for calculating how much assistance could be provided) were determined according to such variables as age, sex, composition of the household, place of residence, and so on, and were implemented as far as possible in accordance with 4 principles: utilization of abilities; utilization of assets; fulfillment of support obligations; and utilization of other laws. Moreover, in the event of it being impossible to carry on daily life, a social security payment would be made. The content of social security was provided under 8 headings: daily life, housing, education, medical care, birth, occupation, funeral expenses, and nursing care. Included in educational assistance, although it was specified that this was restricted to necessary help with compulsory education, was the provision, either in the form of cash or goods, for textbooks, school implements, commuting expenses to and from school, and school lunches. Moreover, since social security is an activity that falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (present name), applications are generally implemented through the social welfare office of the municipality in which the person concerned resides.

According to Ministry statistics, recipients of

educational assistance show a minute increase, and in fiscal year 2002, assistance was given at compulsory education level to 110,000 children, representing 1% of all children studying at this level.²

(2) Encouragement of school attendance through the “Law Concerning the National Treasury's Share for the Encouragement of School Enrollment and Attendance by Pupils Having Financial Difficulties”

While educational assistance was being provided by the Ministry of Health and Welfare under the provisions of the “Daily Life Security Law,” the Ministry of Education enacted in 1956 the “Law Concerning the National Treasury's Share for the Encouragement of School Enrollment and Attendance by Pupils Having Financial Difficulties.” In the background to the enactment of this law was the recognition of the need to make provision for those children who, while not suffering from such extreme poverty as the recipients of assistance under the “Daily Life Security Law,” nevertheless had difficulties in real terms in paying for such items as school textbooks, school lunches, and so on. The objectives of the law were firstly stipulated as follows: “To provide from government funds to the local public bodies responsible for encouraging school attendance necessary assistance in the form of educational necessities for pupils who have difficulties in attending school for economic reasons with the aim of supporting the smooth implementation of compulsory education in elementary and lower secondary schools.” The contents of assistance comprised various expenses entailed by school attendance including school implements, traveling expenses to and from school, school excursions expenses, and so on. The criteria for assistance were specified in the law as persons who were experiencing the same or an equivalent degree of poverty to that of recipients of assistance under the “Daily Life Security Law,” but so that duplication would be avoided, assistance was

restricted to persons who were not receiving assistance under the “Daily Life Security Law.” In addition, approval of assistance was implemented by the municipal board of education, so application for assistance would normally be made through the elementary or lower secondary school attended by the child concerned.

In the explanation given above, two provisions have been examined in terms of assistance to children experiencing difficulty in attending school because of family financial reasons, namely educational aid provided through the “Daily Life Security Law” and school attendance encouragement assistance provided through the “Law Concerning the National Treasury's Share for the Encouragement of School Enrollment and Attendance by Pupils Having Financial Difficulties.” Because the laws come under different ministerial jurisdictions, the former under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, and the latter under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, the budgetary application procedures and application routes are different, but in terms of the content, there is almost no visible difference between the two laws.

3-2 Dissemination of Education to Children in Isolated Areas

From the time of the promulgation of the Education Ordinance in 1872 up to the enactment in 1954 of the “Law for the Promotion of Education” in Isolated Areas, the government response to the position of children who lived in “isolated areas,”³ defining these as “mountainous areas, remote islands and similar areas which are not favored by good communications or by various natural, economic or cultural conditions,” was very much behind the times; such children were simply assigned to the category of “school enrollment postponed.” During the period between 1872 and 1954, the people who lived in these “isolated areas” who were of course often anxious and worried about their children's education and feeling the need for some kind of

² Statistics compiled by the author on the basis of documents from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare and the Ministry of Education.

³ The definition given here is taken from Clause 2 of the Law for the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas.

education, carried out various local initiatives such as establishing and running unlicensed schools, but they encountered many problems and difficulties in the course of trying to implement this form of education.

The period after World War II saw the start of organizational activities aimed at reforming the education in isolated areas; the lead role in these activities was taken by local teachers from the areas concerned. At the same time as the Ministry of Education pushed forward with its plans to achieve equality of educational opportunity, increasing activity took place in the form of moves toward the Enactment of the “Law for the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas.” The result was that within the short space of time of 2 years, the law was enacted, and a variety of policies were implemented aimed at raising the level of education in isolated areas.

Full details of these policies can be found in Chapter 8, “Education of Children in Isolated Areas.”

3-3 The Provision of Educational Opportunities for Children with Mental or Physical Disabilities⁴

(1) Systematizing special education and guaranteeing educational opportunity

From 1878, when Japan opened its first school for children who were blind and deaf up to the present date, the history of special education in Japan stretches over the long period of 125 years, but it is only since the enactment of the “School Education Law” in 1947 that special education in Japan has been clearly located within the school education system. But that said, “Tokyo School for the Blind” was established in 1909 as Japan’s first public educational institution in the area of special education, and by the 1923 “Edict concerning Schools for the Blind and Schools for the Deaf,” it was made compulsory for such schools to be established in each prefecture, and subsequently, they did indeed come into existence all over Japan.

It is against this kind of background that enrollment and attendance at schools for the blind

and the deaf began to be made compulsory in 1948; one year of compulsory education was added each year, so that attendance for 9 years of education, comprising 6 years in elementary school and 3 years in lower secondary school, became compulsory in 1956. The establishment of these schools preceded that of special education schools for those with other kinds of disability, which did not at that time exist in Japan. Their establishment of special schools as a category had to wait for the enactment in 1956 of a Law Defining Special Measures for the Establishment of Special Schools for the Mentally or Physically Disabled. Thereafter, however, special education schools rapidly expanded all over Japan, and with the completion in 1979 of a 7-year plan to put in place school facilities for those with physical or mental disabilities, educational opportunities were secured for the blind, the deaf and those with other disabilities.

(2) Encouragement of school attendance through the “Law for the Encouragement of Enrollment and Attendance at Schools for the Blind, Schools for the Deaf, and Schools for the Handicapped Other than the Blind and Deaf”

The purpose of the above law, targeted at those with all kinds of physical and mental impairments, is clearly stated in Clause 1 as follows: “In keeping with the principle of the equality of educational opportunity and after reflecting on the special conditions of attendance at schools for the blind, schools for the deaf, and schools for the otherwise handicapped, the Government and local public bodies will decide on the necessary subsidy to be accorded to the pupils attending these schools, the subsidy to be used for the dissemination and encouragement of the education provided in the schools.”

Apart from this general statement in Clause 1, no other specific items are included in the rest of this law, but in general, given the mention of “encouragement of enrollment and attendance,” it would be usual for part or all of the expenses

⁴ In writing this section, reference has been made to documents produced by NAKADA Hideo and ANDO Takao.

involved in getting children with disabilities to attend schools to be subsidized. The impression was that rather than educational aid through the “Daily Life Security Law” or attendance encouragement aid through the “Law Concerning the National Treasury’s Share for the Encouragement of School Enrollment and Attendance by Pupils Having Financial Difficulties,” active efforts to promote attendance were made at the level of the city, town and village. It should be noted that among the families which had children with disabilities, those eligible for assistance under these two laws comprised only a very small percentage. Moreover, the establishment of schools aimed at those with disabilities was very limited, and it is not difficult to imagine that the financial burden on the family in getting a disabled child to attend would be greater than in the case of a child without disabilities. On the basis of this kind of thinking, promoting assistance to families to facilitate the attendance of children with disabilities is indispensable in the context of realizing equality of educational opportunity.

(3) The present state of special education and future directions

At the present time, education of children with disabilities in Japan is carried out either in schools for the blind, the deaf and those with other kinds of disabilities, or in special classes attached to elementary or lower secondary schools, or with special assistance given to a child while attending a class together with non-disabled children. The special education schools are for children with relatively severe disabilities, and as well as elementary and lower secondary divisions, there are schools with kindergarten and upper secondary divisions. As of May 2001, according to Ministry of Education educational statistics, there were 71 schools for the blind, 107 schools for the deaf, and 818 schools for those with other kinds of disabilities (525 schools for the mentally impaired, 198 for those with mobility restrictions, and 95 for those with a weak or delicate constitution), numbering 996 schools in total, attended by approximately 92,000 children with disabilities. Special education classes comprise

classes established in elementary and lower secondary schools for children with comparatively light disabilities, and are attended by approximately 77,000 children over Japan as a whole. Special guidance in ordinary classes for the non-disabled comprises help given to children with a mild disability who are enrolled in classes for non-disabled children in elementary and lower secondary schools, and the usual pattern is for the disabled children to receive the same instruction as the other children and, depending on the nature of the disability (language impairment, emotional disturbance, impaired vision, impaired hearing, and so on) to receive separate guidance in another room. Throughout Japan as a whole, approximately 29,000 children receive this kind of education. Overall, children in the compulsory age range who receive some form of special education number approximately 157,000 over the country as a whole, comprising about 1.4% of all children in this age range.

Since 2001, utilizing equipment in schools and the special expertise that teachers in special education have developed, positive efforts are being made to develop educational responses to children with such conditions as Learning Disorder, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Syndrome, or High-Functioning Autism. Specifically, this denotes a radical change from the previously existing concept of “special education” to the concept of “specially supported education.” It is expected that in the future, educational opportunities will be offered not only to the children and in the places that have been the target of special education in the past, but to children who have very diverse educational needs.

3-4 The Provision of Scholarships

Although not directly concerned with children in compulsory education, the public scholarship system in Japan can be seen as having heightened the possibility for children to go on to higher grades of education and as having played a significant role in securing a supply of teachers, so this section will give an overview of this system and how it is administered on the basis of the Japan Scholarship

Foundation Law.

The public scholarship system in Japan originated in 1944 with the promulgation of the “Greater Japan Scholarship Foundation Law.” The Greater Japan Scholarship Foundation had already been established in 1943 as a foundation (nonprofit corporation), but under the above law, it was re-established as a juridical person with special status. In 1953, the name of the body was changed to the present name of The Japan Scholarship Foundation, and the entire system underwent a complete revision with the enactment in 1984 of the Japan Scholarship Foundation Law, which put in place the kind of scholarship system that still exists today.

The scholarship activities are defined in Article 1 of the above law as follows: “The Japan Scholarship Foundation shall have the purpose of contributing to the maintenance of equal opportunity in education and fostering capable human resources for the nation and the society by providing educational loans for school fees to promising students who have difficulty continuing their studies for economic reasons.” Persons eligible for receipt of a loan are those registered as students in an upper secondary school, junior college, university, college of technology, or a specialized training college. The selection procedure takes the form that the applicant, after obtaining a recommendation from the head of the institution where that applicant is registered as a student, submits application papers to the Japan Scholarship Foundation, which scrutinizes such matters as the applicant’s character, health condition, level of academic ability, and family economic circumstances, and makes a decision whether or not to approve the application. Scholarship loans are given in two forms, firstly in the form of non-interest-bearing educational loans for school fees to particularly superior students who have difficulty continuing their studies for economic reasons” and secondly, using slightly more relaxed criteria, in the

form of interest-bearing educational loans. In a context in which many overseas scholarship schemes have a system of non-returnable grants, the precondition of returnable loans is a particular characteristic of the Japanese scholarship loan system. In addition, the condition under which recipients of a loan were exempted from repayment if they took up a teaching or research position after graduation⁵, has played a significant role in securing a supply of teachers and researchers.

As of 2002, a total of 6.73 million people have received scholarship loans totaling 5.5438 trillion yen since the system started operating.⁶

Mention should also be made of the fact that at about the same time as the scholarship loan system described here, two laws, namely the School Lunch Law (1954) and the School Health Law (1958) were enacted. With regard to the School Lunch Law, it is reasonable to assume that it did not make a significant contribution to raising the level of enrollment rates for two reasons, firstly, because the character of the law changed from that of a poverty relief measure aimed at helping children who lacked food to that of a health policy measure aimed at nutritional improvement and health promotion, and secondly, because school enrollment rates were already at a very high level when the law was enacted. The considerable influence of this law is therefore to be found in the health field and for this reason, it is not dealt with in this publication, but will be analyzed in a report dealing with Japan’s experience of development in the field of health and medical care, to be published as JICA report. In the same way, the intention of the School Health Law was to develop health policy aimed primarily at schools, so this will also be dealt with in the above report.

⁵ Until 1998, a system applied whereby recipients of a loan from the Japan Scholarship Foundation while studying at university (undergraduate level), junior college or college of technology, who took up a teaching post after graduation, were exempted from having to repay the loan, but this system was abolished from April 1998.

⁶ Figures taken from the web site of the Japan Scholarship Foundation.

4. Conclusion

As a result of the postwar education reforms, measures were established in systematic form, in an area in which the government response had been slow, aimed at helping the “last 0.3%” of children, namely those who had difficulty in attending school for economic, geographic or health reasons. From 1980 onwards, virtual equality of educational opportunity became the aim, and compulsory education enrollment rates increased to the level of 99.98 or 99.99%. In line with the rise in the living standards of the Japanese people following the period of high economic growth, the absolute numbers of children who had difficulties in terms of school attendance declined, so that with the exception of measures aimed at children with disabilities, the relative importance of the measures described in this chapter also declined.

On the basis of Japan's experience after World War II in responding to the needs of children who had difficulty in attending school, it is possible to suggest 4 points that may be helpful in contributing to educational development in developing countries today.

The first point concerns the importance of making a survey of the actual state of education over the country as a whole. Without an accurate survey, it will be difficult to grasp the fundamental problems of the children who have attendance difficulties, and without a grasp of the problems, it will be impossible to consider policies for solving them. Particularly in developing countries that have enrollment rates of over 90%, this kind of survey should be seen as being especially important because very precise and detailed countermeasures will be needed in responding to the distinctive characteristics of those children who are not attending school. It also needs to be pointed out that while significant amounts of

time, effort and resources will be needed to carry out a survey of the whole area of a country, it can be anticipated that this way of proceeding will ultimately be very cost-effective in terms of the results obtained.

Secondly, in order to realize equality of educational opportunity, indispensable requirements from central government are strong initiatives and a commitment to the people. With out-of-school and poor attendance children as the target, it is important to put a legal framework in place concerning support measures and to secure justification and continuity in terms of national activities. It is reasonable to assume that by carrying out preparatory work of this kind, drawing up implementation plans and securing the necessary funding will become relatively easy.

Thirdly, very important factors at local level are the independence of local autonomous bodies and the ability to implement policies as well as access to the necessary funds for implementation. Many of the policies described in this chapter were implemented primarily at the level of the city, town and village. If substantive authority as well as funding are not delegated to local level, and if local officials in charge of educational administration do not possess the capacity to implement policies which make effective use of the delegated authority and funding, it will be very difficult to get to grips with the problems in an effective way.

Finally, it is highly desirable for liaison with related subject fields to be strengthened. Because the problems of children who have difficulty in attending school are made up of many different factors, including economic, social and physical factors as well as health-related factors, effective liaison with such areas as social welfare and public health is indispensable.

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Chapter 8. Education of Children in Isolated Areas

Issues for developing countries

Since the 1990 “World Conference on Education for All,” as a result of positive efforts aimed at ensuring universal availability of basic education, quantitative expansion has been steadily moving forward to the position where today, with school enrollment exceeding 90% in some countries, for example, in South-East Asia and Latin America, attention is being focused on how to promote access to school education for what have been called the “last 5 to 10%” of children remaining prior to complete dissemination of primary education.

A problem that has to be solved in developing countries is how to improve education in isolated areas, where there is a noticeable difference in education compared to that in urban areas; the accumulation of problems in remote mountainous and island areas includes low enrollment, a high rate of dropouts, poor academic records and an insufficient number of teachers. Finding solutions is now a matter of urgency.

Points

The Japanese government has put considerable effort into the dissemination of education, but because the provision of school education in areas of low population was not a policy priority over the long period between the Meiji era and the end of World War II, efforts to provide education in isolated areas were undertaken on a self-help basis by the people who lived in these areas. With the completion of a 9-year system of compulsory education after the war, the issue of how to correct the disparities in education in different areas of the country became one of the highest national priorities in education, leading to the enactment in 1954 of the “Law for the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas,” representing a serious effort to get to grips with this problem. The enactment of the law was made possible, in the context of reflections on the inferior state of education in isolated areas, by a combination of teachers who wanted to provide a better education for the children who lived in these areas, and support by the government working in cooperation with the teachers. Since then, the law has become a major support and driving force underlying the promotion of education in isolated areas. Mention should also be made of the personnel rotation system of teachers, which by facilitating the transfer of teachers between isolated and non-isolated areas, has greatly contributed to reducing the disparities in terms of the quantity and quality of teachers.

1. The Dissemination of Schools in Isolated Areas

Following the promulgation of the Education Ordinance in 1872, the government put considerable effort into the dissemination of school education, achieving a rapid rise in school enrollment rates. However, the downside to this is that almost no

attention was paid to isolated areas with low population densities, and there was a complete absence of dissemination measures on the part of the administration. Under the Elementary School Order of 1886, time-restricted postponement of school attendance was permitted for children who were unable to attend school due to family poverty or

sickness, and in 1890 the time restriction was removed, permitting either postponement without a time limit or exemption from school enrollment. In the case of many of the children who obtained postponement of school attendance, the reason was family poverty, and the incidence of poverty correlated well with the number of people in isolated areas with low agricultural productivity. Also in 1890, criteria for the establishment of schools were laid down, and in cases where the number of children did not meet the number required to establish a school or where it was difficult for a town or village to establish a school using its own resources, permission was given for a joint school to be established in cooperation with a neighboring town or village. Since many isolated areas found it impossible to establish a school from their own resources, children were allowed to commute to an existing school in another town or village, but because it was exceedingly difficult for them to commute every day over long distances, the result for many children was that their enrollment was postponed or that they were exempted from attendance completely.

So in this situation, many of these children, often from poor families and unable to commute over the long distances required, were in effect left behind by the school system. Indeed, the period from this time until the end of World War II saw the growth of what were called "school establishment exemption areas," in other words, areas in which it was not necessary to establish a school; these areas could be found all over the country, particularly in agricultural, mountainous areas or on distant islands, and in the absence of any kind of intervention on the part of the administration, the children who lived in these areas lost the opportunity to receive public education for a long period of time.

However, even where establishment of a school was not obligatory, and even where children had received exemption from attending school, many examples could be found of cases where the local residents had built simple private educational institutions using their own unaided resources and where they served as teachers to bring education to

the children.

In the *History of Early Modern Education* in Iwate Prefecture, edited by the Iwate Prefectural Board of Education, it is recorded that many examples of "exemption areas" could be found throughout the prefecture up until the end of World War II. Despite the fact that in the early 1900s, the overall school enrollment rate in Iwate Prefecture had reached 90%, in one mountain village classified as an "exemption area," the situation was that not a single person attended school. It is recorded that in 1909, a man who had occasion to visit the village in the course of his work saw with his own eyes the reality of children of school age who were not attending school, and using his own time in the intervals between doing his own work, started giving private lessons in an attempt to help the children, who gradually came together singly or in twos and threes. Subsequently, the business in which the man was employed, failed, and the owner packed up his bags and left the village, but the man remained behind, and the history records that in 1912 he rented a private house, and using empty wooden boxes which had previously contained supplies of paraffin oil, as desks, opened an unlicensed, free, private school, to which anyone of any age could come at any time. Two other cases recorded in the same book date from 1929. In one case, a charcoal-maker went into the mountains looking for a place to make charcoal, found the children of other charcoal makers without education and opened an unlicensed school for them. In another case, a former soldier who was ashamed of having no learning persuaded the villagers of the need to open a school and contributed his funds to open one. Thanks to the efforts of people like these in Iwate Prefecture, in which there were many "school exemption areas," schools gradually began to spread in isolated areas. The first schools were very basic suppliers of education, with the buildings consisting of rooms for 2 or 3 grades and a night-duty room, but it was these that became the foundation of the later public schools. And in the remote areas of Hokkaido, many schools were established as a result of donations from the local people, farmers' houses were borrowed and used as educational

establishments, and members of the local community such as village officials and priests served as teachers.

In ways such as these, many schools in isolated areas were built and managed as a result of the efforts of the local people. For the people who lived in these areas, in impoverished conditions and with poor communications and access to the outside world, it is reasonable to assume that establishing a school would have been a tremendous undertaking entailing many sacrifices on the part of the people. But despite this, they were unable to bear the sight of their children growing up without any form of learning, and it was their passionate desire to enable their children to receive education that formed the driving force underlying the dissemination of schools.

2. Raising the Quality of Education in Isolated Areas

As explained above, although the dissemination of schools in isolated areas lagged far behind that in other areas, thanks to the efforts of the local people, schools did gradually spread into them. However, the educational conditions in these areas were still serious, and when the war was over, teachers from these areas who concerned about the poor conditions, took the lead in developing nationwide movements to make a reality of school promotion policies.

Selecting from the various policies concerned with the promotion of education in isolated areas, the sections below will take up the Law for the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas, which was responsible for raising the level of educational standards, and a policy measure unique to Japan, namely the “wide area personnel policy,” thanks to which it became possible to secure good teachers in these isolated areas.

2-1 Educational Improvements Resulting from the Law for the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas

(1) Problems faced by isolated areas

According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Education in 1954, elementary schools in isolated areas¹ represented 34.8% of elementary schools all over Japan. In terms of the distribution, there was not a single such school in the large metropolitan cities of Tokyo or Osaka, while in Hokkaido, they accounted for one-fifth of the schools², and in 5 prefectures which had a lot of outlying islands, like, for example, Nagasaki, they accounted for over 30% of schools.

In 1948, the 9-year system of compulsory education was started, but the condition of schools in isolated areas was such that for them, realization of the ideal of “equal opportunity in education” was still a long way off. The economic and cultural conditions in many of the areas housing the schools were very poor, and they lacked financial support. As a result, the school facilities and equipment were of exceedingly poor quality, and almost no teachers could be found who wanted to go and work in such difficult locations, so it was very difficult to secure the needed numbers of teachers, and there were also many problems with the quality of the education³. No countermeasures worth mentioning were forthcoming from the administration, so the situation in which no real efforts were made to improve the educational environment in these schools simply continued, and even after the war, the low level of educational standards in schools in isolated areas remained a real problem.

(2) The process up to the enactment of the Law to Promote Education in Isolated Areas

The persons who were most vociferous in pressing for the improvement of education in isolated areas

¹ “Isolated schools” denote both single-class schools and mixed-grade schools (for a detailed explanation of these terms, see footnote 4 and Box 8-3.

² According to a Ministry of Education document of 1953, of the 8,674 “isolated elementary schools” in Japan, 743 were in Hokkaido, well above the next largest number of 285 schools in Iwate Prefecture.

³ According to a 1982 document from the Iwate Prefectural Board of Education, 62.4 of the elementary school teachers in some rural areas lacked proper teaching qualifications, and through the year, teacher absences averaged 15%.

Box 8-1 The situation in schools in isolated areas right after the end of World War II (1945-1950)

Due to teacher absences since the beginning of the year, one branch school has remained unopened. “The village is 36 kilometers from the station, and if there is no truck service, you have to walk for a whole day to get to it. There’s no doctor in the village, so the usual spring check of children’s health doesn’t get held. Even if teachers come, there’s nowhere to stay, and nobody wants to provide a room. The village and the school are in a deep valley, and from December to March, the rays of the sun don’t touch the school building. The school building is old and the windows are small, so it’s not possible to do any work in the school building after classes have finished. We’d like to have more oil for a lamp, but with the present state of oil deliveries, there’s not even enough to read a newspaper, much less do any studying. Out of 10 teachers, only the principal has teaching qualifications, while the other teachers are around 20 and haven’t even graduated from middle school, so the principal has a really hard time.”

Source: Iwate Prefectural Board of Education (1982) “*Iwate-ken Kindai Kyoiku-shi, Dai 3-kan, Showa II hen* [The History of Modern Education in Iwate Prefecture, Vol.3 Showa-version]” Kumagaya Insatsu

Box 8-2 Cooperative efforts by central and local governments in support of the enactment of a law to promote attendance

In the 2 years between the close of the first all-Japan conference and the enactment of a law, using the channel of the All-Japan Federation for Research on Education in Isolated Areas, more than 13,000 documents were submitted to the Diet and the government from schools all over the country, and the number of petitions exceeded 4,000. Officials and prefectural representatives who traveled to Tokyo to present their petitions, real-life accounts and other documents did so almost entirely at their own expense. Officials of the All-Japan Federation paid many visits to the offices of Diet members with educational backgrounds, pleading for the enactment of a law to promote education in isolated areas.

These kinds of efforts by the All-Japan Federation were supported by the Ministry of Education. With the Minister of Education heading the list, many Ministry administrators showed their deep understanding of the need to promote education in the areas concerned, and made positive efforts to support the enactment of a new law. In the postwar atmosphere of a new type of education, which was centered on expansion and equality of educational opportunity, it was generally thought that in line with the ideas of the new postwar education, the Ministry should devise countermeasures and give priority to two kinds of education, that of children with some kind of emotional or physical disabilities, and that of children for whom the conditions of their daily life created a handicap, i.e. those living in isolated areas.

Source: The All-Japan Federation for Research on Education in Isolated Areas, ed. (1982) “*Hekichi Kyoiku 30nen – Sono Ayumi • Seika to Tenbou* [Education in Isolated Areas for 30 years – The History, Accomplishment and Hopes]”

were the teachers who worked in schools in those areas.

In 1952, the first meeting was held of the “All-Japan Association for Research into Single-Class Schools and Mixed-Grade Schools,” and with the aim of providing a systematic framework for research activities concerned with education in isolated areas, the All-Japan Federation for Research on Education in Isolated Areas was formed. Over 2,000 teachers

from schools in isolated areas in all parts of the country came together, advocating the need for organized research and discussion aimed at raising the level of education in isolated areas. At the same time, they also pressed for the rapid formulation of national policies aimed not at “abolishing schools in isolated areas” but at “abolishing the problems of schools in isolated areas.”

The primary objective of the All-Japan Federation

was research, but they also realized that from the perspective of educational equality too, large-scale subsidy measures needed to be devised by the government if the level of education in isolated areas was to be raised. On the basis of this realization, in the year following the formation of the All-Japan Federation, another organization spanning the whole country was formed, namely the All-Japan Association for the Accomplishment of the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas. With the then governor of Hokkaido taking the lead, its membership consisted of representatives of the local government administration, and it developed a nationwide movement aimed at the enactment of a law to promote education in isolated areas and the strengthening of a system of national subsidies.

With a view to furthering progress toward enactment of a law, the two organizations referred to above worked closely together. For its part, the All-Japan Federation, reflecting the voices of those living in the isolated areas concerned, collected case studies, reports of real-life experiences, and research reports and results of investigations. On the other hand, for its part, the All-Japan Association, cooperating with and complementing these efforts, promoted policies and countermeasures at government and national Diet level. And with regard to securing a budget for improvement measures, the All Japan Federation dealt with such matters as improvement of educational content and methods, research activities by teachers and in-service training, the ordered provision of textbooks, and living conditions of educational staff, while the All-Japan Association saw it as its responsibility to push for improvements to school buildings and equipment, assembly rooms for schools, and so on.

As a result of the efforts of interested persons like these, as early as May 1953, at the time when a bill was presented to the Diet, many Diet members were able to get a deep understanding of the nature of education in isolated areas. As a result, the passage of the bill through the Diet proceeded smoothly, and one year later, in 1954, the Law for the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas (hereafter referred to as the Isolated Areas Law) was formally enacted. The

new law regulated the duties of municipal administrations, prefectural administrations, and the Minister of Education with regard to the strengthening of school education and social (adult) education in isolated areas, and at the same time, stipulated that the national government would grant subsidies to municipal and/or prefectural governments. Parts of the law were revised in 1958 and 1960, and as a result of the 1958 revision in particular, the pattern of payments to teachers and other educational staff was changed. Until this time, it had been specified as a duty of the prefectural administration only “that special consideration must be given to the payment of special service allowances to the teachers and the educational staff employed in schools in isolated areas,” but with the revision, this discretionary ambiguity was removed and the criteria for payment and the proportion to be paid from the national treasury were clarified, with the result that in future it was stipulated that the national treasury should pay 50% of the total costs in respect of such items as “subsidies for building houses for teachers and educational staff in elementary and lower secondary schools.”

According to a 1982 report from the All-Japan Federation, the budget for the above costs in 1954 amounted to no more than 100 million yen, but by 1965, it had risen to 2.5 billion yen, by 1970 to 8.1 billion yen, and by 1982 to 16 billion yen.

(3) Clarification of the criteria for designating schools in isolated areas

In 1954, at the time the Isolated Areas Law was passed and legal criteria clarified, the concept of what precisely constituted an isolated area was not clear, and it was impossible to get an appropriate grasp of how bad the educational situation was. It followed that in order for rational and effective educational policies for isolated areas to be devised, it was first necessary to implement an investigation that would facilitate an accurate grasp of the actual situation of education in isolated areas and obtain an objective scale for measuring the degree of isolation.

With these aims in mind, the Ministry of Education implemented in 1956 on a national scale “a survey of

education in isolated areas,” and in this way they were able to obtain detailed clarification of the actual state of isolated areas. As a result, identification criteria for schools in isolated areas, which had hitherto been left to the discretion of prefectures, were unified at national level.

Article 2 of the Isolated Areas Law says that “schools in isolated areas” are “those public elementary or lower secondary schools that are located in “mountainous areas, remote islands or other similar areas which are badly served by communications and where the natural, economic or cultural conditions are unfavorable.” In accordance with these criteria, schools are designated by prefectural ordinances as being “schools in isolated areas.” Points are allocated in accordance with two sets of factors, firstly by reference to basic criteria (for example, “geographical remoteness,” signifying that the schools is a long way from any public facilities) and secondly, by reference to added criteria (a disadvantageous living environment indicating, for example, deficient supply of electricity or geographical conditions such as very heavy snow or extreme cold). Points are totaled on a scale of 1 to 5, and there are further categories such as semi-isolated areas or special areas.

(4) Various kinds of promotion policies

After the enactment of the Isolated Areas Law, central government, local autonomous bodies and other interested parties worked together, making positive efforts to implement a variety of policies; focusing primarily on teachers and educational staff, these included measures to improve children’s traveling conditions, public health, and other matters. As a whole, the policies brought significant results in terms of raising the level of educational standards in isolated areas. The main measures are introduced in Table 8-1.

In ways such as these, many different policies were set out, whereby the government paid a subsidy or accepted the burden, and very quickly the strengthening of education in isolated areas became a tangible goal. In the government policies outlined here, we can see reflected the hopes and wishes of the regions which contained many isolated areas, and whereas they had previously been left in the shade, caring hands in the form of the new policies were now extended to them. It was clear that these results derived from the influence of the “Law to Promote Education in Isolated Areas.”

Table 8-1 Measures based on the “Law for the Promotion of Education in Isolated Areas”

Payment of allowances to teachers in isolated areas	Isolated area allowance will be paid to teachers at a nationally uniform rate, the amount to depend on the points grading of the area, up to a maximum of 25% of salary. A special bonus allowance will be paid to teachers with a good record of service who serve for a year or more in an area graded Class 2 or higher.
Strengthening health and welfare measures for teachers and other staff. The contents of these items may vary by prefecture or the school’s criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distribution of medical supplies (every year) - Reimbursement of all traveling expenses for medical treatment to teachers and their families. - Free medical check for teachers’ wives aged 35 and over. - Travel subsidy of about 100,000 yen to teachers and their spouses after serving for a fixed period of time to allow them to go on a trip.
In-service training for teachers in isolated schools.	Against the background of the special conditions of isolated schools, research meetings for teachers in branch schools, single-class schools, etc; research meetings on adult education in isolated areas; subsidies for teachers to attend national conferences on education in isolated areas.
Improvement of the educational environment	Various measures aimed at improving the educational environment, including purchase of a school bus or boat, construction of a school assembly hall or attached bathhouse, purchase of teaching materials or implements to make school lunches, and free distribution of emergency medical kit.
Measures aimed at children	Payment of traveling expenses or lodging expenses for children living a long way from the school, health checks and health care advice, assistance with costs of dispatching medical, dental, pharmaceutical specialists for hygiene check.

Source: compiled on the basis of documents from government ministries and Iwate Board of Education

Box 8-3 Teaching conditions in a school in an isolated area

Because of the restrictions arising out of the nature of the area, teaching in an isolated area means that there are only a small number of children, and the number of teachers sent to the area is very limited, so inevitably the teaching methods are either that one teacher teaches all the children in the school together as a group (single-class school) or that the teacher teaches the children from 2 or 3 different grades as a group (mixed-grade school). In order to overcome the many difficulties that arise when children from different grades are taught together, it is necessary to devise learning and teaching methods that can be used when 2 or more grades are taught together and to strengthen the preparation of lesson plans.

Around the 1930s, there were individual examples of “expert” teachers with an insight into and a mastery of individually oriented teaching methods, and then as research into mixed-grade teaching and study of teaching methods progressed, methods for facilitating children’s understanding within the special conditions of isolated areas were gradually confirmed on a wider scale.

At the present time, 2 basic methods used in “mixed-grade teaching” have been developed: 1) “teaching by grade,” where different subjects are taught to 2 different grades or where the same subject is taught at different levels; and 2) “same unit teaching,” where pupils from a number of different grades study the same unit (same topic or theme, same teaching materials, and so on) at the same time in the same classroom. In the case of “teaching by grade,” the teacher either merges the two grades by a process of “slippage,” or moves back and forth between the two grades.

Source: Compiled on the basis of documents from the Hokkaido Institute for Educational Research and the All-Japan Federation for Research on Education in Isolated Areas

2-2 Securing and Raising the Quality of Teachers in Isolated Areas

On the basis of the Isolated Areas Law, various different kinds of assistance were provided with the aim of getting teachers to work in these areas, but there were still very few teachers who wanted to go and work in areas where the economic and transport conditions were so bad, and the need to devise measures that would secure a supply of teachers became a matter of urgency. The “broad area personnel policy” introduced here, rather than giving isolated areas a special character of their own, was devised so as “to implement the assignment and personnel exchange of educational staff in such a way that educational levels are maintained at a set level.” The policy achieved significant results in terms of correcting imbalances in the availability of teachers.

(1) Insufficiency of teachers in isolated areas

Since the Meiji era, isolated area allowances were paid to teachers serving in these areas, but payment was left to the discretion of prefectures, and both the number of allowances paid and their amount were insufficient. According to a survey carried out in 1953, over the country as a whole, there were about 8,700 elementary schools that had single-class or mixed-grade teaching⁴, and in more than half of these, no isolated area allowances were paid to teachers.

As well as the very poor living conditions and cultural environment in isolated areas, preferential conditions for teachers in these areas were inadequate, with the result that many teachers preferred not to work there and the schools had great difficulty in attracting teaching personnel. The prewar conditions in particular were very bad; according to a report, “30 Years of Education in Isolated Areas,”⁵ “Being assigned to an isolated area was seen as like ‘being exiled to an island.’ There

⁴ In single-class schools, the children from all the grades in the school are taught in a single class, in mixed-grade schools, a class is composed of children of one grade or more.

⁵ Produced and edited by the All-Japan Federation for Research on Education in Isolated Areas

were also problems with the personnel policies in the local government administration, and the administration even went as far as to practice 'punishment personnel policies,' whereby someone in a school in a well-populated area about whom there were unsavory rumors would be 'packed off to an isolated area.'" It is easy to deduce from this just how bad the lot of teachers in such areas was.

With the advent of a democratic education system after the end of World War II, the "punishment personnel policy" of course disappeared, but the higher up an area was on the "isolation scale," the greater the proportion of unqualified teachers who could be found there, so that overall, the quality of the teachers in schools in isolated areas was low. In a history of early modern education in Iwate Prefecture Board of Education, published in 1982, we can read the following account: "There were no teachers who wanted to serve in isolated areas given the problems of low salaries and inadequate food supplies. Even if an order was issued, teachers would refuse to go to an isolated area on the grounds that it was far away from the familiar surroundings where they grew up and they would be unable to live there, and there was nothing the administration could do. Meanwhile, the principal of the school concerned would give up expecting any help from the administration, and spend every day searching for teachers on his own account. There were even principals who had no alternative but to close a school when they were unable to find teachers." Policies to solve the increasingly serious problem of the insufficiency of teachers were urgently demanded.

(2) Broad area personnel policies – toward a system of rotation

Along with the establishment of municipal (city, town and village) boards of education in 1952, the personnel administration of school staff also became a matter to be handled at municipal level. However, the average size of the jurisdiction of a municipal board of education at this time consisted of 2 elementary schools and one lower secondary school, so there was almost nothing the board could do with regard to the personnel administration of teachers.

In 1956, under the "Law concerning the Organization and Functions of Local Educational Administration," authority for the employment and disposition of teachers in schools at compulsory education level was transferred from the municipality to the prefecture or, in certain cases, to designated cities. It is from this time that we can date the beginning of a personnel system for teachers, whereby the municipality was responsible for establishing a school and supervising educational staff, but on the other hand, the prefecture was responsible for payment of their salary and for the conditions of their employment and disposition. The details of the rules governing staff movements differed slightly from one prefectural board of education to another, but the following principles can be seen as common to all: Exchange and movement between town and country areas; exchange and movement between isolated and populous areas; an appropriate mix in the composition of the teaching force; and movement of staff who had stayed in one school for a long period.

As a result of these measures, teachers did not stay for a long period in one place, but experienced repeated cycles of transfers after so many years had passed. The methods used in the "broad area transfer system" differed from one prefecture to another, but it was seen as a generally accepted rule that when 3 years had elapsed after a teacher's appointment or when a teacher was given a promotion (for example, to the post of principal), then at that point, the teacher would spend a term of service in an isolated location.

As the years passed, the transfer of teachers between isolated and non-isolated areas, that had begun in each prefecture after 1956, became a firmly accepted feature. Gradually too, the idea permeated among teachers themselves that "at least once I have to serve in a school in an isolated area." In addition, the environment in isolated areas improved year by year, so the resistance that had previously been exhibited against transfer to an isolated area became less and less. The result was that the problem of insufficient teachers in isolated areas was solved, and the educational levels in these areas rose.

Box 8-4 An example of the thorough implementation of personnel rotation

In Nagano Prefecture, the personnel policies practiced over a period of many years with regard to elementary and lower secondary schools aimed at standardization between areas and between schools. Within the prefecture, from 1956 onwards, a policy of interchange and movement between different kinds of schools was energetically practiced, not only between schools in towns or flat areas on the one hand and mountainous areas on the other, but also between elementary and lower secondary mainstream schools and schools for the blind, the deaf, and those suffering from various kinds of disabilities. Among teachers too, the general climate of opinion was such that a teacher who constantly wanted to “accumulate training” by moving to new areas and new schools was highly evaluated, while on the other hand, a teacher who stagnated in the same area and the same school was seen as lacking the qualities of a teacher.

In the case of Nagasaki Prefecture, 40% of the land area of which is taken up by isolated islands, after a succession of trial-and-error policies regarding the personnel administration of teachers, a general principle regarding movement was adopted from 1976, whereby every teacher, during that teacher’s working life, would experience service in three different kinds of areas: mainland urban areas; mainland rural areas; islands. The maximum term of service in one town or village was set at 6 years, and the maximum term of service in one of the three types of areas at 15 years. In a separate measure, implemented in Iwate Prefecture, movement of married teachers to isolated areas was also encouraged.

Source: SATO, Zen et al. (1992) “*Kyoin no Jinji Gyosei-Nihon to Shogaikoku-* [Teacher personnel policies in Japan and overseas],” Gyosei

Box 8-5 An examples of a personnel policy that prioritized teachers’ wishes

In 1956, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government announced that with regard to teachers who were due for transfer in the context of regional or public service management, taking into account such factors as suitability for a given school in terms of the teacher’s specialist subject, also sex-based and age composition of the teaching force in a school, as well as with regard to teachers who had served for a long time in a particular school, those teachers would be transferred even if they had not expressed a wish for transfer. In response, the Tokyo Metropolitan Teachers’ Union organized an opposition movement, taking the stance that they were “absolutely opposed to enforced transfer which was contrary to the wishes of the individual concerned.” In the end, it was agreed that the proposed transfer policy would be limited to “persons expressing a wish for a transfer and persons who agreed to a transfer as a result of persuasion by the principal.” The result of this was the strengthening of a trend for teachers to stay put or, when transfers did take place, an overwhelming preponderance of transfers within the same area or to a school in a neighboring area. Consequently, personnel stagnated in one place, while noticeable disparities became evident between areas or between schools in terms of the age structure or sex balance of the teaching force in a school. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government viewed this situation very seriously, and in 1981, shifted to a policy of using the mechanism of “administrative guidance” to implement the compulsory transfer of a teacher with a view to achieving an appropriate distribution pattern. As a result of this policy, the number of teachers staying for a long period in one school significantly decreased, and the percentage of teachers transferring gradually increased.

Source: SATO Zen et al. (1992) “*Kyoin no Jinji Gyosei-Nihon to Shogaikoku-* [Teacher personnel policies in Japan and overseas],” Gyosei

3. Conclusion

As we look back over the history of policies to promote education in isolated areas, the first point to which we should pay special attention is that the lead in strengthening and improving the education of the children who lived in isolated areas was taken by the local people and the teachers who lived and worked in these areas. From the Meiji era onwards, educational development in Japan frequently took place on the basis of strong initiatives by the central government. However, as far as the beginning of the promotion of education in isolated areas is concerned, it is the fact that this originated not in national policy but among the local inhabitants and teachers of the areas concerned, that marks a qualitative distinction from other policies. Where there were no schools, the local inhabitants and the teachers built them, and where there were no teachers, the local people searched for them en masse, and if there were still no teachers to be found, they turned themselves into teachers to educate their children. This kind of steady and persistent effort was seen in isolated areas all over Japan, and before long, it became a large-scale movement, stimulating the government and the Diet into action, culminating in the enactment of the "Law to Promote Education in Isolated Areas." As a result of the enactment of this law, a sufficiently firm system was put in place to enable the same kind of education as was offered in urban areas to be offered even in mountainous areas

and remote islands, and equality of educational opportunities and standards was achieved. In this sense, it can certainly be said that the Isolated Areas Law played a very significant role.

Looking at the situation in developing countries, the governments of these countries are facing the problem that there is a very serious imbalance in the number of teachers in different regions, so that in urban areas, where the living conditions are good and it is very easy to make a side income, there is a concentration of teachers, while on the other hand, there is a shortage of teachers in farming villages and isolated regions. Japan faced precisely the same kind of problems in the past, and passed through a continuous process consisting of a series of interconnected measures. These included establishing criteria for assigning teachers to various locations, ensuring that accurate and appropriate information about the numbers of children was passed from the grass roots to the administration, giving the administration the authority to assign teachers to a particular school, and providing sufficient guarantees to teachers who were assigned to a school where the living conditions were poor, such as a farming village or an isolated area. As a result of successfully passing through this process, Japan was able to overcome and correct the imbalance in the numbers of teachers in different parts of the country.

< YAMAGUCHI Naoko >

Chapter 9. Tackling the Problem of “Repeaters” and “Dropouts”

Issues for developing countries

As the “Education for All” movement has developed, the number of children without any access to school has dropped. However, there are still a large number of children who, even if they start school, fail in the examination to move to a higher grade, either from lack of academic ability or for some other reason, so have to repeat a year or several years, and very soon, they drop out of school without completing compulsory education. Repeating a year is said to be not only relatively ineffective in terms of maintaining and raising academic results, but it also prolongs the period of time spent in school and increases the financial burden that has to be borne both by the child’s parents and by the educational administration. Now above all, one of the most important issues for developing countries is reducing the percentage of children who have to repeat the grades and raising the level of efficiency of education.

Points

When a modern system of education was first introduced into Japan, an examination system was used to determine progression to a higher grade. At first not only was the enrollment rate low, but also there were many children who even if they repeated a year once, still failed in the examination and again had to repeat a year, and in the end, dropped out of school. This system of using an examination to determine grade progression was abolished in 1900 by the Elementary School Order, and from then on, progression to a higher grade was automatic. This chapter will examine the period of about 30 years from the time when a modern education system was introduced until the time when the grade progression examination system was abolished. Why was it necessary for an examination system to be used? And what sort of conditions were required in the education system before it could be abolished? We will analyze the various factors that made it possible to adopt an automatic promotion system.

1. Introduction of a Grade System and Use of an Examination for Grade Promotion

A class-year or grade system, whereby the school curriculum, after consideration of the degree of difficulty of the contents and sequence, is divided into units and in which, after a set period of time, students progress, in an orderly fashion, to a higher grade, was introduced into Japan after the Meiji Restoration within the framework of a modern education system. Also introduced into Japan at the same time was the system of grade progression by examination, whereby the level of achievement of the

children in a class was assessed by means of a written examination, the results of which formed the criterion for progression to the next stage or the next grade.

In the “Education Ordinance” of 1872, constituting Japan’s first education law within a modern education system, various detailed regulations can be found relating to the examination system. The basic elements of the system were set out as follows:

“Every pupil must without fail complete a number of subjects at each grade of study. At the end of each grade, there is always an examination. Those who pass the examination successfully and complete that

grade, receive an examination certificate. Pupils without an examination certificate are not permitted to progress to the next level.” (Article 48)

The elementary school at this time was divided into two divisions, a lower division and an upper division, each of 4 years in duration, making 8 years in all. Looking first at the lower division, each year was divided into 2 stages, starting with stage 8 as the lowest stage and progressing up to stage 1 as the highest stage in that division. At the end of every stage, i.e. every half-year, there was an examination, and pupils had to pass that examination in order to progress to the next stage. Pupils who failed to pass the examination through lack of ability, were not allowed to progress and had to repeat their study of the contents of that stage. At the end of stage 1 in the lower division, pupils sat the “great examination” (graduation examination) covering all the subjects they had studied, and only after passing that examination, was it possible for them to progress to the upper division. The same system of stages and examinations was then repeated in the upper division.

The examinations that formed the base of the stages promotion (grade progression) system were administered in a very strict manner. With the aim of ensuring overall fairness and strictness, the examination system was gradually unified on a prefectural basis. In addition, exam questions were prepared by a class teacher other than the teacher of the class in question, after which the problems were approved by a local government official; also, either the school district supervisor or a local government official such as the secretary of the county (gun) would witness the examinations. The precise pass line varied from prefecture to prefecture, but in general pupils who obtained 60% to 70% of the total marks were regarded as having achieved a pass line. Children with exceptionally good results were permitted to shorten the length of their schooling and “skip” a stage.

In the background to this system were two major factors: the compulsion to acquire in a short space of time large quantities of modern Western knowledge and techniques in accordance with the contemporary slogans of “Civilization and

Enlightenment” and “Enrich the Country, Strengthen the Military”; and the intention to abolish the educational discrimination that existed under the old class system, and to implement, without exception, the principles of individualism and meritocracy through an education in which individual ability was the sole criterion, in schools which were open on an equal basis to all the Japanese people.

In the early days of the Meiji era, in addition to the examinations at the end of each stage (regular examination and the “great (graduate) examination,” a wide range of examinations were frequently held, including the “monthly ranking examination” (an examination held each month to determine the relative ranking of pupils within a class), the “special examination” (held to determine who could be allowed to “skip” a stage), also the “comparison examination” (held within a region as a competition to determine the relative academic ability of schools in the region), and the “peripatetic examination” (organized by the prefectural governor or a high-ranking official and taken by specially selected pupils with excellent grades; prizes were awarded to the pupils with the best marks). Thereafter, from the beginning of the Taisho era (1926) until after the World War II, the severity of the competitive examination system for those aspiring to a higher level of school took a form that was frequently referred as the “examination war”. However, if we look at the social context, at the way in which the concept and practice of the examination permeated deeply into school culture, including primary level schooling, and at the degree of influence exerted by examinations on the pattern of daily life, there is clearly no doubt that the earlier Meiji era was an “age of examinations.”

2. “Repetitions” and “Dropouts” Become a Frequent Occurrence

With an examination system like the one described above, it was only natural that it would generate many pupils who needed to repeat the stages. Moreover, the fact that pupils had to repeat the same grade on a number of occasions was one of the main

reasons leading to the occurrence of the phenomenon of school dropouts. There were even prefectures that made a rule to the effect that any pupil who failed the exam at the end of the same grade twice should receive a warning notice advising the student to leave school. Educational statistics for the latter part of the 19th century are incomplete, so the figures for the number of pupils who had to repeat grades or who dropped out of school without completing their course are not clear over the country as a whole. However, if we look at the fragmentary statistics that do exist, it is clear that in Japan in the past, “repeaters” and “dropout” were very serious problems at the primary education level.

Looking more closely at the numbers of pupils who sat the exams, it is said that about 20% to 30% failed. Moreover, what made the problem even more serious, although this is not revealed in the statistics, is that there were numbers of pupils who, anticipating failure in an exam, repeated the grade without even taking the exam. There are reports that these “exam refusers” amounted to some 15% to 20% of the total number of pupils. It can easily be deduced that the combination of those who failed the exam with the “exam refusers” regularly resulted in a very large

number of “repeating” pupils.

On a different issue, failure in the examination not only took away the desire to learn from the pupil concerned, but also imposed a large financial burden on the child’s parents. At this time, significant amounts of fees were collected in respect of elementary school attendance, and in addition to an increase in this direct financial burden, repeating the grade heightened the inconvenience for the family in that the child’s working capacity was lost to the family labor force as a result of the lengthening of the total period of schooling. Consequently, there was a continuing increase in the number of school dropouts triggered directly by the phenomenon of repeating a grade.

The number of “repeaters” at this time can be seen in the extreme imbalance apparent in the number of pupils registered by stages. Table 9-1 shows the numbers of pupils registered by stages in Aichi Prefecture, an area of the country for which the educational statistics have survived.

In 1876, a total of 39,123 pupils were registered in stages 8 of the elementary school lower division, constituting 54% of the total number of pupils registered in elementary school (both divisions) at

Table 9-1 Numbers of children registered in elementary school by stage of schooling (Aichi Prefecture) (1876-1880)

Year	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
Grade	No. of pupils	No. of pupils	No. of pupils	No. of pupils	No. of pupils
Upper Division					
Stage 1	-	-	-	2	38
Stage 2	-	-	7	17	58
Stage 3	-	1	6	30	75
Stage 4	-	2	8	65	184
Stage 5	1	1	14	107	176
Stage 6	4	10	100	201	390
Stage 7	3	19	164	280	592
Stage 8	37	163	368	756	898
Lower Division					
Stage 1	245	363	871	1,732	2,588
Stage 2	435	673	1,553	2,334	3,365
Stage 3	988	1,372	2,769	4,050	4,737
Stage 4	2,461	2,399	4,293	5,504	6,874
Stage 5	4,961	4,694	7,065	8,450	9,699
Stage 6	7,315	8,758	10,151	11,689	12,276
Stage 7	16,508	17,163	17,861	16,473	14,472
Stage 8	39,123	31,329	23,686	22,106	20,686

Note: Elementary school at this time consisted of an upper and a lower division, each of 4 years in duration, making 8 years in all, and each year was divided into 2 stages, with Stage 8 as the lowest stage, and Stage 1 as the highest stage. Stage 8 and Stage 7 in the lower division correspond to Grade 1 in a modern elementary school.

Source: National Institute for Educational Research

this time. If the 16,508 pupils (23% of the total) registered in the stage 7 are added, this means that 77% of pupils were registered in what corresponds to 1 stage of present-day elementary schools. The total of pupils registered in all upper division stages at the time was a negligible 0.06%. As the years go on, the number of pupils registered in higher stages expands and there is a tendency for the extreme imbalance in registrations to be corrected, but even in 1880, 8 years after the promulgation of the Education System Order, the total number of pupils registered in the 8 stage and the stage 7 of the lower division represented a concentration of 46% of the total number of pupils. If those registered in stage 6 and stage 5 are added, the percentage of the total climbs to 74%. The percentage of pupils reaching stage 1 of the lower division was only just over 3% of all pupils. In short, even around 1880, the reality is that large numbers of children dropped out of elementary school after completing only 2 years of schooling. The annulment of the Education Ordinance and the promulgation of the Education Order, which specified a greatly reduced length of schooling as “at least 16 months,” and the revision of the Education Order in the following year, specifying the period as “3 years of elementary school” can be seen as

revisions designed to make the law fit the reality of what was actually happening in schools.

It is also possible to see the large number of repeaters from the point of view of the age range of the children registered in each grade. Table 9-2, a case study from Kyoto Prefecture, is a rare example of a report, categorized by age, of the children registered in each stage.

If we look at stage 8 in the lower division of elementary school, the grade with the largest number of registered children, we can see that the breakdown of ages and percentages of the whole is as follows: under 6 years old= 5.2%; 6 = 17.2%; 7 = 22.2%; 8 = 20.9%; 9 = 14.8%; 10 = 8.8%; 11 = 4.7%; 12 = 2.7%; 13 = 1.4%; 14 and over = 2.0%. If we think of this situation in present-day terms, it would be as if the age range of children registered in grade 1 of elementary school extended from those of kindergarten age to those corresponding to the grade 3 in lower secondary school. At the period we are discussing, the group of registered children included on the one hand, those children who were not yet of the standard age for starting school (under 6 years of age), and on the other hand, older children who had first entered school at a comparatively advanced age. It follows that the older children in a class were not limited to children who were repeating a stage, but

Table 9-2 Ages of children registered by stage of schooling at elementary school in Kyoto Prefecture (1877)

Age	Less than 6 years	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14 and older
Upper Division 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Upper Division 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
4	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-
5	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	5	1
6	-	-	-	-	4	8	7	4	10	9
7	-	-	-	-	-	2	16	27	18	9
8	-	-	-	4	3	13	45	74	96	49
Lower Division 1	-	-	-	1	41	41	78	130	108	56
Lower Division 2	-	-	-	1	20	138	180	230	203	96
3	-	-	10	11	123	309	488	426	299	122
4	-	-	14	90	428	745	756	636	304	137
5	-	6	43	266	774	1,082	908	647	270	108
6	1	17	180	698	1,550	1,460	1,026	608	247	119
7	10	217	1,133	2,553	3,003	2,258	1,421	672	247	187
8	1,287	4,256	5,480	5,162	3,646	2,181	1,164	674	333	475
Total	1,298	4,496	6,860	8,791	9,561	8,239	6,093	4,133	2,141	1,368

Source: National Institute for Educational Research

the size of the age range in the class at this level does suggest repeaters, but the existence of great difference of ages of children in the same grade suggests that the existence of repeaters, indeed of “multiple repeaters,” i.e. children who repeated the same stage on a number of occasions, was a reality. As a result, it is reasonable to deduce that the presence in the lowest stage of the school of children of so many different ages and such a varied range of experience, all jostling together, added an extra dimension of difficulty to the work of the teacher, who would have employed frontal teaching methods for whole-class instruction. The system of progression by stage every half year was changed in 1886 to a system of promotion by grade, one year at a time, but the exam-based nature of progression was not changed.

3. Factors which Made an Exam-based Progression System Necessary

The exam-based system of stage/grade promotion certainly made it possible to determine whether or not pupils had acquired the educational content allotted to each stage. However, it is also a fact that the very severe examination system generated large numbers of children who repeated a class and large numbers who dropped out of school. Taken together with the low rate of school attendance, this situation constituted a terrible dilemma for the advocates of the universal education, as represented in the current phrase of the time: “Schooling for all the people.” Moreover, it was pointed out that the examination system inflicted a burden on teachers and children, frequently entailing examination implemented as one ‘big event’ until late into the night or into the early hours of the morning, as well as creating a rigid form of education that depended heavily on memorization and force-feeding of factual knowledge. What can have been the reasons why the Japanese education world of the 19th century put such great emphasis on an examination-based progression system that was beset with problems of this kind and insisted on implementing it with such severity?

The use of an examination-based grade progression

system can be thought of as closely linked to the state of unprepared state of the conditions that defined Japan’s education system at this time. This can be identified in terms of such phenomena as the unfamiliar educational content, which produced feelings of discomfiture, the insufficient number of teachers trained in modern teaching methods, the low school attendance rate, the large disparity between different regions in terms of educational conditions, and the dependence on examinations on the part of teachers. These conditions are set out in detail as follows:

When the modern education system was first introduced into Japan, American elementary schools were taken as the model, and the curriculum for each subject was introduced just as it was, with almost no change. Textbooks used in overseas countries were also either translated into Japanese or used as templates for Japanese textbooks. This kind of educational content was not only unfamiliar to children and their parents, but was also novel to teachers, who felt difficulty in relating to it.

Following the establishment of the Tokyo Normal School in 1872, Normal Schools for the training of teachers were established in every prefecture by the end of the 1870s, and teachers were trained in modern teaching methods, but from the perspective of the country as a whole, the number of teachers trained in this way was very limited. Many of the teachers were former samurai warriors who no longer had employment, or priests, and had taught in the former *terakoya* so they simply continued to teach in the way they were used to. The system of stages and full-class frontal teaching represented a strange new system of which they had no knowledge or experience. Over Japan as a whole, the academic ability and teaching method of the teachers remained at a low level.

At this period in Japan’s history, there were many children who, even if they were registered at school, did not in fact attend school or even if they did attend, then not on a regular basis. In the 1870s, of the children registered at a school, the number who “attended on a daily basis” was estimated at around 70% of the total. This state of affairs was of

course harmful to the quality of children's learning.

Under the school district system, each school district had responsibility for such matters as the establishment and running of schools, and the payment of teachers' salaries. When the school district system was abolished, these responsibilities were transferred to the municipal (city, town or village) government. The financial condition of a local educational administration unit varied greatly from place to place, and of course, the economic and financial condition of a region had a direct influence on the state of school facilities and equipment as well as on teachers' working conditions. It is reasonable to assume that the disparity in terms of educational conditions was particularly great between urban and rural areas. The existence of a disparity can also be deduced from the fact that the Education Ordinance permitted the existence, in addition to standard elementary schools, of various kinds of simplified schools such as village schools or schools for the poor, in order to match the needs of local communities. Moreover, given the inadequate state of transport and communications at the time, and insufficient numbers of educational administrators, who traveled round from one region to another, it was exceedingly difficult for the central government to get an accurate grasp of the conditions in individual schools.

The examinations that marked the progression through stages/grades, supervised by the Ministry of Education, can also be seen as having played a role in helping the kind of teachers described above carry out their professional duties. Even for teachers who lacked the ability to give sufficient teaching and guidance to their students, the threat that "Doing that will mean failing the exam" was a useful tool for bringing parents and children into line. The authority conferred by the strictness with which the examination was held could also be converted into authority with which the teachers themselves were invested. It is safe to presume that keeping order in the classroom and administering the children while using the authority of the examination was a relatively easy task for teachers.

It is valuable at this point to make some deductions

about the position that the government and educational administrators were in when they had to develop educational activities within the framework of conditions such as these. Even after a school had been established and its activity was in place, it would never be possible for the government or for educational administrators to grasp with confidence what kind of education was actually being taught within the school on a daily basis or to what extent children were acquiring academic ability. The conditions were not such as to enable them to have confidence in the educational activities of local schools and teachers. This is why, in order for the government to be able to evaluate the results of children's education, there was no alternative open to the government or to local autonomous bodies other than to implement an examination that measured a set level of academic ability, and then to confirm the children's level of achievement by reference to the examination results. The officials and the administrators had to rely on the examination for "quality control." If children had been allowed to proceed automatically to the next higher stage while the educational parameters were still in an unstructured condition and while there were still large disparities between different areas and different schools, an enormous gap would have been created between children in terms of their academic ability, and one can imagine the possibility that in extreme cases, children might have been able to graduate from elementary school without having acquired the ability to read and write.

4. What Kind of Conditions and What Kind of Environment Made it Possible to Change to a System of Automatic Progression?

It was 1900 when the system of progression through grades by means of examinations was changed to a system of automatic progression. The legal regulations concerning the implementation of the change were specified in the following way:

"It is hereby specified that in order to confirm that children have completed a year of study or to confirm

their graduation from all subjects, it will not be necessary for them to take a special examination, but will be sufficient if consideration is given to their daily learning activities.”

With these words, the previously existing system whereby an examination constituted the criterion for deciding whether or not a child could progress to the next higher grade or graduate from school, was abolished, and from this time on, evaluation of a child’s level of attainment was to be based on the child’s “daily learning activities,” in other words, based on the continuous observation carried out every day by the teacher.

So what kind of conditions and environment made the transition to an automatic grade promotion system possible? Two major sets of factors can be identified: the improvement of various educational conditions for providing education; and changes in the objectives of school education and in the concept of the school.

4-1 A Structure for Educational Conditions and the Enhancement of Teaching Professionalism

Regarding the first set of factors, during the 30 years that had elapsed since a modern school system was first introduced, the framework or structure within which education operated had been improved, disparities between regions and schools had been reduced, and over the country as a whole, considerable progress had been made in standardizing educational conditions. Measuring improvements against the 5 points listed above yields the following results:

At the outset, direct copying of the curriculum from Western models resulted in a situation where teachers were trying to teach more than 20 subjects, but a gradual process of integration and rationalization led to concentration on a smaller number of basic subjects. The educational content too was carefully selected so as to match the Japanese situation. Translated editions of textbooks gradually faded away.

By means of measures such as the promulgation

of the Normal School Order in 1886, and the Normal Education Order in 1897, continuing effort was invested into improving the teacher training system. At the same time, a teacher licensing system was also put firmly in place. In order to obtain a standard teacher’s license, an aspirant teacher was required either to have graduated from a Normal School or to have passed the Teacher Certification Examination and be judged to have academic ability equal to that of a graduate from a Normal School. Of course, there were many teachers who did not have licenses, but if we look for example at the fact that in 1890, over half, 58%, of the teachers in elementary schools were unlicensed but by 1895, the figure had dropped to 20%, it is immediately clear how quickly the academic ability and quality of teachers rose.

Enrollment rates and attendance rates of children in elementary schools began to rise from the beginning of the 1890s. In 1891, enrollment rates were over 50% (regular attendance rates 74% of this figure), in 1895, the rates were 61% (80%), and in 1899, they were 73% (80%), showing a steady increase through this decade.

Under the Elementary School Order of 1886, attendance for 4 years at a standard elementary school was made compulsory, but in recognition of the situation in some areas, there were cases where simplified elementary courses were set up in place of the standard elementary school. Under the revision of the law that took place in 1900, attendance for 4 years at a standard elementary school was confirmed as the compulsory education system. On the other hand, educational administrative structures, particularly at local level, were put firmly in place. And as the basic system of educational administration, a superior-subordinate relationship was established linking the Minister of Education at the top to the prefectural governor, the mayor of the county (county inspector), down to the municipal (city, town, village) government (school district supervisor). As a result of these measures, disparities between the educational conditions in different areas were corrected, and a process of standardization was diffused across the whole country.

Changes could also be observed in the

consciousness and actions of teachers as they tried to respond to these changes. Among teachers, criticism mounted of teaching methods that concentrated on stuffing facts into children's minds and on mechanical memorization as preparation for examinations. On the other hand, signs could also be seen of enthusiasm for the new teaching methods (developmental teaching, 5-stage teaching-method) based on the educational ideas and theories of J. F. Pestalozzi and J. F. Herbart whose work was just becoming known in Japan at this time. Lesson courses and training seminars designed to disseminate their ideas were attended by large numbers of teachers. Moreover, from the latter part of the 1890s, new magazines focusing on teachers as their main readers appeared one after the other. A new image of the teacher as someone dedicated to professionalism was beginning to take shape.

Viewing these developments as a whole makes it clear that in the 30 years that had elapsed since a modern school system was first introduced, Japan succeeded in creating a system whereby at compulsory primary education level, teachers who had reached a certain standard in terms of their academic level and professional ability were distributed on an almost equal basis in schools throughout the country. Furthermore, there was evidence of significant progress in terms of improvements and/or national standardization in respect of the curriculum, textbooks, teaching methodology, educational administration structures, and school facilities and equipment. Describing the situation in a different way, one could say that social confidence in school systems and the professional ability of teachers had risen. A system had been established whereby virtually the same level of education was offered to children at any school anywhere in the country.

The demerits of the previous system of exam-based grade progression, namely educational rigidity; the increased burden of implementing examinations; the emergence of numbers of pupils who repeated a stage, or dropped out of school; the financial burden on parents and local autonomous bodies, and so on, was just too great. When there was a sufficient rise in

confidence and in the probability that even without checking the academic attainment level of every child through an examination at each successive grade, it could be assumed that a certain level of ability was secured for children as a whole, then it was a matter of course that there would be an increase in the numbers of those calling for a change to an automatic grade progression system. Of course, differences in the learning ability of each child remained, and of course there was a risk that with an automatic grade progression system, there would be unevenness among the children who went up to the next grade. However, as educational conditions became more standardized, there was a strong likelihood that the risk of unevenness in attainment could be held down to an acceptable level. It would be difficult to assert that in the Japan of 1900, educational conditions had been harmonized sufficiently to enable an acceptable degree of control to be maintained over the risk of variations and unevenness in ability that would occur through the adoption of an automatic progression system. But that said, the government's judgment was that at the very least, a foundation to support an acceptable level of educational conditions was on the way to being completed, and this, combined with the government's intention to continue to put effort into further strengthening educational conditions, can be seen as making it possible to shift to adopt a policy of shifting to a system of automatic grade progression.

4-2 Changes in the Purpose of Education and the View of a School

As well as the development of structured and standardized educational conditions, there was another reason that enabled the government of the time to embark on the policy of an automatic progression system. This was the change that had taken place in the view of the purpose of education itself, and the change in the concept of a school. In the early days of the introduction of a modern school system, the purpose of education was the rapid integration into Japan of the knowledge, technology, and culture of advanced Western countries and enlightenment of the people, based on the slogan

“Civilization and Enlightenment.” With a view to attaining this objective, the content of school education was abstract, unfamiliar to the Japanese people, and far removed from the realities of their daily lives. In the other words, the central focus of this education was on cognitive development, with stress put on the acquisition of new knowledge and skills.

However, by the time Japan entered the 1880s, a reaction had arisen against this kind of enlightenment-type education with its Westernized orientation. With the conservative factions within the Imperial bureaucracy and other parts of the government as the main driving force, fingers were pointed at the corruption of morality due to Western influence, and there were rising demands for a restoration of traditional moral precepts. These forces of conservatism worked on the Emperor with the result that in 1879, Emperor Meiji issued the “Imperial Will on the Great Principles of Education.” This document pointed to the emphasis that should be put on the principles of traditional Confucianist ethics such as humanity and justice, loyalty and filial piety, and patriotism. Up to this time, Moral Education had not been subject to any special emphasis, but following the issuing of the “Imperial Will,” it was assigned to the most important place in the school curriculum. This tendency toward a restoration of conservatism was further strengthened by the issuing of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890.

In the same year, 1890, the “Second Elementary School Order” was promulgated; the purpose of the elementary school which until then had not been legally clarified was specified in the Order in the following terms:

“The main objectives of the elementary school consist of paying due attention to children’s physical development, and providing instruction both in the fundamentals of moral education and national citizenship education, and in the standard elements of knowledge and skills that are indispensable for daily life.” (from the Implementation Regulations, Second Elementary School Order).

It should be noted that three objectives are

specified here: a focus on children’s physical development; instruction in the fundamentals of moral and national citizenship education; and instruction in the standard elements of knowledge and skills that are indispensable for daily life. The term “national citizenship education” in this context has the meaning of training in the knowledge and skills that are considered necessary for a Japanese as a citizen of the nation-state of Japan. Within the framework of the knowledge-centered education that had been prevalent up to this time, the acquisition of knowledge and skills, here specified as the third objective, had been seen as virtually the only primary objective. But under this new order, the two objectives of firstly, attainment of healthy physical development in children through such means as physical education or guidance in health and hygiene, and secondly instruction in moral and national citizenship education, are given an equal status, or indeed a superior status, to that of the acquisition of knowledge and skills. In the background to the stress placed on physical education at this time are firstly the criticisms that were made about the damage to children’s health and physical development as a result of the excessive strain imposed under a school education system that made frequent use of examinations, and in addition to this, the strong demands from the military establishment, on the basis of recent experience in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, for an improvement of physique in soldiers. But whatever the background reasons, it is fair to say that there was a shift from a one-sided emphasis on cognitive development to a harmonizing approach which balanced physical, moral, and cognitive development, as well as an expansion and deepening of the objectives of school education as such.

Examinations, particularly written examinations, are an effective device for measuring the attainment level of cognitive or intellectual skills. However, it is very difficult to demonstrate the results of moral education or national citizenship education as well as physical education by means of an examination. The attained skills are ones that cannot be converted into a figure measuring academic ability. Furthermore, as

a result of children repeating stages/grades, children of many different ages and with very different experiences and differences in physical stature were all mixed together in the same classroom. In this situation, implementing moral education or physical education effectively was exceedingly difficult. As a result on the one hand of "repeaters" or on the other hand of children with exceptionally good marks who skipped a stage, there was a lack of uniformity within the same class in terms of children's ages and of years spent in school. Furthermore, a kind of reverse phenomenon took place in which the factors or elements that were emphasized in Confucianist national morality, such as the formation of a system based on seniority, with "seniors" and "juniors," of the formation of a sense of belonging to a group, or the germination of friendship or feelings of trust between friends, gradually became incompatible with existing conditions in classrooms and schools.

Even if unevenness in levels among students did appear as a result of employing the automatic progression system, it remained within tolerable levels, and it was far more important that all the children of a set age could be kept in the school. The school was the place that should be able to offer training and development in areas of importance that did not take second place to cognitive acquisition, such as discipline and moral sense, social co-operation within members of a group of the same age, feelings of loyalty as subjects of the Emperor, and a strong and health body. It was important for all children to complete compulsory education. When this view of the purpose and function of the school became the dominant view, it was safe to say that Japan had discarded at primary education level the grade progression system based on an examination to test academic ability, and had embarked on the change to a system of automatic progression on the basis of a child's age and number of years of schooling. After 1900, when the change to the new system took place, there were virtually no discussions or indications pointing to a decline in the academic ability of children as a whole, nor were any voices heard calling for a return to an exam-based grade progression system. The automatic promotion

system was accepted comparatively smoothly by the education world of Japan. Moreover, as Japan moved into the 20th century, the problem of children repeating a year and dropping out of school showed a great improvement, and very soon, apart from long-term absences caused by sickness or poverty, the problem effectively disappeared.

5. Conclusion

As is the case in many developing countries today, in the past, Japan too was troubled by the problem of children repeating grades and dropping out of school at the primary education. The problem was generated directly by the very strict implementation of an examination which children were required to pass in order to progress to the next stage or the next division. At this time in Japan, many of the structures and conditions required to provide education were still incomplete and not firmly in place, and in particular the professional abilities of many teachers left a great deal to be desired. In these circumstances, neither central government nor local educational administrators were able to confirm with confidence just how much children's academic ability had improved in the course of their everyday class activities. Putting the situation in frank terms, it is perhaps possible to say that a precondition for the frequent repetition of a strict examination governing progression to the next stage was a lack of confidence in the work of schools and teachers. It was deemed necessary to have "quality control" of education by means of an examination.

However, after about 30 years' experience, Japan embarked on a path leading to abolition of the exam-based stage progression system. The preconditions that made this possible were structured arrangements and conditions that formed the parameters of the education process, in particular increasing professionalism on the part of teachers. Abolition of the exam-based grade progression system also reflected a change in the view of a school as such. The expectations that were held regarding a school gradually shifted from thinking of it as a place where Western knowledge and techniques could be

crammed into students as quickly as possible to thinking of it as a place where priority was put on forming a sense of national morality and Japanese identity and developing a healthy physique in children. It is a fact that negative aspects were present in terms of a restoration of conservative Confucianist ethics and the influence of militarism, but be that as it may, from this time on, Japanese education aimed to achieve harmonious and balanced development of cognitive, moral and physical abilities. Cognitive development apart, it hardly needs saying that moral and physical development

could be much more effectively achieved with a group of pupils of the same age. In the ways described here, at least at the stage of compulsory primary education, Japan gave up the examination-based grade progression system, based on a test of academic ability, and chose the road of automatic grade progression, whereby all the pupils of the same age and the same grade, moved up together to the next grade.

< SAITO Yasuo >

Chapter 10. The Curriculum

Issues for developing countries

At a national level, the curriculum constitutes the standard for a country's school education, and it also forms the basis for the development of all the educational activities in a school. The curriculum is not only directly linked to the quality of education, but because its strong and weak points also influence children's learning enthusiasm and their learning achievements, it has, as a result, a strong impact on such areas as the quantitative expansion and management in education. With specific reference to the curriculum in developing countries, it is possible to list a number of causes that are at the root of current problems, including influence from the former sovereign power, delays in carrying out curriculum research and development, insufficiency of data as a result of a lack of all kinds of educational surveys and investigations, lack of a mechanism for ensuring that the voices and opinions of educational practitioners are reflected in the process of drawing up the curriculum, an absolute shortage of teaching hours, and a uniform type of curriculum management lacking in flexibility. Out of these various causes, a number of results have arisen: too large a quantity of educational content to be processed within the set teaching hours; a lack of consideration for consistency, methodical characteristics and potential; a lack of consideration for the developmental stage reached by children as well as for their abilities, aptitudes (linguistic etc) and living conditions; an absence of any reflection of the voices of practicing teachers as well as of the needs, interests and problems of local communities, and a wide gap between the curriculum and everyday reality. With a view to trying to overcome these problems, attempts are being made to give breadth to the management of the curriculum, and to delegate a degree of authority regarding formation of the school curriculum to local boards of education and schools, but the attempts do not go as far as aiming at fundamental solution of the problems.

Points

The concept of the curriculum in Japan is broadly comparable to that in developing countries. While a degree of discretionary authority is given to teachers, the process of formulating and implementing the curriculum as a whole is controlled by law. After passing through set administrative procedures, the curriculum is set in place for a period of 10 years, and during the time that the curriculum is being implemented, work also proceeds in parallel, in the form of a continuous process, on work for the next curriculum revision. The periodic revisions of the curriculum can be seen as unceasing attempts to enhance the quality of education. Furthermore, the curriculum is carried out within a framework of top-down input by the Ministry of Education, and bottom-up input by schools and teachers, thereby making effective and efficient implementation possible.

1. Definition of the Curriculum

The English word “curriculum” is appropriate for the Japanese expression for the curriculum, but precisely speaking, there is no generally confirmed definition for the curriculum.

According to the Ministry of Education, the curriculum is a “school education plan that is organized in a comprehensive way within the framework of a school timetable, and adapts educational content to the physical and mental development stage reached by the children with the aim of achieving the targets and objectives of school education.” Within this framework, the “formulation of the educational objectives of a school, the organization of teaching content, and the allocation of teaching hours”¹ are seen to be fundamental elements of the curriculum. Curriculum criteria are compiled by the Ministry of Education, on the basis of the law, into the official “Courses of Study.” These Courses of Study are established with the objective of enabling children in every school in the country to receive a set standard of education, and set out essential points and elements of the educational content and process.

On the other hand, the term “curriculum” at the level of the school is frequently used to designate the yearly teaching plan and the timetable that are compiled for each grade and each subject at the beginning of April every year.

Hence the “curriculum” is used both to signify the “Courses of Study” at national level, and the “yearly teaching plan and timetable” compiled at the level of each individual school.

2. Changes in the Curriculum Over Time – Focusing on the Primary Education Curriculum

This section will deal with historical changes over time in the Japanese curriculum, focusing particularly

on changes in the national-level curriculum, i.e. on the changes in the Courses of Study since the end of World War II.

2-1 A Curriculum Biased toward “Moral Training” and “Practical Use” (Meiji Era)

In 1872, the Meiji Government, on the basis of a centralized conception of authority, promulgated the “Education Ordinance,” which set out the subjects constituting the curriculum for the lower and upper divisions of elementary schools. In the same year, the then Ministry of Education issued “Regulations for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools,” corresponding to the present-day “Courses of Study for Elementary Schools.”² The “Regulations” set out the number of teaching hours to be allocated to each subject, and also referred to textbooks and teaching methods. The characteristics of the “Regulations” can be explained as follows: they specified a single curriculum without regard to any distinctions of social class; with “reading, writing and calculation” as the foundation, a very varied content concerned with the natural sciences was subdivided into subjects; Western curricula were taken as models. However, implementing this new curriculum proved very difficult, and what in practice was disseminated was a new set of “Elementary School Regulations” produced by the Tokyo Normal School, which was under the direct control of the Ministry of Education; this new document specified only a small number of separate subjects and synthesized a number of subjects.

When the Meiji Government became the target of protests against its centralization policies, it began to focus its attention, among other areas, on how to change the direction of its educational policies. In 1878, the “Regulations for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools” were withdrawn, and at the same time, new educational regulations were drawn up in prefectures throughout Japan, suited to the needs of the particular prefecture and modeled on

¹ From “Course of Study for Elementary Schools,” Ministry of Education, 1999.

² The “Courses of Study” are criteria determined by central government for the use of schools when they draw up and implement the curriculum at the level of each individual school, and perform the role of ensuring that a uniform content and level of education is maintained throughout the whole country.

those of the Tokyo Normal School and its attached elementary school; as a result, diversification appeared in the educational content, and in textbooks.

Around this time, the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement acquired increased prominence, and in the face of this situation, the Meiji Government's response was to try and suppress the movement and, at the same time, to revise the pattern of Westernization that had hitherto prevailed in education. Under the Revised Education Order of 1880, moral education of a strongly Confucianist flavor, focusing on "humanity, justice and loyalty," was revived, and "Morals" was given pride of place among the curriculum subjects. On the basis of this revised Order, the government in 1881 issued a new set of "Guidelines for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools." According to these new Guidelines, the overall length of primary education was set at 8 years, and within this period, the educational content was specified by subject and by level. In particular, regulations were framed for "Confucianist educational content" and for the "formulation of educational rules of practical usefulness." Elementary schooling at this time was divided into three courses: the Primary course (3 years), the Intermediate course (3 years) and the Higher course (2 years). In the Primary course, which the majority of children followed, education focused mainly on "Morals" and on "Reading, Calligraphy and Arithmetic." With a view to ensuring thorough implementation of the revised curriculum guidelines, the government issued a number of documents, including "General Guidelines for the Course of Study for Normal Schools," an "Ethical Guide for Elementary School Teachers," and "Regulations for Examining the Conduct of Schoolteachers." Control over textbooks was also gradually strengthened. At the same time, however, the Ministry of Education permitted "due consideration to be given to complying with local conditions," and in this context, discretion was permitted in terms of the content and headings of regulations for schools and teachers.

According to "Subjects and Their Standards for Elementary Schools," issued in 1886 following promulgation of the 1886 Elementary School Order,

the names of different subjects and the number of teaching hours per week were clearly specified. A "Curriculum Table for Elementary Schools," corresponding to regulations setting out the grade specifications for educational content, was sent by the Ministry of Education to each prefectural governor, and in accordance with the Table, each prefecture determined the actual grade specifications. Also from this same year, a system of textbook authorization by the Ministry of Education was introduced. Following the large-scale revision of the 1890 Elementary School Order, in the 1891 "Outline for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools" the Imperial Rescript on Education was taken as the model for the basic ideas, and a much clearer and more detailed description of content and teaching objectives was given with a view to enabling the "cultivation of moral qualities" and the acquisition of "practical knowledge and skills" to be realized. It was through the detailed specification of teaching methods that the practice of teachers was regulated. Furthermore, the "Implementation Regulations for the Elementary School Order" issued in 1900 confirmed the curriculum regulations necessary to ensure the thorough implementation of a pattern of moral education that reflected national government policies. From then on, until the end of World War II in 1945, the education system continued to follow the Imperial Rescript on Education, emphasizing the ideas of reverence for the Emperor and love of one's country.

2-2 The Curriculum Under Strengthened Nationalist Influence (Taisho and Prewar Showa Eras)

As Japan moved into the Taisho era (1912-1926), new educational currents emerged on a global scale, and influenced by them, a private educational research movement sprang up under the name of the "Progressive Education Movement of the Taisho Era." Child-centered thinking was central to the movement, and particularly in elementary schools, many suggestions advocating educational reforms arose out of its educational theories and preferred teaching methods. However, because educational

Table 10-1 Contents and characteristics of education-related laws and regulations

	Name of the law or regulation	Contents and characteristics
1872	Regulations for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools	- Sets out main points regarding teaching hours by subject, textbooks and teaching methods. - Content difficult to implement in practice.
1881	Guidelines for the Course of Study at Elementary Schools	- Educational content by subject and grade clearly set out. - Confucianist-oriented content. - Emphasis on "practical use." - Became the national standard for the Course of - Study in elementary schools.
1886	Subjects and Their Standards for Elementary Schools	- Establishes subject names and number of weekly teaching hours.
1891	Outline for the Course of Study for Elementary Schools	- Based on the foundation of the "Imperial Rescript on Education." - Aims at the "cultivation of moral qualities" and the acquisition of "practical knowledge and skills."

content was under the control of central government, reforms in the area of content went no further than attempts to change the school-level curriculum in a few elementary schools in the private sector and those attached to Normal Schools.

In 1926, Japan entered the Showa era, and in the late 1930s, movement toward reforming the curriculum began to be seen in government and administration circles. In 1936, at the same time as lengthening compulsory education, the government announced its intention to carry out a complete reform of education aimed at strengthening the wartime system of control, and the Ministry of Education went so far as to set out its reform concept of a curriculum with strengthened nationalist tendencies. A vigorous debate ensued in the educational world centered around the concept of curriculum reform.

In 1937, the Education Council was established as an advisory organ to the Ministry of Education, and within the framework of implementation of the wartime education system, began its deliberations on wide-ranging and comprehensive education reform. It was on the basis of the Council's deliberations that the National School Order was promulgated in 1941. Under this Order, provision was made to integrate separate subjects in the curriculum of the National Schools into composite units, and in the lower grades, to introduce a comprehensive approach in teaching. However, in practice, apart from the fact that training of pupils to become good Imperial

subjects was strengthened, major changes in elementary schools were not particularly in evidence.

2-3 A Curriculum that Espoused the Ideas of Democratic Education (Postwar Showa Era)

In 1945, World War II ended, and as the defeated country, Japan was put under the control of the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces (GHQ). In the field of education, at GHQ's request, the U.S. Education Mission to Japan arrived in 1946, and after conducting an investigation and analysis of Japanese education, produced a report containing a number of recommendations. In accordance with the report, a number of reforms of the education system were implemented, including democratic education, unit-based, experiential-type learning methods, co-education, and what was called the 6-3-3-4 system (6-year elementary school, 3-year lower secondary school, 3-year upper secondary school, and 4-year university). In 1947, on the instructions of the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) of the Occupation Forces, a document entitled "Courses of Study (draft)" was compiled. As a result, the pattern of education on the basis of extreme nationalism that had been in force since the Meiji era was completely revised, and it became possible to identify movement toward the realization of a new, child-centered education that took the reality of a child's life as the starting point of education. Major characteristics of the "Courses of Study (draft)" were firstly that it

revised and improved the prewar concept whereby instructions and orders were issued in a purely top-down manner, and secondly that it took the form of a “teachers’ handbook,” aiming to enable practicing teachers to use their creativity and ingenuity in adapting their teaching to local situations, the daily lives of children, and the school’s situation, and to facilitate the compilation of a suitable, school-level curriculum. However, at this time too, like many others, the main focus of educational reform was on issues of methodology, and while the “Courses of Study (draft)” were highly valued as documents which made ground-breaking and detailed comments on teaching and assessment methods, as far as educational content was concerned, reforms did not move forward to any significant extent.³

Subsequently, in 1951, the “Courses of Study (draft)” were revised, and this case too, emphasis was put on the function of the documents as “handbooks for teachers.”

During the period of about 10 years after the end of the war, attempts were made to realize democratic education in schools in a comparatively free and liberated atmosphere in the context of ongoing American influence. The teachers, who, before the war, had been the target of government pressure, set to work organizing a range of private educational research bodies, and restarted a movement aimed at realizing democratic educational research. Their influence on the compilation of a democratic curriculum was far from insignificant.

2-4 Strengthening Basic Academic Ability and a Curriculum that Emphasized “Room to Grow”

In 1955, the term “draft” was removed from its position after “Courses of Study,” and by virtue of this change, the document acquired legally binding authority. However, changes to the content went no further than partial revisions.

That said, the 1958 revision of the “Courses of Study,” constituting the first full-scale revision since the end of the Occupation, did carry out content improvement in the form of strengthened emphasis on moral education and on basic academic ability. The revision had 2 major characteristics: a change of direction toward an increase in central authority and greater uniformity marked by the fact that the “Courses of Study” were given the character of national criteria with binding legal force; a shift away from the previously existing curriculum based on everyday experience, and toward a curriculum that laid stress on systematic instruction. The former characteristic can be seen as a reflection of the movement pushing for stronger top-down control in education in the light of the domestic and foreign situation at the time, including the Korean War and U.S. policy toward Japan in terms of anti-Communism and a move toward militarization. On the other hand, the latter characteristic was influenced by such factors as the effective failure in schools and classrooms of the education which took daily life experience as its basis, and mounting criticism that this form of unit-based, experiential learning brought about a drop in academic ability. From this time on, revisions of the “Courses of Study” were carried out approximately every 10 years.

In 1957, prominent features of the social background were remarkable progress in science and technology as well as social development, as shown by such examples as the successful launch of an artificial satellite by the former Soviet Union. In this context, a global movement arose, urging curriculum reform objectives that enabled school educational content to reflect more effectively contemporary achievements in science, technology and culture. Japan too was influenced by this trend, and the 1968 revision of the “Courses of Study” displayed strong awareness of the scientific and technological

³ All through the Meiji and Taisho eras, the educational thought and theories of John Dewey, who supported practical development in the age of liberal educational movements, once again became the focus of attention in terms of the postwar emphasis on unit-based, experiential learning and democratic education. Dewey’s thinking was an epistemological theory which set out a scientific model of recognition, looking at “how human beings fundamentally acquire knowledge,” but in the circumstances of a nation defeated in war, it was reinterpreted as the problem of “how to carry out one’s life.”

revolution as well as of strengthened international competitiveness. The changes in content laid stress on a more systematic approach, but integration of the study content with children's daily lives was neglected, and the result of this neglect in the form of a growing number of drop-outs, who failed to keep up with the teaching because they couldn't understand the content, gradually became recognized as a social problem.

Consequently, the 1977 revision advocated "stress-free education and strengthened provisions." As a concrete reflection of this, the consistency of education in elementary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools was strengthened, and at the same time, teaching hours were reduced and content was more strictly selected in policy moves specifically designed to create more "room to grow." These changes were implemented in the form of responses to the 1971 Report⁴ of the Central Council for Education, which aimed at a "Third Educational Reform," and the subsequent 1976 Report by the Curriculum Council. Characteristics of the 1977 "Courses of Study" can be identified as a reduction in teaching hours, the moves toward integrated teaching in the lower grades of elementary school, and the official confirmation of "Kimigayo" as the Japanese national anthem. In addition, although not formally included in the "Courses of Study" the provision of "1 to 2 credit hours a week as time for thought" was encouraged by means of "administrative guidance." At upper secondary school level, the number of electives was also significantly increased, and ability-based grouping was introduced.

The 1989 revision of the Courses of Study was implemented in line with the Report⁵ of the 1987 National Council on Educational Reform and the Report of the Curriculum Council. The aims of the reforms to curriculum criteria specified in the Curriculum Council's report can be summarized in terms of the following four points: cultivating people who can live as well-rounded personalities, strong in body and mind; cultivating self-directed

eagerness to learn and the ability to respond to social change on the basis of personal initiative; laying stress on fundamentals and strengthening a form of education that activates individuality; cultivating international understanding and an attitude of respect for Japanese culture and traditions. Qualities and factors that are given special emphasis in the respective contexts of these four points are: a grateful heart and a spirit of public service; a new view of academic ability comprising the ability to think, to form judgments, and to engage in expressive activities; individually oriented guidance; and self-awareness and a sense of responsibility necessary for life as a Japanese in international society. All these factors are reflected in the "New Courses of Study"; other special points worthy of note are the abolition of "Science" and "Social Studies," and in their place, the introduction of "Life Environment Studies" in the lower grades of elementary school, the expansion of elective courses and the introduction of ability-based instruction in lower secondary school, and a strengthening of guidance on hoisting the Japanese national flag and singing the Japanese national anthem in unison. At upper secondary school level, Home Economics was also made compulsory for boys, thereby finally correcting the clearly visible gender imbalance in the curriculum.

2-5 The Current Curriculum

The 1998 revision was implemented on the basis of the 1996 Report⁶ from the Central Council for Education and the 1998 report from the Curriculum Council. In the Courses of Study, an outline of the model of education in the 21st century was tentatively presented on the basis of a school context in which a 5-day school week had been fully implemented.

The characteristics of the new curriculum are as shown in Box 10-1, but particular attention deserves to be paid to the way in which the Ministry of Education makes very clear that the Courses of Study

⁴ See Chapter 1.

⁵ See Chapter 1.

⁶ See Chapter 1.

represent minimum criteria, and the way in which mechanisms are incorporated at every point throughout the text to implement autonomous compilation of the curriculum with a view to devising educational content that reflects the particular characteristics of individual schools. And in terms of the implementation of this kind of curriculum, with a view to ensuring that children's academic ability does not fall as a result of the reduction in class teaching hours or the strict selection of educational content, the Ministry of Education requires schools to ensure that the content as set out in the "Courses of Study" is translated into firm academic ability on the part of pupils, and at the same time carries out ongoing publicity and research in support of this message.

Since the 1990s, there has been a shift away from the pattern of thinking that everyone must be taught exactly the same thinking to a policy that concentrates on what each child is able to learn. The current "Courses of Study" are a symbol of an attempt to realize the creation of schools with distinctive characteristics.

The class hours for different subjects in elementary and lower secondary schools, as specified in the 1998 "Courses of Study" are set out in Table 10-2 and Table 10-3.

3. The Present State of the Curriculum

3-1 Control of the Curriculum

The Ministry of Education as well as the appropriate Board of Education exercise legal control by means of textbook authorization and the official Courses of Study over the curriculum that is implemented by each school and by the teachers (see Diagram 10-1).

As explained above, when each school compiles and implements the school-level curriculum, it is under an obligation to follow the Course of Study as laid down by the Ministry of Education. Hence this curriculum, as implemented by schools and teachers, is legally controlled by the Ministry.

The authorized textbooks distributed free of charge to all pupils have been approved on the basis of the system for authorizing books for school use. The system is implemented through a process whereby private-sector textbook producers (publishers, various kinds of organizations, etc.) produce textbooks which are submitted for examination by the Ministry of Education and, if approved, are authorized for use in schools. Since textbooks are revised approximately every 4 years, the textbook authorization process for each stage of education is in principle implemented over a 4-year cycle. The intention of entrusting the authoring and editing of

Box 10-1 Aims and characteristics of the new Courses of Study

Aims

On the basis of the complete implementation of a 5-day school week, each school should develop a "distinctive form of education" within a framework that allows "room to grow," and while ensuring thorough acquisition by children of the basic learning content set out in the Courses of Study, should also encourage the development of "zest for living" in such forms as the ability to study and think independently.

Characteristics

- Clarification that the Courses of Study represent minimum required content.
- Strengthening of individually oriented teaching.
- Creation of an "Integrated Study Period."
- Expansion of the framework allowing autonomous editing of the curriculum by schools.
- Reduction in class teaching hours and strict selection of educational content.
- Emphasis on experiential, problem-solving learning activities.
- Expansion of elective studies.
- Strengthening of evaluation (norm referencing → criterion referencing).

textbooks, within the framework of the system, to the private sector is to ensure the production of even better textbooks by making use of the fund of ingenuity and creativity to be found in private companies. That said, it should not be forgotten that government control of textbook content in that textbooks are compiled on the basis of the Courses of Study and the Criteria for Textbook Authorization, remains firm. Moreover, in the year preceding textbook selection, the boards of education located within a textbook selection district appoint a selection committee to decide on the adoption of textbooks by selection district, and numbers of specialist subject teachers are asked to join the committee and provide evaluations of the textbooks, after which the committee decides which textbooks to adopt.

Turning to the Cumulative Study Record, this is a written record of the main points concerned with

school attendance and the teaching process in respect of each child as well as the end-of-year assessment made of the child. Because the record is the original ledger pertaining to each child and is intended to testify as to the teaching process and to be a reference point for people outside the school, it is obligatory for each school to maintain and preserve it. The function of the Cumulative Record in respect of everyday classroom instruction and assessment activities is to show the thinking and methods that constitute their foundation, and because the criteria that govern these are contained in the Courses of Study, the Cumulative Record can also be seen as a mechanism controlling the teaching and assessment of pupils.

3-2 Revision of the Curriculum

The revisions of curriculum criteria are taken forward by means of the periodic revisions of the

Table 10-2 Subjects and standard class hours for elementary schools

Grade List	Class hours for each subject									Moral Education	Special Activities	Integrated Study Period	Total class hours
	Japanese	Social Studies	Maths	Science	Life Envmt Studies	Music	Drawing and Craft	Home-making	Physical Education				
Grade 1	272	-	114	-	102	68	68	-	90	34	34	-	782
Grade 2	280	-	155	-	105	70	70	-	90	35	35	-	840
Grade 3	235	70	150	70	-	60	60	-	90	35	35	105	910
Grade 4	235	85	150	90	-	60	60	-	90	35	35	105	945
Grade 5	180	90	150	95	-	50	50	60	90	35	35	110	945
Grade 6	175	100	150	95	-	50	50	55	90	35	35	110	945

Note 1: In this table, 1 class hour time unit is 45 minutes.

Note 2: Class hours for "special activities" are assigned to learning activities in the Course of Study for Elementary Schools

Note 3: In the case of Item 2, Article 24, when Religion is added as well as Moral Education, some of the hours assigned to Moral Education can be changed and used for Religion.

Source: School Education Law Implementation Regulations, Article 24.

Table 10-3 Subjects and standard class hours for lower secondary schools

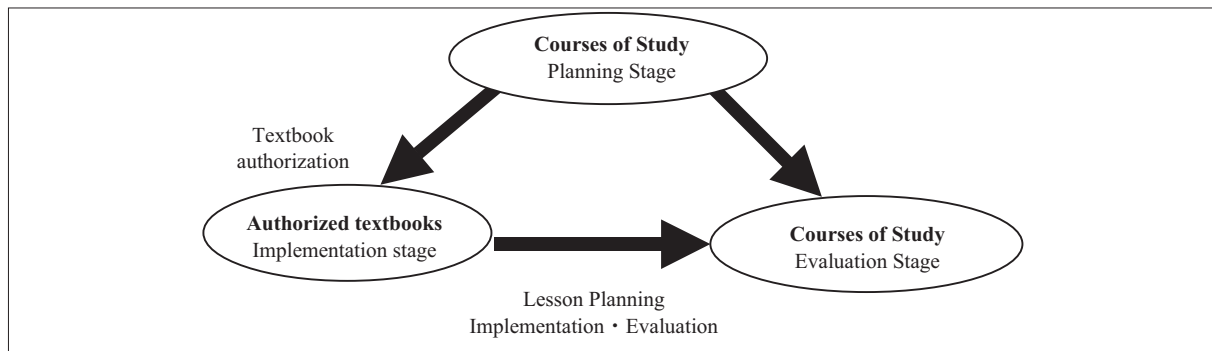
Grade List	Class hours for each subject									Moral Education	Special Activities	Hour range for electives	Integrated Study Period	Total class hours
	Japanese	Social Studies	Maths	Science	Music	Arts	Health and Physical Education	Industrial Arts, Homemaking	Foreign Langs.					
1	140	105	105	105	45	45	90	70	105	35	35	0 ~ 30	70 ~ 100	980
2	105	105	105	105	35	35	90	70	105	35	35	50 ~ 85	70 ~ 105	980
3	105	85	105	80	35	35	90	35	105	35	35	105 ~ 165	70 ~ 130	980

Note 1: In this table, 1 class hour time unit is 50 minutes.

Note 2: Class hours for "special activities" are assigned to learning activities in the Course of Study for Lower Secondary Schools

Note 3: The number of hours for Elective Subjects depends on what is decided in the Course of Study for Lower Secondary Schools

Source: School Education Law Implementation Regulations, Article 54.

Diagram 10-1 Control of the curriculum

Courses of Study and by transitional measures while new Courses of Study are being introduced (see Diagram 10-2).

Revision of the Courses of Study is carried out on the basis of official procedures by the Ministry of Education. The revision process passes through various organs and stages: the Central Council for Education, which decides the basic ideas of educational reform, the Curriculum Council, which sets out the curriculum framework and the direction of reform, and the cooperating committees that decide on the content of each subject in the course of preparing the Courses of Study. The deliberation sessions of the Central Council for Education and the Curriculum Council are open to the public, and in the course of the deliberations, opinions are invited from many different sectors and open hearings are held concerning the interim reports issued by these bodies. It should also be noted that the members of all the organs and committees referred to here are appointed by the Ministry of Education.

The foundation of the revisions to the Courses of Study can be found in the reports of the Curriculum Council; it is here that the ideas underlying the revision, the number of teaching hours, and the broad outlines of the direction of revision can be found. In this sense, it is at the reporting stage of the deliberations of the Curriculum Council that we can find the blueprint for the revisions of subject content.

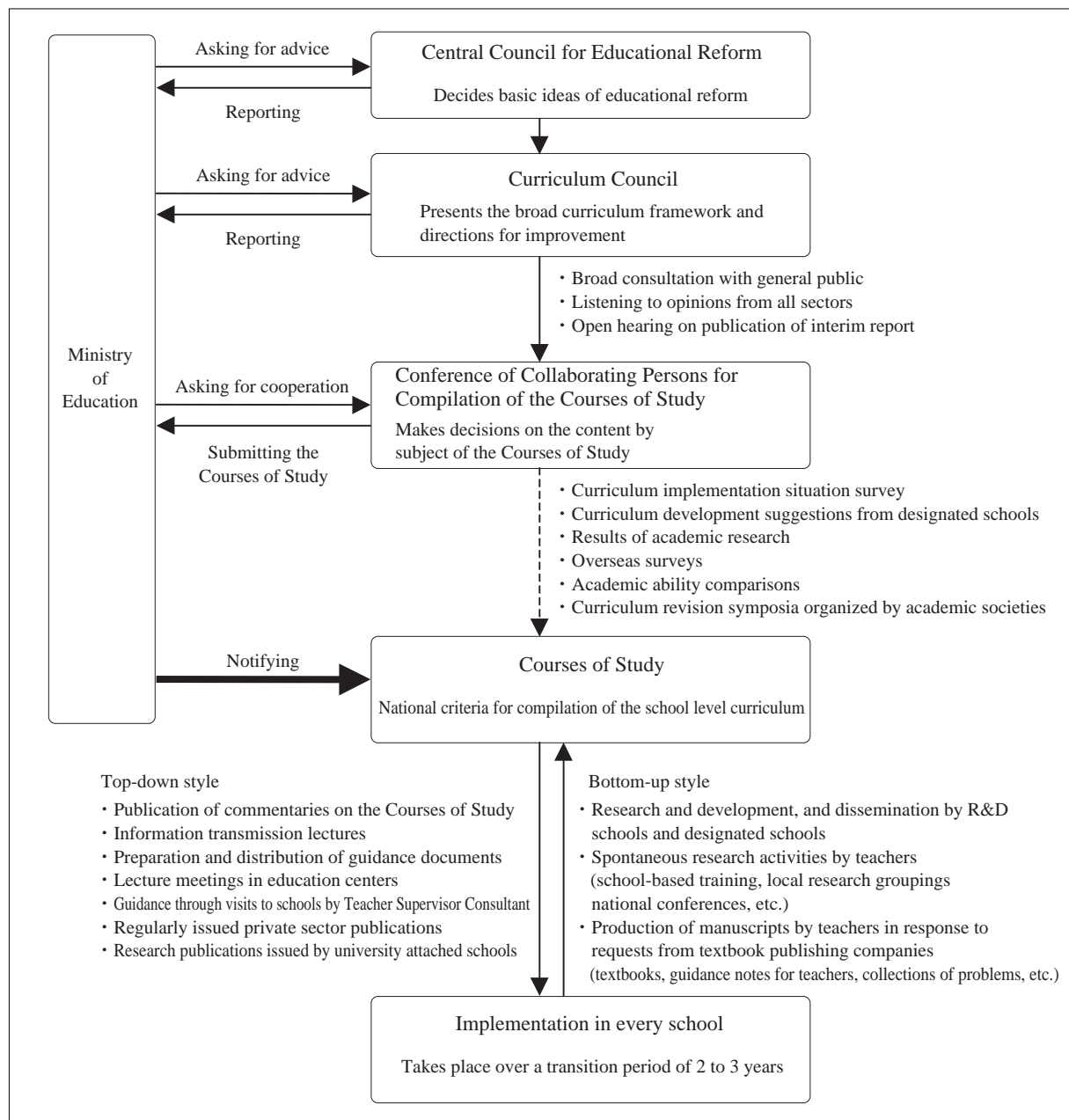
On the other hand, the grassroots process of

actually revising the subject content begins with the curriculum implementation surveys carried out to investigate the implementation of the existing Courses of Study, and is taken forward by the officials in charge of curriculum investigation and concerned collaborators, on the basis of a wide range of parallel initiatives and trends, including curriculum development proposals from designated schools (research and development schools) and schools attached to national universities, academic research results that emerge during the revision period, investigations of trends in overseas countries, comparisons of academic ability, the results of education reform symposiums organized by various academic societies concerned with curriculum revision, and so on. The Conference of Collaborating Persons meets in closed sessions, and conducts its deliberations within the large-scale framework, which forms the foundation of curriculum reform, as decided by the Curriculum Council and the Central Council for Education; the discussions about reform in these meetings are usually held in a calm and settled atmosphere on the basis of a few key words, and a clear line can be drawn between them and the bold curriculum reform discussions held by academic societies and other bodies.⁷

Reform of the curriculum criteria in Japan takes place every 10 years, but during the 10 years when a curriculum is in place, numerous meetings and discussions, grouped by specialist subject, are held

⁷ In other countries such as the U.S., where there are radical changes in the curriculum including change of the organization in charge, it is appropriate to use the term "educational reform," but in Japan, where the body carrying out curriculum revision remains unchanged, and where furthermore, revision is taken forward as one part of educational administration procedures, it is appropriate to use the term "improvement" rather than "reform."

Diagram 10-2 The mechanism for curriculum revision and realization



within the Ministry; in addition to the Meetings of Collaborating Persons for Compilation of the Conference of Study, similar meetings are held to discuss various kinds of guidance documents, or implementation surveys, or a range of other topics. In this sense, work on the realization of the curriculum and work on curriculum reform constantly coexist and are interlinked within the Ministry of Education.

After the criteria are announced, there is a process of transitional measures lasting from 2 to 3 years, after which Courses of Study based on the new

criteria are completely implemented at compulsory education levels. And after the curriculum criteria have been revised, work is carried out on compilation of assessment criteria.

With regard to ongoing research, schools apply on their own initiative to the Ministry of Education to be registered as “designated schools,” and for a period of 3 years, research considered by the Ministry to be necessary to curriculum revision is carried out in such “designated schools” under the supervision of senior administrative Ministry officials. For example,

during the period of transitional measures, model case studies are prepared and researched, or at the time when assessment criteria are being compiled, case studies and evaluations are carried out concerning the possibility of their implementation. On the other hand, in the case of elementary and lower secondary schools attached to national universities, the main focus is on teaching methodology research, either at prefectural or national level, and regardless of whether or not such schools have been officially “designated,” the teachers in these schools are constantly engaged in ongoing research and development.

Furthermore, in order to evaluate such items as the learning situation of children or the implementation of the curriculum over the country as a whole, use is made of many different kinds of surveys. Within Japan, the Ministry of Education conducted a Curriculum Implementation Situation Survey in 1981-83, and again in 1993-95.⁸ As well as using the results of these and other surveys, the Ministry also uses the results of international studies such as those conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), comprising the First International Mathematics Study in 1964 and the six-subject study, including Science and other subjects in 1970, the Second International Mathematics Study in 1980-82 and the Second International Science Study in 1983-83, and the Third International Science and Mathematics Study in 1994-99, also the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), commenced in 2000; the results of all these various surveys serve as basic reference documents for revision of the official Courses of Study.

3-3 Implementation of the Curriculum

The curriculum is implemented through both top-down and bottom-up approaches. The top-down category can be seen as consisting of three stages,

with the commentaries on the Courses of Study published by the Ministry of Education as the starting point, continuing through information transmission lectures on the Courses of Study designed to translate the published commentaries into shared knowledge, and leading to suggestions for improving teaching methods through the compilation of guidance documents.

With regard firstly to published commentaries on the Courses of Study, these are targeted primarily at teachers, and are issued with the objectives of achieving smooth implementation of the Courses of Study and ensuring that the aims of the Courses of Study are in fact realized. There are different kinds of commentaries, including general rules, specific subject commentaries, and ones on moral education and special activities. The collaborating persons comprise more than 10 people and are drawn from a wide range of different backgrounds, including researchers and specialists from a board of education, a school principal, and ordinary subject teachers. Deliberations are carried on from the dual perspectives of research and practice.

Turning to the information transmission lectures, these have until now been conducted repeatedly in different locations during the transition period when Courses of Study are being changed, using as lecturers the subject examiners with responsibility for revising, implementing and assessing the curriculum. However, at the present time, apart from the presentation of achievements at the research and development schools (research-designated schools) there is no chance to hear lectures directly by the subject examiners, who have been replaced by the use of ICT (Information and Communication Technology).

Finally, with regard to guidance documents, the Ministry of Education issues every month “Primary Education Documents,” aimed at kindergartens and elementary schools, and “Secondary Education

⁸ In fiscal year 1998, the Ministry of Education set up a system of regular implementation of the Course of Study Implementation Situation Survey • Academic Ability Survey using the Course of Study as the reference point. The assessment questions used in this survey consist of problems aimed at investigating the actual state of curriculum implementation on the basis of the curriculum criteria, and are completely different from the examination questions used until now to evaluate ability in entrance examinations. The Implementation Situation Survey offers to teachers an opportunity reflect on the Courses of Study and to improve teaching methods.

Documents,” aimed at lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools; the contents include full explanations of the main points of the curriculum revision, articles aimed at encouraging practical development, and practical case studies from the research and development schools. The guidance documents are a means of transmitting information directly to teachers.

In addition to the three stages listed above, in the regular publications issued by individual publishing houses, textbook publishers, and newspaper companies, as well as in the research papers issued by some of the university-attached schools, it is possible to find information analogous to that found in the guidance documents, as well as research papers anticipating or urging curriculum revision. In the sense that material of this kind puts forward the results of research into teaching methods, it has not only a top-down, but at the same time, a bottom-up function.

In the context of the various processes described here, Supervisors, who have the task of enabling shared access to the interpretative commentaries on the Courses of Study, are continually engaged, through courses and lectures in the schools that they visit, or in the education centers in designated cities, in ensuring that ordinary teachers participate and share in knowledge concerning the Courses of Study.

The approaches described up to now have all been in the top-down category, but in the bottom-up category, there are essentially three types of approaches: the administrative leadership type; the autonomy type; and the textbook publishing company intervention type.

A classic example of the administrative leadership type approach centered on is when research development is disseminated from a Ministry-designated research and development school or a school specially designated by a prefectural board of education. In these schools,

research takes place on specifically decided topics, and subsequently, the results of the research are made public so as to provide encouragement to neighboring schools.

The autonomy-type approach occurs when, for example, a collaborating person or a teacher in receipt of guidance from a Supervisor, display understanding of the aims of the curriculum revision and become key persons or leaders in their respective environments, taking forward research on teaching methodologies or teaching styles.⁹ But it should be noted that the aim of research groupings that arise in this way is not to realize the curriculum revisions set out by the Ministry of Education; they should rather be seen as taking forward research on teaching styles on the basis of their own standpoints, and from this perspective, their suggestions concerning the Courses of Study and their independent interpretations are treated with due respect. From the opposite perspective, the Courses of Study and the Commentaries are set out in such a way that autonomous research by teachers is encouraged, including provision of time for autonomous interpretations, so that the kind of suggestions and interpretations referred to here can be generated. In this sense, therefore, the Ministry of Education does not assume a uniform type of education.

The textbook publishing company intervention type of approach occurs when a textbook publishing company asks a teacher or teachers to write a textbook or guidance notes for teachers or a collection of problems, and as a result, a new example of a teacher's understanding of the Courses of Study and dissemination of that teacher's experience at the local level at which the teacher is a key person are taken forward.¹⁰ The teacher, in the capacity of a local level key person, is in a position to become very familiar with the contents of a new curriculum before it is implemented, and to incorporate reflections on the curriculum into the task

⁹ A detailed treatment of research on teaching styles can be found in Chapter 13.

¹⁰ In the case of a textbook manuscript, the procedure to arrive at a confirmed text usually involves between 3 and 7 editorial meetings for one unit. The textbook company requests a teacher for a manuscript and pays a unit price, but looking at the teacher as a member of a local research organization, it is an honor to receive such a request, hence there will be a tendency to give positive support to the textbook company.

in hand.

In the case of bottom-up approaches, even if they take place through the medium of research into teaching styles, implemented within the framework of a school or within the local community, they are supported by mechanisms which make it possible for the results to be shared over the country as a whole, for example, by being printed in a book of guidance notes for teachers or in a national journal, or by forming the content of a presentation at a meeting of a nation-wide academic society. In ways such as these, large numbers of suggestions can be generated, including suggestions for curriculum revision.

4. Conclusion

The Japanese curriculum is a comprehensive plan made up of educational objectives, instructional content, and the number of teaching hours, and traditionally, the central focus has been on reading, writing and calculating (Japanese language and Arithmetic), and morals (Moral Education). While influences have been felt from such sources as political, economic and social trends within Japan and in overseas countries, international currents of educational thought, movements in the educational world within Japan, and educational problems that erupt in the educational workplace, it can legitimately be said that the curriculum passes through a succession of changes while remaining under government control.

On the other hand, regarding the compilation of the curriculum at school level, with the exception of wartime, a degree of discretion has been given to teachers from a comparatively early stage in the history of the curriculum, but this has only been exercised in any real sense since the end of World War II in 1945. In the immediate postwar period, in the face of realities such as quantitative expansion of school attendance or differences in ability among pupils, the educational world was perpetually concerned with how the issue of raising the quality of education (=revising the curriculum) could be clearly presented in policy terms. Nowadays, though many different kinds of discussions continue, the objective

of curriculum policy has been defined as how to cultivate “zest for living,” meaning the ability to learn and think oneself, in a school atmosphere that is relaxed and allows “room to grow,” and in terms of the future direction of this policy, the following points are emphasized in every school: expansion of the school’s autonomy in terms of compiling the school-level curriculum; reduction of the number of class teaching hours and strict selection of the educational content; stress on comprehensive, experiential, problem-solving activities; expansion of the scope of elective studies; strengthening individually oriented teaching; and strengthening of assessment and evaluation.

If we look at the structure and mechanism of the curriculum in Japan, in terms of the division into the stages of planning, implementation and evaluation, we can identify as key factors in these respective stages the Courses of Study, the authorized textbooks, and the Cumulative Record (as well as the Curriculum Implementation Situation Survey), and can see how the curriculum is controlled by the force of law. Curriculum revision is taken forward by the revisions of the Courses of Study and by transitional measures. The task of carrying out revisions is implemented on the basis of a ten-year cycle, with the underlying ideas of curriculum reform being decided by the Central Council for Education, the broad framework of curriculum revision and the direction of improvements set out by the Curriculum Council, and the content requirements of the Courses of Study set out by the Conference of Collaborating Persons for Compilation of the Courses of Study on a subject basis. And the realization of the curriculum is carried out both on a top-down basis by the Ministry of Education and on a bottom-up basis by research groupings and private companies centered around teachers and designated schools, thus making it possible to achieve an effective and efficient realization of the curriculum. In accordance with the procedures described here, activities concerning revision of the forthcoming Courses of Study and implementation of the current Courses of Study are constantly carried on in parallel. It is clear therefore that revision of the curriculum in Japan is not a one-

off exercise, but is an unceasing process designed to raise the quality of education.

From the above account of Japan's experience, it is possible to elicit the following suggestions which may be offered as a guide to appropriate formulation, implementation and revision of the curriculum in developing countries:

Firstly, obtain an accurate grasp of the actual condition of school education in terms of what is happening in the school and the classroom, and what changes have taken place in the children;

On the basis of this understanding of the situation, verify whether there is or is not in fact an efficient and effective curriculum in place (=verification of the quantity and quality of the curriculum) as a policy for eliminating problems in school education and for realizing the ideas of educational reform;

With the aim of ensuring that the curriculum is in accord with the people's needs, ensure that the criteria for curriculum revision are clear, carry out a

wide-ranging debate among the people, and aim to summarize the resulting opinions;

Aim to raise the level of teachers' ability so that within the school, in line with existing conditions, they can carry out compilation, implementation and evaluation of the school-level curriculum on an autonomous basis;

Establish an administrative support structure that enables implementation and evaluation of the school-level curriculum to be carried out by the teachers;

Prepare supplies of textbooks, teaching materials and teaching implements as required for curriculum revision, and establish a speedy and reliable mechanism for delivery;

Systematize curriculum revision so that it is not just seen as a transient phenomenon, but as an unceasing process aimed at raising the quality of education.

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Chapter 10 - Appendices

The main text of this chapter has dealt with the historical changes and the mechanisms of the national-level curriculum in Japan. These appendices will focus on Mathematics and Science as areas in which there is a great deal of cooperation between Japan and developing countries, and will consider in specific detail the ways in which the content and methodology of the curriculum in these areas has developed.

The curriculum in developing countries can stand shoulder to shoulder with the curriculum in Japan in terms of its level, but when we look at the actual state of the curriculum in practice and the reality of the implementation, then many problems can be found. These include, for example, a lack of understanding of the curriculum content on the part of teachers, use of inappropriate teaching methods, a wide gap between educational content and daily life, and a lack of any will to improve matters among teachers who

should be trying to solve problems such as these.

In the case of Japan, the Meiji era (1867-1912) was a time in which the latest knowledge and techniques from the West were absorbed and disseminated within the country. It was in the succeeding Taisho era (1912-1926) and early part of the Showa era that teaching developed as an autonomous, specialist profession, and that within this professional framework, teachers devised, on their own initiative, mechanisms for carrying out research into the curriculum and into teaching methods, and became able to effect improvements in the methodology and content of the curriculum by making use of classroom experience. It is reasonable to think that this experience of introducing knowledge from external sources, internalizing it, and then adapting and improving it so as to meet the needs of the time, may be useful as a source of reference for developing countries.

Appendix 1: The Development of Mathematics Education

Introduction

The origins of Western mathematics as it took shape in early modern Europe, are to be sought in Greek mathematics as it developed in the Mediterranean region, and in Arabian mathematics as it developed in Islamic regions. The calculating methods used today already existed 4,000 years ago in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and were formularized in a textbook-like form that was easily accessible to ordinary people. However, this does not mean that there was a single, unified body of knowledge concerned with numerical matters. As symbolized by the differences in teaching methods, distinctive forms

of popular mathematics existed in close alignment with the peoples, languages and cultures found in every region of the world. As in the case of Japan, where calculations using the abacus and calculations made on paper existed in parallel, there was a fusion between mathematics based on the traditions of the people and externally introduced mathematics, and it is from this fusion that the mathematics that we know today was formed. Even if we think of mathematics as one system, school mathematics was in fact formed by the convergence and unification of different kinds of mathematics.

The following paragraphs will provide an overview of the formation of school mathematics in Japan,

with the main focus on the shift away from traditional, abacus-based mathematics to Western mathematics, the developing autonomy of mathematics educators, and the comprehensive synthesization of the curriculum.

1. Mathematical Culture in the Edo Era

In the Edo era (1615-1868) in Japan, the *terakoya* (small village or town schools which constituted the mainstay of popular education) provided instruction in “reading, writing and the abacus.”¹ The content of “abacus” instruction in the *terakoya* went as far as to include the Pythagorean theorem and the extraction of square roots, used in calculating the value of square roots, i.e. equivalent to the level of lower secondary schools today. On the other hand, the high-level branch of mathematics known as “Japanese Mathematics” was taught in the “private academies,” representing a more advanced level of content than that taught in the *terakoya*. In terms of the teaching implements used, the *terakoya* used the abacus, but in Japanese Mathematics in the private academies, “measuring sticks” were also added, so that the implements used for teaching ordinary people and those in higher level calculations were differentiated.

The models for Japanese mathematics textbooks were to be found in the mathematics books of China. In particular, various versions of the “Book of everyday calculations,” linking the use of the abacus with the calculations required for everyday living, were issued around 1600, and one such version developed into the “Book of Division” published in 1620. It serves as testimony to the fact that the four arithmetical rules were taught with the use of the abacus in the early Edo era.

In 1627, the “JINKOKI” was published and became a best-selling mathematics textbook in the early Edo era. This book did not have the systematic arrangement found in the earlier Chinese books of

calculations, but instead, it possessed the following two characteristics. Firstly, it was filled with beautiful illustrations and interesting topics, so it was a source of fascination for ordinary people who could study at an advanced level while enjoying what they were reading. A second characteristic was the book’s way of presenting questions as the driving force of mathematical development. As a result of the book’s high reputation, many pirated copies circulated. The compilers of the book resisted this trend by introducing a constant series of improvements, and in 1641, published a full-scale revision under the title “The New Book of JINKOKI.” On that occasion, they included a collection of questions and problems aimed at the general public at the end of the book. The results of the challenge that the compilers faced and conquered can be seen in the development of “question competitions” and “answer competitions” involving the general public, and it is this trend that forms the background to the way in which, within the very short space of only 30 years, the level of mathematics in Japan achieved world standards.

Subsequently, in the Meiji era, a shift can be seen away from Japanese mathematics toward Western mathematics, and the reason why this shift was easily incorporated into Japan can be found in the broad fund of knowledge possessed by Japanese mathematics specialists and the teachers in the *terakoya* and private academies that allowed them to understand the content. It is also possible to identify the way in which the emphasis put on the activity of presenting questions was carried over into textbooks and teaching styles even after the Meiji era.

2. The early Meiji Era: from Japanese to Western Mathematics

2-1 The Employment of Foreign Instructors and Their Influence

After the promulgation of the Education Ordinance in 1872, the Meiji Government decided to use

¹ In the Era of Warring States (1467-1573), when the warrior samurai entered government service, they were required to have knowledge of the abacus, but as commercial transactions developed, skill with the abacus also became necessary for the common people wishing to attain a profession.

Western mathematics as the content of school mathematics, and to discontinue Japanese mathematics², which used the abacus and measuring sticks, in middle school as a matter of course, and even in elementary school. Instead Western mathematics, using pencil and paper calculations, was to be taught.

As a result of the education given up to that time in the *terakoya* and private academies, it was possible to find in Japan many people who had a knowledge of mathematics equivalent to the level of lower secondary school today, and the foundation of modern mathematics existed to a certain extent, but there were almost no teachers who were able to teach Western mathematics. Consequently, the question of how to train teachers to teach Western mathematics was a major problem, and on the other hand, the question of how to respond to the tradition that wanted to continue teaching the abacus in elementary schools (parallel use of Japanese and Western mathematics) also constituted a major issue for debate.

The construction in Japan of a system for teaching Western mathematics on a foundation of Japanese mathematics is represented by Marion McCarrell Scott. Indeed, the “foreign instructors” in general, of whom Scott can be seen as the representative, played a very important role. Scott came to Japan in 1871 as a teacher of English and General Studies at the institution that was later to become the University of Tokyo, and in 1872, immediately after the promulgation of the Education Ordinance, was employed at the Normal School (later the University of Tsukuba), in charge of teaching English,

Mathematics, and Teaching Methods for Elementary School Teachers. Before this time, both in Japan and in the world at large, individual instruction constituted the main stream of teaching, but Scott introduced full frontal teaching with the use of the blackboard, which even in America at this time, was only found in universities. In addition, at the request of the government, Scott published, incorporating Pestalozzian teaching methods³, textbooks such as the “Arithmetic Primer for Elementary Schools” (4 volumes)⁴ and other texts. In ways such as these and through the use of wall charts and maps, Scott established a systematic structure in the Normal School.

This period was one when educational content was studied at the same time as educational methods, and the frontal class teaching introduced by Scott into the Normal School was disseminated to its graduates as a new teaching method, with the result that after some years, the individualized teaching in the *terakoya* style gradually disappeared. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, the Tokyo Normal School published books for teachers’ use taking as themes mathematical teaching methods based on intuitionism and ways of implementing peer review of teaching styles. It is also at this time that the practice developed in the elementary school attached to Tokyo Normal College of opening classes to the public and implementing peer review and discussion of teaching styles by fellow teachers. This type of peer review research into teaching styles spread throughout the whole country and became the foundation for the subsequent development of lesson study (see chapter 13 for details)⁵.

² As a result of the choice of Western mathematics, reference to the abacus as synonymous with mathematics disappeared. Subsequently too, the abacus went through periods of decline and revival; with the collapse of the Education Ordinance, use of the abacus was revived, and again as a result of pressure from the Abacus Production Union and the Abacus Private Schools Association, there was a reintroduction movement in the years prior to World War II. The pattern of re-introduction and subsequent re-introduction continued, and today, the abacus has acquired its deserved place in study materials used for teaching place notation.

³ In opposition to the tendency to incorporate teaching methods based on memorization, as a heritage of the Edo era, Pestalozzian teaching methods aimed to foster intuitive emotional development stimulated by actual objects, through the use of wall charts, teaching devices, specimens, experimental implements, and so on.

⁴ For example, in the “Arithmetic Primer for Elementary Schools,” there is a picture of a teacher in front of a class and pupils with their hands raised. The question accompanying the picture is: “How many pupils are there?”

⁵ At the time of the Education Ordinance, Normal Schools were started throughout the country, but around 1880, all the schools except for Tokyo Normal School were closed because of the poor financial condition of the Meiji Government.

2-2 Movement toward the Unification of Specialist Terms – the Translated Terms Society of the Tokyo Mathematics Company

At this time, the mathematics textbooks in circulation at middle school level and above were translations or adaptations of textbooks from Britain, the U.S., France and Germany. The contents of the textbooks from these various countries all had their own characteristics and competed with one another, thus inviting debate. A classic instance of such debate was the problem of unifying the specialist terms used in education⁶. While at elementary school level, mathematics was taken forward with continuing use of specialist terms from Japanese mathematics, at middle school level and above, the differences in translated mathematical terms became a major problem. In the face of this problem, in 1877, mathematicians following Japanese traditions from the Edo era as well as those following Western mathematics from the post-Edo era and those who had returned to Japan from study overseas combined to create the first (Western) Mathematics Society, the Tokyo Mathematics Society, which published the Tokyo Mathematics Company Journal and established a body to examine translated terms. The procedure followed was that the suggestions that had been previously received were listed in a journal article by the Translated Terms Society, and after discussion had taken place, those terms that had received majority votes were confirmed.

The Tokyo Mathematics Academic Company was the body that took the lead, but its subsidiary the Translated Terms Society, was a voluntary body centered on Tokyo with no official connections with the government, so it had no means of realizing its

decisions, and the translated terms on which it decided were not necessarily respected. For example, the term “Arithmetic,” which had previously been translated as “Sansugaku,” was translated in a textbook published in the early Meiji era as “Sugaku,” and then in the Education System Order in yet another way, as “Sanjutsu.”⁷

2-3 The Growing Severity of Entrance Examinations and the Stability of Mathematics Education

School education, centered on primary education, continued to take shape, and the school enrollment rate, which in 1873 was only 28.1%, rose just 10 years later, in 1883, to 51.0%. This rapid increase in school enrollment meant that there were insufficient middle schools ready to receive those who had completed elementary school, and as a result, the examination to select new entrants to middle school became much more severe. At this time, a number of factors, such as the fact that with the subjugation of the rebels in the Seinan War (1877) and the collapse of the hereditary system, education came to be seen as an important device for achieving social mobility and raising one's living standards, and the rise of new educational needs accompanying industrial development acted as an additional spur to severity in the middle school entrance examination. Because the entrance examination was meant to assess the ability to learn from the middle school curriculum, its character changed to that of a selection examination that gave the right of admission only to a superior elite, and mathematics functioned as an important device in achieving this right.

Against this background, the book, *Three Thousand Mathematical Questions*, was widely

⁶ Using several different sources, including the indigenous Japanese numbering system, the numbers used in the ideographic system derived from Chinese, and the Western numbering system, efforts were made in the academic world and with the cooperation of specialist academic societies, from the Meiji era through to the postwar Showa era, to bring order into the use of specialist mathematical terms in Japan. The Tokyo Mathematics Association Translated Terms society formed the starting point for structured ordering of specialist terms by professional bodies. Mathematical terms in school education took shape against a background that also included input from the practice of teaching, textbooks, educational journals, Courses of Study, commentaries on the Courses of Study, and mathematics education research papers.

⁷ At the level of the administration, the term “sanjutsu,” used at the time of the Education Ordinance, continued in use up until the time of World War II, but during the war, the term was changed to “sansu” reflecting the fusion of the old content with new material.

circulated, and the prevailing attitude came to be expressed in such views as the following: “If the solutions to the questions can be found, everything else will be fine” or “Teaching the techniques of answering the questions is sufficient” became. In a context of deploring this trend and at the same time trying to preserve mathematics education from damage, the concept of “theoretical arithmetic” was launched, proclaiming that “Arithmetic (using the Japanese term, *sanjutsu*) is a branch of science, and it is impossible to teach Arithmetic without the theory.” In the background to this situation is said to be the fact that on the one hand, there was Japanese mathematics, and on the other hand, various adaptations, each of which had ideological characteristics, taken over from Western countries.

Consequently, until about the middle of the Meiji era, the appearance of mathematics education in Japan was very varied, including both Japanese mathematics and the different adaptations taken over from the West, but thereafter, policy was determined, and selection and decisions were made on the basis of leadership provided by first-rate mathematicians who had studied in the West and then returned to Japan.

3. The Late Meiji Era: the Dissemination of Primary Education and the System of Authorized Textbooks

3-1 Educational Methodology (Teaching Methods)

In the early part of the Meiji era, under the influence of Pestalozzian ideas, educational methodology was taught at the same time as

educational content. By virtue of the fact that objectives and content were stipulated in the “General Educational Guidelines” educational methodology on its own merits became the subject of debate.

In 1890, a lecture meeting was held, arranged by the Ministry of Education and aimed at ordinary middle school teachers. Entitled “The Items and Teaching Methods of Arithmetic,”¹⁰ it dealt with the content and teaching of Arithmetic in middle school, following on from the study of Arithmetic in elementary school. Emphasis was placed on formal calculation in terms of “Arithmetic without theory” and the content of different branches was clearly differentiated, so that “Arithmetic was treated solely as Arithmetic, and Algebra treated solely as Algebra.”¹¹ This period was one when educational content was considered to have the same meaning as educational methodology, and this way of thinking even went so far as to influence the first authorized mathematics textbook for use in elementary schools, the “Book of Arithmetic for the Ordinary and Upper Divisions of Elementary School.”

3-2 Continued use of Authorized Textbooks (Black-cover Textbooks)

At the end of the 19th century, there were a number of disputes about different choices to be made in Mathematics education. For example, one dispute about choices was between, on the one hand, Pestalozzian intuitionism, or on the other hand, the standpoint that put emphasis on sequential numbering, as represented by Dewey and others. Another dispute about choices was between on the one hand the advocates of the doctrine of formal

⁸ As representative mathematicians, the names of Kikuchi Dairoku and Fujisawa Rikitaro, Professors of Mathematics at Tokyo Imperial University (later the University of Tokyo) could be quoted. It was very rare for mathematicians at the top in Japan to pour their energies into mathematics education, but those mathematicians who studied Western mathematics overseas and then returned to Japan felt an obligation to the age in which they lived to devote themselves to the systematizing of education.

⁹ In the “General Educational Guidelines” issued in 1891, the objectives for mathematics education in elementary schools were specified as follows: “Arithmetic (=Mathematics) shall have the primary objectives of making people proficient in everyday calculations, making their thinking more precise, and imparting knowledge that will be of value to them in their occupations.” This definition of objectives passed through minor revisions, but remained valid until after the end of the Taisho era (1926).

¹⁰ The contents of the lecture were put into written form by Professor Fujisawa Rikitaro in 1893.

¹¹ At this time, the content of Mathematics was divided into “Arithmetic,” “Geometry” and “Algebra.”

discipline as represented by the belief that mastery of calculation techniques sharpens the mind, and on the other hand, advocates of the use of actual objects in calculating in the belief that this was useful in terms of handling actual objects. Yet another dispute was between those who favored learning the four mathematical rules in parallel and those who felt they should be learned sequentially.

In the first government-authorized mathematics textbook, as referred to above, the “Book of Arithmetic for the Ordinary and Upper Divisions of Elementary School” (popularly known as the “Black-Cover Textbook”), published in 1905, the choices adopted were emphasis on sequential numbering, the belief in the doctrine of formal discipline, and a mild version of parallel learning of the four mathematical rules. With particular regard to this final point, the study of the four mathematical rules in parallel, it was felt that within the sequential learning approach, the parallel learning approach was given consideration, and in the belief that “it is necessary first to learn the foundation for the content that is learned later” one can see expressed the contemporary thinking that emphasized the teaching of fundamentals¹². The “black-cover textbook,” while going through repeated revisions, continued to be used until the time of the fourth revision in 1935, and constituted the basis of mathematics teaching in Japan.

It is worthy of note that these disputes about choices were carried on within the mathematics education world centered on the Normal Schools and their attached elementary schools, and it is very clear that even as early as the Meiji era, the starting point of mathematics education research at compulsory education level was to be found in the efforts of teachers. But that said, the results of this research were not easily incorporated into textbooks; it was rather the case that elementary school teachers in particular acquired status by participating in the compilation of textbooks, and it was only at the time

of the fourth revision in the Showa era (1935) that history was made with the incorporation of the results into textbooks.

4. The Mathematics Education Improvement Movement and the Teaching Methodology Reform in the Taisho Era.

4-1 Secondary Mathematics Education and Reform Movements

Japanese mathematics education policy in the Taisho era (1912-1926) did not, seen as a whole, display any great change from policy during the preceding Meiji era. However, it is in this period that a new current can be seen in the mathematics education world in Japan reflecting influences from such sources as the “Mathematics Improvement Movement” advocated in the U.S. and Europe, the global development of psychology, and the educational ideas of Liberalism, and examples could be seen of educational practice based on this new current, at the same time as preparatory steps for future reforms were implemented.

It is also in this period that reform movements in mathematics education developed on a global scale, and a particularly significant influence on Japan came from the first reform movement, the “Mathematics Education Improvement Movement,” that originated in the U.S. As a result of this movement, the roles of mathematicians and mathematics teachers were differentiated, and the mathematics education research needed by mathematics teachers began to be developed independently from the theories of mathematicians. Moreover, this movement did away with the differentiation of “Algebra,” “Geometry” and so on as separate branches, and became the stimulus for the formation of “Mathematics” as one subject in the curriculum. There is no doubt that these trends signal a very important phenomenon in the context of the

¹² This “instruction of fundamentals” and gradual advance and expansion constitutes the core of the pattern of mathematics instruction given at compulsory education level in Japan, and can be seen as the basis for the problem-solving type of learning, which is a source of pride for Japan in the world at large. The current reduction of timetable hours for Mathematics makes it very difficult to maintain this core.

history of mathematics education in Japan. The following paragraphs will examine this trend, focusing on secondary education.

At the beginning of the 1900s, improvements in mathematics education were proclaimed one after the other in Germany, Britain and the U.S., and reforms to mathematics education in these various countries were taken in hand. Specifically, the improvements comprised advances in university-level mathematics, contemporary demands for a change in the direction of socially useful mathematics, and movements to reform the secondary school curriculum in the direction of removing the wide gap between school mathematics education and university mathematics education. In terms of developments in separate countries, in Germany, such concepts as integration of different mathematics subjects such as Algebra and Geometry based on relational and functional thinking, in Britain, mathematics education was restructured on the basis of usefulness, and in the U.S., laboratory methods were suggested as teaching methodology. The common point in all these reforms is that they saw traditional secondary school mathematics as a problem area. In 1908, the International Mathematics Survey Association was formed and its progress was debated on a global scale. Japan too came under the influence of these developments, and the curriculum and questions of content, objectives, and teaching styles all became the subjects of discussion, thus providing the impetus for the formation of autonomous research in mathematics education in Japan.¹³

Furthermore, against this kind of background, in 1918, the Ministry of Education convened the “All-Japan Conference of Mathematics Teachers from Normal Schools, Lower Secondary Schools and Girls’ High Schools,” and discussions took place on

ways of getting to grips with global trends in the improvement of mathematics education. The result was that on the basis of an urgent motion, the “Japan Secondary Education Mathematics Association” was formed, and the worlds of mathematics and mathematics education were separated.

4-2 Lifestyle-oriented Arithmetic

Around this time, as a result of developments in psychology, the doctrine of formal discipline¹⁴ in the old sense was rejected. This development allied itself with liberalist elements in educational thought, and in Japan, emphasis was put on children’s freedom in education and on the principle of autonomous activity; in the context of the Progressive Education Movement of the Taisho Era, discussion and experimentation took place about shifts “from teacher-centered to child-centered education,” “from teaching by rote to spontaneous learning,” and “from uniform frontal teaching to individual learning.”

In the area of mathematics education, the classic example of a movement that sprung out of the Progressive Education Movement of the Taisho Era was the “New Arithmetic Education Movement,” which was developed and implemented in terms of a variety of educational methods by teachers at elementary schools attached to Normal Schools.¹⁵ The common feature of all these methods was the aspect of “daily life oriented numeracy,” which took the view, “in opposition to the old type of cramming education and the primacy of calculation, which rested on the basis of the doctrine of formal discipline,” that numerical factors should be stressed within the context of children’s everyday living and learning environment.”

¹³ This said, while young researchers in Japan agreed that separation of the different parts of Mathematics was outdated, they were hesitant to criticize the views of eminent mathematicians, so that the influence of improvement movements in Japan took 20 years to permeate. At that time, the term “Mathematics” was nothing more than a blanket term covering different subjects, and a curriculum such as we have today was formed as the result of improvement movements.

¹⁴ This is the doctrine which holds that if a specific ability is trained by the use of specific ingredients, the effect of that training is not limited to those specific ingredients or constituents, and the trained ability is effective also in respect of other kinds of ability.

¹⁵ It was not only in Japan that doubts were raised about the modernization movement in mathematics education. On a global level, if the 1960s are seen as the age of modernization, the 1970s were the age of reflection.

Box 10-2 Arithmetical learning from colleagues

A major issue in the mathematics education world was how to utilize the authorized textbooks, which resembled collections of problems in calculating, and how to teach the contents of these textbooks in a way that was in line with pupils' daily lives. In the face of this issue, the concept of lifestyle-oriented arithmetic, involving the identification of children's daily lives as a problem resource, became very popular. A classic example of education based on lifestyle-oriented arithmetic was the method of "self-constructed problems" devised by Shimizu Jingo of the elementary school attached to Nara Girls' Higher Normal School. The starting point in the development of this teaching and learning method, with a view to developing spontaneous learning which respects children's ability to learn and to think for themselves, is getting children to construct problems using their own immediate environment. In the photographs 10-1 and 10-2 below, it is possible to identify the prototype of the problem-solving type of learning method practiced today.

It should also be noted that the "Lifestyle-oriented Arithmetic Movement" developed at about the same time as the shift in educational media from stone writing blocks and removable ink to paper and pencil. In the background at this period was a constant tendency to think solely in terms of calculations, and given that children only had available as writing space their writing blocks, on which anything they wrote would be erased, it was inevitable that emphasis had to become proficient in memorizing on the spot a calculation process which could not be recorded. Until the high price of imported Western paper and pencils became lower, it was impossible to realize the development of today's learning and instructional methods, where children record their solutions in their notebooks and repeatedly revise expressions that they have devised in these solutions. The "Daily life oriented-Arithmetic Movement" is an example that shows how teaching methods and the role of textbooks themselves change when the media and the environment change.

Photo 10-1
Children in a corridor writing problems that they have devised on a small blackboard



Photo 10-2
A classroom scene showing the presentation of problems written on boards



Photographs by SHIMIZU Jingo (1924)

5. From Prewar and Wartime to Postwar Mathematics Education

5-1 Textbooks That Incorporated the Results of Movements from the Taisho Era Onward

In the early Showa era, 2 major reforms took place in mathematics education. One change was marked by the fact that after 30 years of use, the “black-cover” authorized textbooks were changed to textbooks with a green cover. A further change occurred at the time of the change of name of elementary schools to “national schools”; at the same time, the Japanese term for “arithmetic” or “mathematics” was changed from “sanjutsu” to “sansu,” and textbooks were again revised and reissued, this time with a blue cover. The following paragraphs will examine these changes.

It was 1935, at the time of the fourth textbook revision, when the results of the “Daily life-oriented Arithmetic Movement” and the “Mathematics Education Improvement Movement” were incorporated into mathematics textbooks for ordinary elementary schools; the textbooks were popularly known, because of the color of their cover, as “green-cover textbooks.” In the guidance notes that accompanied the textbooks, teachers were advised that “The Arithmetic curriculum in ordinary elementary schools has been compiled in such a way as to put the main purpose on the development of children’s numerical thinking, and facilitating a correct numerical grasp of their everyday lives.” In comparison with the “black-cover textbooks” that had been in use up to that point, the incorporation of the thinking that was at the base of Daily life-oriented arithmetic into the new textbooks was a totally original departure; both the objectives and the content were revised, and new devices were incorporated into the teaching methods.

In 1941, under the “National School Order,” which aimed to ensure the continuance of education during the wartime system, elementary schools, as mentioned above, were renamed as “national schools,” with a strongly nationalist orientation, and their function was seen as one of bringing up children

to be loyal subjects of the Emperor. At the same time, subject regrouping was carried out on a large scale, and existing subjects were consolidated into National Studies, Science and Mathematics, Physical Training, Arts, and Practical Studies. It was also on this occasion that the Japanese term for Arithmetic was changed into a term similar to the term currently used for Mathematics, and by means of a merger with Science, a combined subject, “Science and Mathematics,” was formed. The objectives of Mathematics were defined as “to enable children to acquire the standard knowledge and skills concerned with number, quantity and shape that are considered necessary for people’s lives, to let them master numerical ways of dealing with things, and to cultivate mathematical thinking.” Nationally authorized textbooks were revised in line with these movements, and in Mathematics, two books were issued, “The Book of Numbers” for children in grades 1 and 2, and “Elementary Mathematics” for children in grades 3 and above. Like the previous books, these books also had green covers, but the content strongly reflected militarist tendencies.

On the other hand, in the area of secondary education reforms, in line with reforms in elementary schools, the Japan Secondary Mathematics Education Society organized in 1940 a “Movement for the Restructuring of Mathematics Education.” Committees were formed in Tokyo, Osaka and Hiroshima, covering the Eastern, Central and Western parts of Japan, and each of the committees put forward suggestions concerning the mathematics curriculum for secondary schools. The suggestions were brought together and presented to the Ministry of Education in 1941. Prior to this date, suggestions for reform had been made on a number of occasions by the secondary schools attached to Higher Normal Schools, but the 1941 submission to the Ministry was the first time that a teachers’ organization, with the backing of an academic society, had made a clear and specific proposal for curriculum reform.

5-2 Postwar Developments in Mathematics Education Based on Debates About Activity

In 1945, Japan was defeated at the end of World War II and was occupied by the Allied Forces, with America taking the lead role. On this occasion, major reforms were undertaken in many different fields, and education formed one part of the general pattern of reforms. On the basis of the new Constitution of Japan, the Fundamental Law of Education was promulgated in 1947, and according to the implementation regulations of the School Education Law, promulgated in the same year, subject criteria were established for elementary schools and for the new-type lower secondary schools. At both elementary and lower secondary school level, Mathematics was included in the basic subjects, and

the contents and methods of dealing with the subjects were set out on the basis of the Courses of Study.

Specifically, in the objectives and contents of the Courses of Study for Mathematics issued in 1947, it was stipulated that with a view to achieving steady growth in the context of interaction with the environment, children should be able to deal with phenomena while paying attention to number, quantity and shape. The objective of “being able to learn and think for oneself” in Mathematics education had already been discussed in the Taisho era, but in the new Courses of Study this objective now appeared in the form of a national criterion for Mathematics education. And following on from this, a continuing issue in postwar curriculum reform was that of what specifically should be taught in Mathematics and that of how the objectives should

Box 10-3 Using a board to present results arrived at by individual efforts

Presentation of the results of solutions to problems arrived at as a result of individual efforts constitutes mainstream teaching today. The teacher helps and facilitates, encouraging the children's presentations, intervening when necessary to keep discussions among the children moving along. Photographs 10-3 to 10-5 illustrate this process.

Photo 10-3



Photo 10-4



Photo 10-5



Source: ISODA (1995)

be realized.

It is worthy of note that the teaching content in these Courses of Study (draft) was at nearly the same level as in prewar days, but this was seen as a barrier to the realization of teaching that was in line with the new education policy under the Occupation Forces. Consequently in the following year, 1948, a revision was made to delay the introduction of the new educational content by a year and link learning more closely to the everyday experiences of pupils.

In about 1950, reacting to changes in the international situation, Japan took a fresh look at the direction of educational reform, and in 1951, following independence, new Courses of Study (draft) were issued, in which unit-based learning could be specifically identified. In addition, teaching methods were clearly specified, and the learning and teaching process as well as the “teaching and assessment” pattern of thinking in unit-based learning were identical to the problem-solving type of approach found today.

These were times when on the one hand, the economy returned to prewar levels and social demands mounted for education that responded to progress in science and technology, while on the other hand, classes were held in the open air because there were no buildings in which children could learn. There were also repeated criticisms that “children’s basic abilities (in reading, writing and calculating) had fallen below prewar levels,” and in particular discussion centered on the urgent need to raise children’s mathematical ability.

Taking the lead in responding to these trends, mathematicians bemoaned the low level of educational content during the occupation. The critics formed a private group, the “Mathematics Education Council,” which claimed that the primary reason for the alleged decline in academic ability was to be found in the lifestyle-centered, child-centered “unit-based learning,” and advocated more “systematic learning” methods of instruction.

It was in the context of these kinds of pressures that the Ministry of Education carried out its 1958 revision of the Courses of Study; with this revision, the Ministry aimed for a shift in the direction of

“systematic learning” which put emphasis on advanced, systematic instruction in elementary and lower secondary schools. The social background, specifically the Japanese government’s desire to achieve full independent statehood through economic development, was also influential in promoting this change of direction. In the 1958 Courses of Study, the objectives for Mathematics education incorporated as a key concept “mathematical thinking,” which took the “mathematical activity view” that had been present in prewar thinking about numeracy and mathematics, and redefined this clearly in terms of the context of an age of democratic promotion of science and technology. Education in “mathematical thinking,” in the same way as education in “scientific thinking,” became the central issue in mathematics education, as the foundation of science education in Japan that accepted the responsibilities of high-level growth, and was intensively researched through the 1960s.

In global terms, the 1960s were a time of criticism of the hitherto prevailing view of mathematics education, targeting the U.S. in particular, and the “New Math Movement,” which aimed at “making mathematics education contemporary,” became a focus of lively debate. In Japan too, the “New Math Movement” was developed, and with the Japan Mathematics Education Association in the lead, many different initiatives were implemented, including surveys of global trends in mathematics education, the promotion of basic, scientific research on mathematics education, and the compilation of an integrated mathematics curriculum from elementary school through to university.

It was in this same period, in 1964, that the First International Mathematics Study was implemented by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. The results showed that the mathematical ability of Japanese students was at the top level when compared to other countries, but they also verified the view that there were problems with mathematical attitudes and mathematical thinking, and this became an issue for discussion.

Against the kind of background outlined here, a further revision to the Courses of Study was carried

out in 1968. The objectives for mathematics education were defined as follows: "To enable pupils to grasp everyday events in mathematical terms and to put their ideas and thoughts in logical order, and to develop abilities and attitudes conducive to comprehensive and advanced thinking and ways of dealing with problems.

5-3 Setbacks to the New Math Movement, and the Movement for the Humanization of Mathematical Education

The 1968 revision of the Courses of Study, referred to briefly above, reflected the influence of the "New Math Movement." In terms of this movement, with the objective of making a reality of education in "mathematical thinking," many different kinds of R & D activities were carried out to devise new teaching materials and new ways of presenting problems, and in-service training programs were undertaken on a large scale. However, for a variety of reasons, against a background of criticism of rising numbers of children who dropped out of their studies because they were unable to keep up, the new teaching materials, including sets and other innovations, were rejected. Among the reasons were the fact that the thinking was not explained in easily understandable terms to elementary school teachers, the fact that teachers in lower and upper secondary schools were expected to teach content in which they had no previous teaching experience, and the influence of mathematicians who confused the New Math from the U.S. and Japanese drive for modernization.

In its deliberations in 1973, the Curriculum Council undertook an examination of problem areas in mathematics education in elementary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools.¹⁶ Then in 1977, following on from these deliberations, revised Courses of Study were announced, focusing primarily on the provision of education "with room to grow." In these Courses of Study, the content of Mathematics for elementary and lower secondary

schools was reduced in line with the reduction in class hours. The revision was generally welcomed as having brought a more relaxed atmosphere into school education, while persons connected with mathematical education saw the revision as emphasizing basic abilities and the teaching of calculating skills, and on the other hand, the direction of research in mathematical education was toward the cultivation of problem-solving ability and the abilities needed to live and work including the development of mathematical thinking.

On a global level, after the collapse of the New Math, attention focused on the "Movement to Humanize Mathematical Education," which identified mathematics as a human activity and set out as its objective "mathematics teaching as a human activity." In terms of the Japanese curriculum, from wartime onwards, emphasis was put on mathematics as a human activity. In particular, in the 1989 revision, there was a focus on reviving the "virtues" of mathematics as fostering education of the heart, while in the 2002 revision, the "joy of mathematical thinking" was incorporated into the objectives, with the aim of realizing mathematics education that enabled children to "study for themselves and think for themselves."

6. Conclusion

The progress of mathematics education in Japan begins with the shift from "Japanese mathematics," which formed part of Japan's traditional culture, to "Western mathematics," imported from the West; the shift was implemented on the basis of the modernization reforms promoted by the Meiji government, and within the framework of a modern school education system, introduced through the medium of the Education Ordinance. In the beginning, Japan drew on the skills of non-Japanese, but subsequently Western mathematics was introduced and consolidated, and mathematics education established by the efforts of Japanese

¹⁶ It was not only in Japan that doubts were raised about the modernization movement in mathematics education. On a global level, if the 1960s are seen as the age of modernization, the 1970s were the age of reflection.

mathematicians and educators. Within the context of this process, teachers who were involved with mathematics education worked to establish by their own efforts autonomous organizations aimed at effecting improvements. The reform process was also influenced by such factors as global currents of thought and movements concerned with mathematics education, by trends in various academic disciplines such as psychology and pedagogy, and by changes in Japanese society and social needs and demands for changes in mathematics education in line with these social changes.

Within the development of mathematics education in Japan, special attention deserves to be paid to the way in which, since the time of the Meiji era, organizations formed by mathematicians and mathematics educators flourished, and to the fact that these organizations influenced the direction of curriculum reforms. It is also a fact that from the Meiji era onwards, the disputes that were conducted concerning a wide variety of topics also formed the

foundation of research in mathematics education.

On the basis of the examination conducted above of Japan's educational experience, the issue of getting to grips with curriculum development is identified as a principle or indicator that can be applied to the development of mathematics education in developing countries. Specifically, it is important that the context within which curriculum development is tackled includes a focus on the conditions of those persons, for example, teachers, who constitute the supporting infrastructure for mathematics education, and attention to changes in needs that accompany social changes over time. It is also important that the perspective for tackling curriculum development includes autonomous developments such as the creation of teaching styles that can serve as models corresponding to the particular stage of development reached.

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Appendix 2: The Development of Science Education

Introduction

The history of Japanese education since the time of the Meiji Restoration can be portrayed as a process of introducing, stabilizing and developing a modern education system. In contrast to this, the history of science education is the history of educational content, and generally speaking what has to be taught is defined by the educational objectives and the stage of development that pupils have reached. In the age of science and technology in which we now live, science education is steadily increasing in importance, and there is a commonly held belief that an understanding of science and technology is necessary for the average person and not just for those people who are going to become science and technology specialists. Specifically, the question of how science education has come to be dealt with in the context of school education is the first perspective in the history of science education.

But that said, it is not the case that in olden times, there was no such thing as science education. Science is concerned with the principles of the natural world, while technology is concerned with the systems of devices that human beings use when they impinge on the natural world, so let alone in industrialized society, in agricultural societies, and even in ancient hunter-gatherer societies, factors that can be seen as corresponding to scientific and technological awareness and behavior were indispensable. These factors of awareness and behavior have accumulated and been passed on over the generations, and the second perspective of the history of science education is the question of what parts of this cumulative heritage have been implemented in science education in schools.

With regard to the way in which science should be taught in schools, it is possible to make a broad division between two standpoints. On the one side,

are those who emphasize the systematic acquisition of scientific knowledge, while on the other side, are those who emphasize the acquisition of scientific thinking and scientific methodology, and training in scientific problem-solving methods. To point out the existence of this division is not to say that either approach by itself is sufficient in science education, but over the course of time, depending on the period in question, one or other of these approaches has been given priority. Specifically, this question concerned with the way of teaching science or science content represents the third perspective in science education.

Three perspectives or viewpoints related to science education have been outlined above. The following paragraphs will explain, within the framework of various combinations of these perspectives or viewpoints, the nature of the course of development followed by science education in Japan.

1. The Situation at the Time of the Meiji Restoration

In the Edo era, education was relatively widely diffused, but there was almost no science education. The knowledge of science and technology needed for work-related activities was transmitted within the household or within an apprenticeship relationship without necessarily being put into a systematic form.

In 1720, the Tokugawa Shogunate relaxed the tight controls which cut Japan off from the outside world while leaving open a window to Holland as the one European nation permitted to have contact with Japan, so knowledge of modern science and technology was introduced into Japan from Holland in the Dutch language as part of what was known as "Dutch learning." The main focus of interest in the early stages was medicine, but interest gradually

broadened to include all areas of science and technology. It was around the middle of the 19th century, when contact between Japan and the West began in earnest, that the importance of science and technology became much more strongly appreciated, and the scope of interest widened from Dutch science to Western science as a whole. In 1856, the Tokugawa Shogunate established, as Japan's first research and education institution of Western learning, in the form of a reorganization of the Office for Translation of Western Texts, the Research Institute for Western Documentation. Interest in Western science and technology was not, however, restricted to government-level activities. A wide range of scientific devices imported from the West, including the telescope, air pump, a device for producing static electricity, and a model steam locomotive, stimulated the curiosity of Japanese across the entire social range, from the great lord in his castle to the ordinary man in the street.

But it was really thanks to the Meiji Restoration of 1868 that Japanese interest in the knowledge and products of various Western countries was strikingly heightened. This same year of 1868 saw the publication of a book, *Illustrated Elementary Physics*, by FUKUZAWA Yukichi, the founder of Keio University, and this turned out to be the precursor of a boom in science publications, which reached its peak in the years 1872-73. The contents of the books produced during this boom, often termed "physics fever," were not practical or technically oriented, but were concerned with basic theory, centered on physics. What particularly drew people's attention to the books was the replacement of the old Yin-Yang theory by the view of the natural world and scientific thinking that generated modern science.

2. Practical Education and the Dissemination of Primary Education

In the early years immediately following the Meiji Restoration, *terakoya* continued to play an important role in primary education. For its part, the Meiji government encouraged the establishment of

elementary schools in local areas, but the results were not significant. At central government level too, the Ministry of Education, established in 1871, made the establishment and strengthening of elementary schools its top priority in educational administration, and this was reflected in the Education Ordinance, promulgated the following year in 1872. The Education Ordinance looked mainly to France as the model in terms of the education system, and specified 8 years' attendance in principle in elementary school, from the age of 6 to the age of 13. Elementary schools were divided into a lower division and an upper division, each of 4 years in duration. In the lower division, 6 credits (attendance for 1 hour a week for half a year earned 1 credit) were given for health education, and 12 for physics, while in the upper division, 30 credits were assigned to physics, 10 to natural history, 9 to chemistry, and 2 to anatomy and physiology, so that overall, a large number of hours were allocated to science education. This kind of time allocation, centering on physics, was based on the curriculum of private Western science schools in the Tokugawa era and can be seen as attaching a high priority to acquisition of the scientific spirit and the scientific view of the natural world. But that said, the requirement for 8 years of study was far removed from the social situation at this time, so that many pupils did not complete their education and accordingly did not receive full science education.

In this situation, the Ministry of Education changed the direction of its policy, and shortened the duration of schooling at the same time as it tightened up enforcement of school attendance. In addition, looking at the examples of a number of advanced countries, the Ministry carried out a number of reforms to the Education Ordinance, and in 1879, promulgated the Education Order. The education content inclined toward emphasis on "history" and "morals," and science education followed a downward trend. In the Elementary School Order of 1886, following 4 years of compulsory education in the ordinary elementary school, education continued for a further 4 years in the higher elementary school, during which time 2 hours a week were allocated to

“science.” From 1907 on, the duration of schooling in the ordinary elementary school was extended to 6 years, and “science” took up 2 hours a week in Grades 5 and 6, so that in this way, it was incorporated into the structure of compulsory education. The objectives of science education were defined as “to enable children, through precise and detailed observation of natural objects and natural phenomena, to understand the mutual interrelationships that link them together and the connections to human beings, and to foster in children feelings of love of natural objects.” In this way, science was located as a subject which imparted knowledge through reference to familiar, everyday examples. This definition of objectives was by and large maintained until the advent of national schools in 1941. The Ministry of Education at the beginning of the Meiji era devoted itself primarily to the diffusion of general education, so that policies concerned with vocational, practical education were limited. This is not to say that the area was entirely neglected; it is rather the case that activities in this area took place outside the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. At this time, the main industry in Japan was agriculture, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, with the objective of modernization of agriculture in mind, provided various kinds of educational opportunities.

Modern sectors such as the Ministry of Public Works, The Bureau of the Mint, the production divisions of the army and the navy, the railways, and heavy industry companies, all set up independent schools to train the required human resources. The Ministry of Education did make some attempts to introduce technical education at elementary school level, but the early trials were almost all failures. Consequently, it was only from the end of the 19th century, when Japan's industrialization really began to take off, that practical, vocational education under Ministry of Education auspices took root in stages of post primary and secondary education.

From 1904 onwards, nationally approved textbooks were being used in elementary schools. The approved “reading books” contained the biographies of scientists and inventors from Japan and overseas

countries, including such figures as Isaac Newton, Charles Darwin, Thomas Edison, the Japanese cartographer, INO Tadataki, and the foremost specialist in Japanese mathematics, SEKI Takakazu, as well as stories of the inventions of representative technological items such as the steam locomotive, the airplane and the telephone. In ways like these, care was taken to heighten children's interest in science and technology, and approaches of this kind were seen consistently up to the end of World War II.

3. The Impact of two World Wars

Through the Meiji era, the Ministry of Education put stress on strengthening elementary schools and encouraging children to attend school, and as a result, enrollment rates rose. However, a significant number of children dropped out of school without completing their studies, and in particular, while there was a rising number of enrollments by girls, there was also a tendency for the number of girls who dropped out of school to increase. Moreover, there were also signs that not much importance was attached to the graduation certificate, as shown by the fact that numbers of pupils dropped out of school immediately before graduation. It was after the beginning of the 1920s that enrollment rates and graduation rates for boys and girls rose to nearly 100%, and it was also around this time that with the dissemination of primary education, the importance of academic credentials became a settled feature of Japanese society.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 influenced Japanese society in a number of ways. In economic terms, the import of goods and manufactured products from Europe was cut off, and as a result, along with a demand for Japan to achieve a greater degree of self-sufficiency, the demand for Japanese goods in the East Asian market also increased, so that the Japanese industrial world bustled with activity. At the same time, all kinds of new weapons, such as poison gas, tanks, aircraft and submarines, were making their appearance, so that the entire enterprise of war took on a scientific nature. This change came as a severe shock to Japan, which had barely

managed to achieve victory in the 1905 Russo-Japanese war when fighting in the traditional style. In response to this situation, various policies were implemented with the aim of encouraging science and technology research and promoting science education.

With specific regard to science education, the time allocation in ordinary elementary schools was increased in 1919, so that “science” was taken for 2 hours a week by children from Grade 4 upwards. At the next stage of education, middle school, which lasted for 5 years, up to this time, had studied “physics” and “chemistry” for 2 hours each a week, but under the new system, they started studying these subjects one year earlier, from Grade 3. The revision was made in 1919, but one year earlier, in 1918, a research organization covering the whole of Japan and including teachers and others concerned with science education in elementary school had been formed with the name of the Science Education Research Society. The society mounted a campaign aimed at the improvement of science education, and “science education fever” reached new heights of enthusiasm. As one sign of this enthusiasm, a budget was obtained to implement a form of science education centered on experiments carried out by pupils, and this was duly implemented, but at this time, it failed to take root. However the science education improvement movement continued its activities, lobbying for improvements in nationally approved textbooks and for the introduction of “science” into the lower grades of elementary school. However, because of the economic depression after World War I and the rise of nationalism, these efforts did not bear fruit.

With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the promotion of science once again became a national priority, and policies were devised aiming to put stress on science education and on the training of technical personnel. As far as the training of personnel was concerned, as one example, after completing 4 years of compulsory education in ordinary elementary school, children were able to study for a further 2 years in higher elementary school, and then go on to a further course in an upper

technical school lasting from 2 to 3 years. Over the 15-year period from 1930 to 1945, there was a fivefold increase in the number of school, and a tenfold increase in the number of students.

With regard to science education, in 1941, when the designation of “elementary schools” was changed to “national schools,” it was decided that “science” would be taught to all pupils from Grade 1 onwards for 2 hours a week, and the nationally approved textbooks were revised accordingly. In other words, the objectives of the Movement for the Improvement of Science Education were in the end realized by virtue of government direction. The objectives of “science” were defined as follows: “to equip children with the ability to observe accurately, to think about, and to handle everyday events and phenomena, to enable children to demonstrate these qualities in their daily lives and at the same time, cultivate a rational and creative mind, and to lay a foundation on the basis of which children will be able to make a contribution to national development.” Through this definition, emphasis was on placed a scientific way of thinking and a scientific spirit. As one practical means of achieving these objectives, stress was put on getting children to make things with their hands in place of set experiments and observations. For example, in a lesson on air pressure, children had to make and fire a gun that shot paper balls. Or they used eggshells to make a submarine in a lesson on buoyancy. Initiatives like these were effective in attracting and fascinating children. Also at this time, the length of compulsory education was extended to 8 years, but the outbreak of war prevented implementation.

4. Unit-based Learning After World War II

After its defeat in war, Japan was occupied by the allied forces, primarily those of the U.S., and postwar reforms were implemented as Japan moved toward demilitarization and democratization under the direction of the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces (GHQ). In the area of science education too, wholesale reevaluation was carried out, and the America-style concept of “daily life science” was

introduced. With regard to the composition of the content, stress was put on the objective of getting children to study science in order to solve the problems encountered in daily life. Specifically, the content of "science" as a subject was divided into "units" matching aspects of children's daily lives, and these units served as the basis for the selection and distribution of teaching materials. According to the Course of Study for Science (draft), produced by the Ministry of Education in 1947, children in elementary school were to study "science" for 2 hours a week from Grade 1 to Grade 3, increasing to 3 hours a week for Grade 4 through Grade 6, while for children in lower secondary school, the time allocation was 4 hours a week. The objectives for elementary school "science" were defined as: "to equip children with three attributes related to problems in their everyday environment, with a view to enabling everyone to lead more rational lives and raise their living standards." The attributes were specified as follows: the ability to observe, think about, and deal with phenomena in a scientific way;

knowledge concerned with scientific principles and their application; an attitude conducive to discerning the truth and finding pleasure in producing new things. Under these three attributes, 13 sub-headings are listed, and almost all are objectives concerned with equipping children with abilities or attitudes, and are constructed around the axis of enabling children to solve everyday-life problems. At this time, the Courses of Study did not have legally binding force, and aimed rather at serving as guidelines for teachers; they were implemented from 1952 on by means of a series of improvements.

It goes without saying that the major reason for implementing the introduction of "lifestyle science" (=unit-based learning) was the existence of strong direction from GHQ, but a number of factors can also be adduced on the Japanese side to explain why the implementation proceeded in an orderly fashion. In the first place, the scientific power of the U.S., as represented by the nuclear bomb, was identified as the primary reason for Japan's defeat in war, and the need for a fresh emphasis on the promotion of science and technology touched a chord in people's

minds. Secondly, in the context of postwar social confusion, there was a need to equip the people with the ability to solve problems using their own resources. Thirdly, persons connected with science education understood that postwar science education reforms were a further development, in the same spirit of enabling people to use their own resources, of reforms carried out during wartime.

However, given the newness of the content in the Courses of Study, activities aimed at teaching and disseminating this content in the classroom did not necessarily go forward smoothly. As a result, dissatisfaction concerning the difficulty of teaching the new content was generated among teachers, while voices were heard among parents and in society generally pointing to a drop in academic ability. Consequently, daily life oriented, unit-based learning gradually became the target of criticism from within and outside schools.

In 1953, the Law for the Promotion of Science Education was enacted with the aim of encouraging and promoting science education, including mathematics, in elementary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools. The national government set out criteria for science education facilities, and undertook to pay half the costs required to establish such facilities. This system underwent several revisions, but in principle remained in force up to the present time. The current criteria for elementary schools are set out in Table 10-4.

5. From Systematic Study to Inquiry-oriented Learning

The changes in the content of postwar Japanese education can be measured by the changes in the Courses of Study that took place at approximately 10-year intervals. Following a revision of the Courses of Study in 1951, during the occupation, the first major revision after Japan regained its independence took place in 1958, and from this point on, the Courses of Study ceased to be regarded as drafts and acquired legally binding authority. Against a background of concern about falling academic standards, the Courses of Study marked a shift in the

direction of systematic learning of science, and the term “systematic study” was adopted, but in fact, the content was a compromise with daily life oriented, unit-based study. The timetable allocation for “science” in elementary school was 2 hours a week in Grades 1 and 2, 3 hours a week in Grades 3 and 4, and 4 hours a week in Grades 5 and 6, and 4 hours a week in lower secondary school.

In 1957, the then Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the world’s first artificial satellite, administering a shock to the U.S., which had fallen behind in the space development race, and causing reform of science education to become an American national priority issue. This kind of movement in the U.S. adopted the term “New Science Movement” as a slogan, and was incorporated into the 1968 revision of the Courses of Study. The essence of this reform consisted not in the systematic cramming of scientific knowledge, but in enabling children to pursue inquiry in the manner of a scientist, and was consequently termed “inquiry-oriented learning.” This revision was particularly focused on the lower secondary school and upper secondary school curriculum. For example, the objectives for “science” in lower secondary school were specified as follows: “To heighten children’s interest in natural events and phenomena, and by enabling them to make scientific inquiries, to cultivate abilities and aptitudes conducive to investigating and dealing with these events and phenomena in a scientific way.” With these objectives in mind, the revisions were designed to foster such abilities and aptitudes as “creative ability,” “understanding of scientific concepts,” “the ability to consider and investigate science from a comprehensive, unified standpoint,” and “a scientific view of nature.” Objectives at elementary school level were specified as follows: “To familiarize children with nature and by means of observations and experiments concerned with natural events and phenomena, to enable children to grasp these theoretically and objectively, and to deepen their appreciation of nature, and at the same time, to develop scientific abilities and attitudes.” With a view to meeting these objectives, the revisions were designed to cultivate “an attitude of respect for life,”

“understanding of the interconnected nature of the natural world and a range of phenomena,” and “a way of looking at and thinking about the relationship between cause and effect, and the ability to carry out processing in a qualitative and quantitative way.”

6. Careful Selection of Educational Content and Emphasis on Individuality

The Courses of Study underwent a further large-scale revision in 1977. The fundamental direction of the revision consisted in laying stress on “cultivating in children the ability to think for themselves and make correct judgments,” and with this in mind, specified the following three objectives: to bring up children who have a rich sense of humanity; to arrange things in such a way that children can lead a school life which allows “room to grow” (latitude or relaxed feeling), and at the same time provides fulfillment; and to attach importance to the basic content that is required by children as citizens of Japan, while ensuring that education is carried out in line with children’s individuality and ability. With regard to science education, in order that the cultivation of abilities and aptitudes suited to inquiring into the natural world as well as the formation of basic concepts of natural science can be carried out without undue strain through elementary and lower secondary school as well as upper secondary school, the fundamental direction of the revision was one of making a careful selection of fundamental content items while having special regard for children’s physical and emotional development. For example, the objectives for “science” in lower secondary school were specified as follows: “To foster the abilities and aptitudes suitable for investigating the natural world through such means as observations and experiments, and at the same time, to enable pupils to understand the interrelationship between nature and human beings.” In the same revision, the time for subject teaching, apart from “moral education” and special activities (grade societies, club activities, and so on), was reduced, and the timetable allocation for “science” in elementary school was 2 hours a week up to Grade 2,

Table 10-4 Criteria by unit for science education equipment for elementary school (2002)

	Unit name	Required science equipment		Number of items (sets)	
A Living creatures and their environment Unit hours Grade 3:24 Grade 4:32 Grade 5:30 Grade 6:30	(1)Plants	Outdoor observation and investigation equipment	Outdoor observation and investigation equipment (field glasses, etc.)	22	
			Equipment for collecting living things (pruning shears, botanical specimen collection box, etc.)	1	
		Machinery and equipment for experiments	Microscope	84	
		Microscope	Plant models (structural model of stem, model of flower, etc.)	2	
	(2) Animals	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Rearing equipment (container for rearing animals, etc.)	13	
			Thermostat	2	
			Microscope	84	
	(3) The structure and mechanisms of animal bodies	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for study of the human body (model of the circulation system, model of arm joints, etc.)	33	
			Models	Model of the human body (anatomical model, skeleton, etc.)	5
	B Matter and energy Unit hours Grade 3:21 Grade 4:30 Grade 5:32 Grade 6:37	(1) Light	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of light (plane mirror, etc.)	5
Equipment for the study of photocells (photocell, etc.)				1	
(2) Electricity		Measuring equipment	Electrical measuring equipment (ammeter, voltmeter, simple galvanometer, etc.)	43	
(3) Magnetism (4) Electromagnetism		Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of electricity (miniature light bulb, Nichrome wire, battery, etc.)	21	
			Equipment for the study of magnetism (set of magnets, magnetic compass, etc.)	2	
(5) Pressure		Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of air and water properties (simple vacuum container, spirit level, etc.)	21	
(6) Heat		Measuring equipment	Temperature measurement equipment (thermometer)	1	
			Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of heat (equipment for radiating heat, etc.)	1
(7) Solutions		Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of air (convection experiment equipment, etc), support equipment (iron stand, alcohol lamp, protective goggles, etc.)	22	
			Measuring equipment	Volume measurement equipment (measuring cylinder, etc.)	1
				Weight measurement equipment (balance scales, etc.)	22
				Temperature measurement equipment (thermometer)	1
(8) Force		Machinery and equipment for experiments	Experiment support equipment (iron stand, alcohol lamp, protective goggles, etc.)	22	
			Measuring equipment	Weight measurement equipment (spring measure, etc.)	22
(9) Movement		Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of levers (lever, wheel and axle, etc.)	32	
			Measuring equipment	Time measurement equipment (stopwatch)	1
(10) Combustion	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of the motion of objects (weights for use in the study of dynamics, vacuum pump, etc.)	42		
C The earth and space Unit hours Grade 3:16 Grade 4:18 Grade 5:21 Grade 6:16	(1) Sunlight	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Experiment support equipment (iron stand, alcohol lamp, protective goggles, etc.)	22	
	(2) The moon and stars	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of light (plane mirror, etc.)	5	
	(3) Changes in the state of water	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of heavenly bodies (globe, star chart, etc.)	13	
			Measuring equipment	Temperature measurement equipment (thermometer)	1
	(4) Weather	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Experiment support equipment (iron stand, alcohol lamp, protective goggles, etc.)	22	
			Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of the weather (instrument box, weather observation set, etc.)	3
	(5) Rivers	Models	soil and land models (models of land formations, etc.)	4	
	(6) Land forms and soil content	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for the study of land and the soil (topographical map, etc.)	14	
Specimens			Rock and fossil specimens	11	
Models			soil and land models (model showing soil and rock strata, etc.)	4	
D General-purpose equipment	Machinery and equipment for experiments	Equipment for measuring length (tape measure)	1		
		Teaching materials presentation equipment (small-size TV camera, etc), waste fluid disposal device, equipment for preparing teaching materials (set of power tools and hand tools)	1		
		Storage equipment (storage area for equipment, storage cabinet for chemicals, etc.)	2		
		Specimens	AV materials (video software, PC software, etc.)	28	

Note: The numerical values are calculated on the basis of a school with a total of up to 12 classes in Grades 3 through 6. For a school with a total of 13 classes or more, the numbers should be doubled.

The unit hours used are those set out in standard textbooks.

and 3 hours a week from Grade 3, and in lower secondary school, 3 hours a week up to Grade 2, and 4 hours a week from Grade 3 on.

As background to this revision, the following factors can be adduced. Firstly, there was a severe worsening of the school educational environment, including in-school violence, delinquent behavior, and an increase in the number of pupils who dropped out of school as a result of inability to keep up with the lessons, and so on. The basic thrust of the revisions outlined above constituted a countermeasure to this situation. Secondly, the device for realizing the basic direction of the revision was the inclusion in school life of the “room to grow” concept. This was achieved by a reduction in timetabled teaching hours, a careful selection of content, and a pattern of education that matched pupils’ abilities and individuality. Thirdly, the “New Science Movement” branded science as abstract and difficult to understand, and its failure was clearly recognized on a global scale. The decision that the learning of the basic concepts of natural science should proceed “without undue stress” in terms of the fundamental direction of the revision is a sign of this recognition. Fourthly, it is a reasonable presumption that the decision not to adopt as a device an increase in the number of timetable hours for Science is not unconnected to the growing signs of influence from negative aspects of science and technology such as environmental pollution.

In the 1989 revision of the Courses of Study, one general direction of curriculum compilation was defined as follows: “The aim is to cultivate in pupils an eagerness to learn science and the ability to respond to social change on an individual, subjective basis, and at the same time, to make efforts to ensure thorough teaching of fundamental content and to strengthen education that utilizes and gives rein to each child’s individuality.” More specifically, two aspects of this revision can be identified.

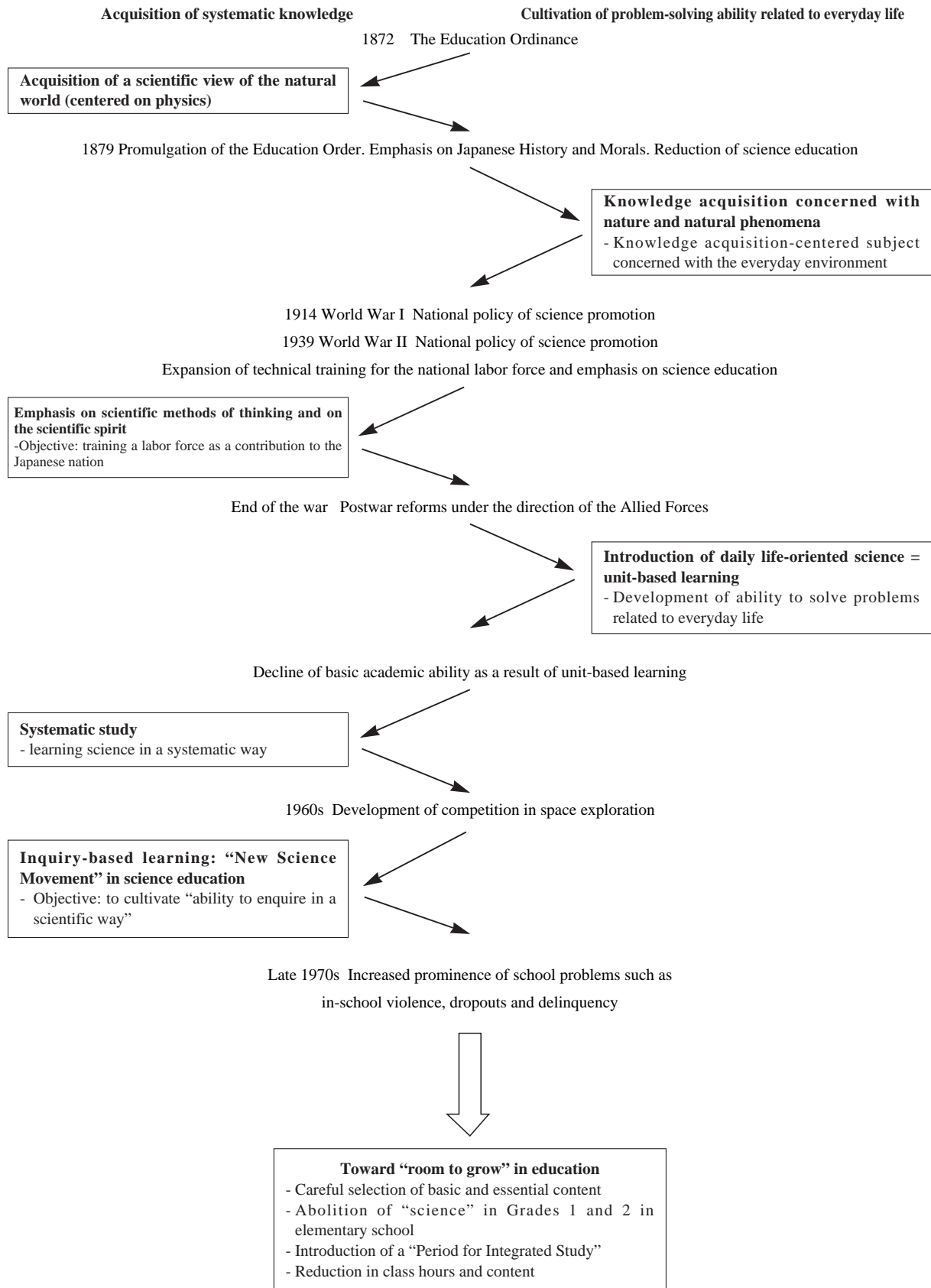
One aspect is the way in which educational objectives were turned around and eagerness to learn and the ability to carry out study on an autonomous, individual basis, while remaining on the same level as the acquisition of basic knowledge, were given

priority. This prioritization was based on the judgment that, against the background of the growth of information technology and internationalization as well as the shift to a knowledge-based society, the renewal of outdated knowledge through the medium of lifelong learning was increasingly important. In response to this trend, the objectives of science education were also redefined, so that the objectives for “science” in lower secondary school were specified as follows: “To heighten children’s interest in nature, to equip children with the abilities and attitudes conducive to investigating the natural world by means of observations and experiments, and at the same time, to cultivate a scientific way of observing and thinking about natural events and phenomena, thereby deepening their understanding of these.” The order in which these various objectives are set out is significant; in 1991, the Ministry of Education introduced “A New View of Academic Ability,” according to which academic ability was to be evaluated in terms of giving “interest” and “curiosity” a higher priority than “knowledge” and “understanding.”

A second aspect of the revision was the way in which the concept of “room to grow,” already introduced on the occasion of the previous revision, was taken a stage further forward. In Japanese schools, classes were held on Saturday mornings, but when Japanese society generally shifted to a five-day working week, then in schools too, the reduction in timetable hours was taken forward on the assumption that Saturdays would be free of classes. In Grades 1 and 2 in elementary school, “science” as a separate subject was abolished, and a new subject, “life environment studies,” in which “science” and “social studies” were merged, was created. Also, at lower secondary school level, the range of elective courses was expanded. As a result of these changes, the number of timetable hours for “science” was 3 hours a week from Grade 3 of elementary school onwards and in all grades of lower secondary school.

In the 1998 revision of the Courses of Study, the fundamental direction of the revision was defined as follows: “With the objective of encouraging a “zest for living (competences for positive living)” in pupils

Diagram10-3 Changes in the science curriculum in response to social needs



and within the framework of developing a pattern of education with special characteristics that make use of and invigorate creativity and ingenuity, the revised curriculum aims to develop in children the ability to study and think on their own initiative, and at the same time, endeavors to strengthen education that utilizes children's individuality." Specifically, encouraging a "zest for living" is seen as the first priority of education, and this message is spelt out much more clearly than in the previous revision. The objectives for "science" at lower secondary school level include the words: "To enhance students' interest in nature, enable them to carry out observations and experiments with an objective in view, and ...," and in accordance with the "zest for living" concept, emphasize intellectual curiosity and an individual eagerness to inquire into the natural world. Another feature of this revision was the introduction of a "Period for Integrated Study," with the aim of stimulating the ingenuity and creativity of individual schools in line with their special characteristics and the characteristics of the surrounding community. Timetabled hours for "science" were set in elementary school at 2 hours a week for Grade 3, and 3 hours a week for Grades 4 to 6, and in lower secondary school, at 3 hours a week for Grades 1 and 2, and 2 hours a week for Grade 3. These changes represented a further reduction in class time. As a result of these changes, the content of "science," when compared to the previous Courses of Study, was reduced by 30 percent.

7. Concerning "Dislike of Science" and a "Drop in Academic Ability"

As described up to this point, in science education since 1977, there has been a continued decrease in class hours and continuing careful selection and pruning of the content. There have also been criticisms of these trends. Two points are specified in the following paragraphs.

The first point, which became a major social problem around 1990, concerns the "dislike of science" on the part of lower secondary school and upper secondary school students. At the end of the

1980s, the Japanese economy was in very good shape, and industry and business were eagerly looking for new recruits. In this atmosphere, the work environment and the pay and conditions in the manufacturing sector were seen as inferior to those in the financial sector, and this led to a trend among science and engineering graduates to avoid the manufacturing sector. A further result that was generated was a tendency among aspiring university students to avoid entry into science and engineering faculties. As a result of these trends, a dislike of "science", which was linked to the choice of a science and engineering-related career path, emerged among school pupils. In elementary schools, the class teacher covers all subjects, but there are many teachers who specialized in the arts and humanities, and are consequently very weak in science, and this is also cited as a reason for generating a dislike of "science" among pupils. With regard to this point, activities are being promoted with the aim of making students aware of the fascination of science and technology through strengthened liaison between schools and science and engineering oriented universities and between schools and industry.

The second point is the drop in academic ability. The Courses of Study revised in 1998 were implemented from the 2002 fiscal year, and in this same year, the five-day school week was completely implemented. Before the revisions were implemented, in 1999, many voices were heard from parents, university staff, and the economic world, expressing concern that the proposed shift in the new Courses of Study would bring about a drop in academic ability. In particular, the economic world was worried about a drop in the quality of the most talented people, who would be responsible for providing traction power in the Japanese economy.

According to large-scale investigations with a high degree of reliability, as carried out, for example, by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the level of achievement in Science by Japanese pupils did show a slight drop, but continued to be in the top rank on a global scale. According to

IEA survey results, in 1970, Japan ranked first among 18 countries, in 1983 second among 26 countries, in 1995, third among 41 countries, and in 1999, fourth among 48 countries. In all cases, the results measures were those of pupils in Grade 2 and Grade 3 in lower secondary school.

At the same time, however, Japan had the highest proportion in the world of pupils who said they disliked science and mathematics, the amount of time spent studying in the home was relatively low, and there was a clear lack of eagerness to study. Looking again at the IEA survey results from this perspective, the average global figure for those who said that they "liked Science" or "liked Science very much," was 79%, while the comparable figure for Japan was 55%. Furthermore, with regard to the amount of time spent in a day studying outside school, the global average figure was 2.8 hours, while the figure for Japan was 1.7 hours, and when these figures are compared to those obtained 5 years earlier, the time had dropped by 30 minutes or more. (All figures are taken from the 1999 survey and are for pupils in Grade 2 of lower secondary school).

In addition to these international surveys, results from surveys conducted within Japan also showed a drop in academic achievement compared with the past. It follows that the concerns referred to above are not without foundation. But on the other hand, as explained above, the concepts of "a new view of academic ability" and "zest for living" aim to get away from the old concept of academic ability, which was centered on memorization, and instead aim at the formation of a new concept of academic ability. Consequently, the formulation as a "problem area" of a drop in academic ability compared with past years marks in itself a divergence from the central message of the Courses of Study. That said, in response to the critical voices in society pointing to a drop in academic ability, the Ministry of Education has again emphasized that the Courses of Study define "minimal educational criteria". In addition, as well as promoting various policies aimed at raising academic ability, a range of measures are being taken forward, including teaching by ability, providing "advanced study" with content that goes beyond the Courses of

Study targeted at the more talented pupils, and the establishment of "super science high schools" for the really high fliers.

8. Conclusion

The preceding sections have charted the course of science education in Japan from the time of the Meiji Restoration up to the present. Immediately after the Meiji Restoration, strengthened science education was planned, but the plans were immediately left on one side and in fact, science education was truncated. Japan at this time was a developing agricultural country, and vocational education was mainly carried on outside schools under the umbrella of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. It was only when Japan embarked on a serious program of industrialization and had to face up to two world wars that science education again became a central focus of attention. After World War II, at the same time as Japan's economic growth, science education was emphasized, and in the 1968 revision of the Courses of Study, the curriculum for modern science education reached its highest level. However, since 1977, there has been a continuing reduction in the number of timetabled hours for "science" and a continuing selection and curtailment of the content.

With regard to the methodology of science education, leaving aside the period immediately after the Meiji Restoration, the departure point for "science" as a subject focused on the transmission of knowledge about the everyday environment, not arranged in any kind of systematic way. As a result of the influence of two world wars, there was a change in the direction of greater emphasis on the methods of scientific thinking. This direction was continued after World War II in the form of daily life-oriented, unit-based learning, but in this context, the systematization of scientific knowledge in particular was neglected. In the context of systematic learning from 1958 onwards, there was a change toward teaching systematic knowledge of science, and the inquiry-oriented learning in the 1968 revision took that as a precondition and aimed to develop scientific thinking. Since the 1977 revision, as a

result of reflection on the over-concentration on the highly sophisticated nature of modern science education, there has been a continuing trend in the direction of emphasizing scientific thinking rather

than systematic knowledge of science, and in ongoing selective refinement of the content.

< **TSUKAHARA Shuichi** >

Chapter 11. Lesson Planning – Lesson Structuring

Points for developing countries

In the schools and classrooms of developing countries, it is still the case that what is termed “Chalk & Talk,” whereby the teacher simply writes on the blackboard and makes the children copy what the teacher has written into their notebooks, is the main teaching technique, and the lack of ability and skills on the part of teachers to structure their lessons and develop children’s learning has become a major issue. In order to switch to an effective and efficient form of teaching, in which children are the main learning agents, several reforms will be necessary, including a change of mind and attitude on the part of teachers, the ability to design lessons matched to learning objectives, improvements in teaching skills, and the accumulation of know-how in class management.

Points

Educational content in Japan has been improved as the result of an accumulation of practical, classroom-based experience in the implementation of successive reforms of the Courses of Study. Important factors have been the concept of “the development of learning centered on children’s activities,” and “the design of the learning process” as the fundamental skill of a teacher. It is on the basis of their awareness that “children are the main actors in learning” that teachers in Japan design and structure lessons, and as a result are able to share information and experience, and upgrade their skills.

If you observe lessons in a developing country, you can find here and there examples of lessons in which the teacher gives a verbal explanation, then turns to writing on the blackboard, and the children spend their time copying into their notebooks either what the teacher has written on the board or the contents of their textbooks. In this scenario, the content of children’s “activities” consists of “writing in a notebook,” “learning” is defined as “listening to what the teacher says,” and the time allocated for the lesson is used up by children writing in their notebooks. You will also find many occasions when the time allocated for the teacher’s “explanation” is very long. In these cases, because the teacher explains the entire content of the lesson verbally, there is only a very short time available within the class hour for children’s activities (such as thinking about or preparing for problem solving or improving their proficiency). Generally speaking, this type of

lesson is uneventful, and no sign of energy can be seen in the children’s activities. It is fair to presume that the reasons for this are that lesson development focuses primarily on explanations and interpretations given by the teacher, that there is no attempt to locate “learning activities” at any particular point, that lessons are not structured in such a way as to encourage and spur on children’s activities, and that teaching skills are inadequate. A lesson should consist of children’s learning activities, and in order for children’s activities to be achieved both effectively and efficiently, teachers must equip themselves with the basic skills required by each individual in teaching, and with the skills needed in the design of learning processes and in the management of teaching skills in a comprehensive way.

In Japan, teaching has been implemented with “lesson design” and “lesson structuring” as key

concepts. Specifically, with the aim of enabling children to learn as effectively and as efficiently as possible in the classroom, within the framework of drafting lesson plans and selecting their teaching materials, teachers engage themselves in preparing what they will write on the blackboard, selecting what questions they will raise, and thinking about how to deal with possible responses on the part of the children. Focusing mainly on primary education, and with the aim of seeing how “lesson design” and “lesson structuring” are implemented in practice, this chapter will give an overview of the compilation of teaching plans and lesson plans, and will discuss the choice of learning styles and teaching methods designed to match objectives as well as the development of lessons (Section 1), and will then go on to present reference points and suggestions regarding implications that can be drawn from the Japanese experience for developing countries (Section 2).

In this chapter, the main text of the chapter will concentrate, because of shortage of space, on teaching plans, corresponding to the planning stage within the context of teaching methods, and actual examples will be presented in Appendices.

1. An Overview of Teaching Plans

1-1 An Overview of Lesson Design

In Japan, lessons are designed by means of a teaching plan, which is compiled on the basis of the national-level curriculum. The teaching plan is an educational planning document that carefully selects and categorizes, and then systematizes educational content on the basis of the curriculum, in such a way as to enable teaching to be efficiently implemented. There are generally 3 types of teaching plan: an annual teaching plan; a teaching plan based on subject units; and an individual lesson teaching plan. The teaching plans for each subject are compiled and

realized in this order.

The “annual teaching plan” and “unit-based teaching plan” are normally compiled after examination and consideration, given the framework of a set period of time, of what kind of learning objectives can be visualized, what kind of teaching materials can be utilized, and within what sort of time allocation, in what order, and using what kind of methods, the content should be taught.” The former plan is drafted by the local board of education or by individual schools, while the latter will be compiled by the teacher with responsibility for each grade or by individual teachers. At the next stage, with these two plans as a foundation, the individual lesson teaching plan for each subject lesson will be drafted by the teacher responsible for teaching that lesson¹. And when the individual teaching plans are linked together, a whole year’s lessons will have been designed.

In Japan, lesson design has been the object of emphasis ever since the introduction of a modern education system. Today too, it is also seen to be an important theme of lesson study when detailed guidance is given by the school principal, senior teachers, or teacher consultant supervisors to newly appointed teachers in the course of school-based training or to teacher trainees.

In the following paragraphs, with the aim of explaining in detail how teaching plans are compiled, the following paragraphs will explain, in line with the teaching plans that are actually compiled in Japan, the three stages involved, namely, compilation of an annual teaching plan; compilation of a subject unit-based teaching plan, and compilation of a lesson teaching plan. It should also be stressed that there is no set format for these plans, so there will be many different variations reflecting the diverse characteristics of different subjects.

¹ At the present time, 2003, a credit-bearing “Integrated Study Period” has been introduced. In the sense of bringing out its characteristic features, each school will pursue the objective of demonstrating these features in the context of compiling the curriculum for this period. However, with the exception of this “Integrated Study Period” and elective subjects at lower secondary school, the compilation of distinctive criteria at school level is not permitted other than in exceptional circumstances

Table 11-1 Teaching plans that form the foundation of lesson design

Kinds of teaching plans	Content of each teaching plan	Plan drafters
Annual teaching plan	The basic teaching plan divided up by grade and by subject (compiled on the basis of the Course of Study for each subject)	Each board of education or each school
Subject unit-based teaching plan	A teaching plan which allocates time units in accordance with the learning activity time divisions in such a way that learning and teaching can be developed in each subject unit, on the basis of a detailed subdivision, at the time of implementing the annual teaching plan.	Each school grade or individual teacher
Individual lesson teaching plan	A detailed lesson teaching plan containing the results of consideration of such points as the time allocation needed to develop learning points, lesson development, points to be written on the blackboard, and so on, to be used on the occasion of lesson implementation.	Each individual teacher

1-2 Compilation of an Annual Teaching Plan

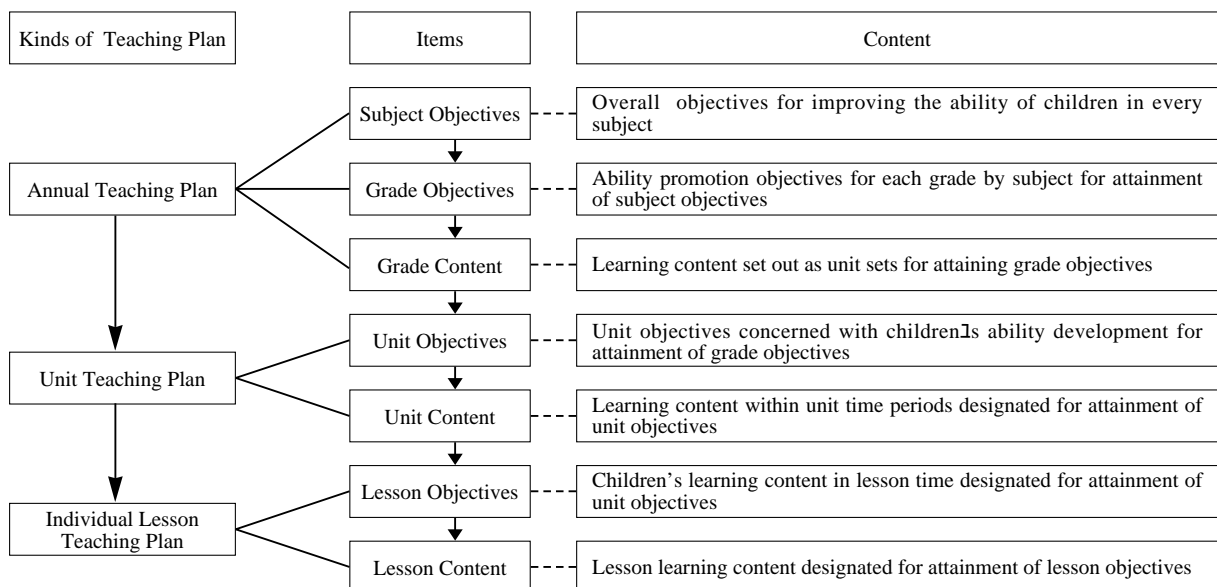
With regard to the annual teaching plan, according to the School Education Law and the Law concerning the Organization and Functions of Local Educational Administration, municipal boards of education establish rules, after which the plan is compiled at school level on the basis of the Courses of Study. However, in practice, taking as a basis the Courses of Study compiled by the Ministry of Education, the municipal boards of education compile frameworks for each grade and each subject, and issue these to schools.

The reason why the municipal boards of education compile these frameworks as a preliminary stage to

the compilation by schools of annual teaching plans is to minimize as far as possible any disparities in educational content or levels of progress in schools under their jurisdiction, and to maintain the level of education in all schools. In addition, at the time of compiling the annual teaching plan frameworks, each board of education also carries out the prescribed procedures for selecting from among the textbooks authorized by the Ministry of Education those textbooks that will actually be used in schools under their jurisdiction.

As shown in Diagram 11-1, 3 items are specified in the annual teaching plan, namely subject objectives; objectives for each grade; and the

Diagram 11-1 Summary Diagram of Structured Lesson Design



learning content for each grade. In the first instance, objectives by grade and subject are set by each board of education and each school. On the basis of the objectives as a whole, separate subject objectives for each grade are set, and as requirements for achieving these subject objectives, the learning content comprised in each subject unit is established. In many cases in the normal course of events, the learning content is clearly set out in the form of a list of learning units to be covered in the course of a year. An actual example of an annual teaching plan is given in Appendix 1.

1-3 Unit-based Teaching Plan

Learning content is constructed in the form of units, separated by subject. A unit within the context of subject learning is a “coherent bundle” of learning², i.e. learning items grouped in such a way as to produce desirable and reliable results in terms of learning achievement, taking children's interests and activities into consideration. Each unit is theoretically linked through mutual interconnections to other grades and other units, and together the units make up the totality of subject content.

In a unit-based teaching plan, as shown in Diagram 11-1, it is necessary to set unit objectives, and to specify the unit content. The unit objectives are guidelines which show “in what way children's ability can be fostered up to what level within the set period of time allocated to the unit,” and they also list the specific items that need to be mastered in order to achieve the objectives. It is the job of each teacher to establish, on the basis of the annual teaching plan and taking into account the actual abilities of children, realistically achievable and verifiable items, activities and assessment criteria.

As the next stage, the unit content needed for the realization of these objectives is clearly specified. What is meant by unit content is the learning content to be covered in the time allocated to that unit in order that the unit objectives can be achieved. In many cases, the unit content will be affected in

practice by the teaching materials used, so in order that the unit objectives can be achieved, it is necessary to carry out research and analysis concerning the teaching materials along with their specific characteristics.

In Japan, the unit-based teaching plan is compiled separately for each subject, divided by grade in each individual school, in line with the annual teaching plan compiled by the board of education or with the annual teaching plan compiled by the school on the basis of the framework provided by the board of education. There is no set format for the unit-based teaching plan compiled by teachers, but in many cases, the headings in the plan will include: the title of the unit and the topic that it is concerned with; the objectives of the unit; a brief appraisal of the children and of the teaching materials; and the teaching plan for the entire unit.

As an example of a unit-based teaching plan, one example of a draft teaching plan is given in Appendix 2.

1-4 Compilation of the Individual Lesson Teaching Plan

After the unit plans have been compiled, it is time for the individual lesson teaching plan (=lesson plan) to be constructed. On the basis of thought and deliberation about how the teaching content shown in each of the items in the unit teaching plan is to be taught to children, the lesson plan represents the development, in specific terms, of each lesson in each subject from the beginning to the end of the lesson. Like the unit-based plan, the lesson plan has no set format, but in principle, the items shown in Table 11-2 will be included.

Characteristics of the individual lesson teaching plan and the unit teaching plan referred to earlier, as compiled by Japanese teachers, are the analyses they contain of the state of the children in the class and of the teaching materials.

The teaching materials are the concrete embodiment of “educational content” in the

² For example, in Japanese Language, “Making a report on what has been studied,” or in Mathematics, “Formulae and calculations,” or in Science, “Investigating weight.”

Table 11-2 Items in the individual lesson teaching plan

Heading	Content
Objectives of this lesson	Objectives to be achieved by children in this lesson as a step toward achievement of unit objectives, and clarification of the position of this lesson within the content of the unit as a whole. Objectives are specifically set on the basis of the lesson design of the unit as a whole.
Analysis of condition of children and teaching materials	Analysis of the situation of the children and the method of use of teaching materials (to be carried out prior to implementation of the lesson. (For further details, see Table 11-3).
Lesson content – lesson development plan	In order to realize the lesson objectives, the lesson content has to be specified and the lesson development planned. In the lesson development plan, it is often the case that many examples of development are included, such as children’s activities, support from the teacher and points to be watched, time allocation and anticipated children’s reaction. Recently, a flow chart has also come into use to give a picture of development.
Plan for blackboard writing	Plans concerned with how to use the blackboard in the course of implementation. Plans, from the point of view of structuring the blackboard writing, concerned with how to express changes in children’s thinking processes and how to link activity content and data.
Lesson assessment	Notes on when and how to evaluate the effectiveness of the lesson, and a record of how to use the results of the evaluation.

Source: Compiled on the basis of NAGANO (2001).³

educational process, which consists of “what (education content) is taught and learned in what way (educational methodology)” by teachers and learners. From the perspective of the teacher, they represent the content of teaching, while from the children’s perspective, they represent the content of learning.

Analysis and research of teaching materials is carried out either by teachers individually or in a group. The teacher or teachers go through a process of identifying and selecting the teaching materials,

deepening their understanding and awareness of these materials, refining the concept of the lesson in line with the actual situation of the children, and then producing a lesson draft. It is expected that before a lesson every teacher will make a summary examination and analysis of the textbook and other teaching materials to be used with his/her own eyes, will once again consider the needs as well as the abilities and interests of the children who are the learners, will form a mental image of the lesson to be

Table 11-3 Analysis of the situation of children and of teaching materials

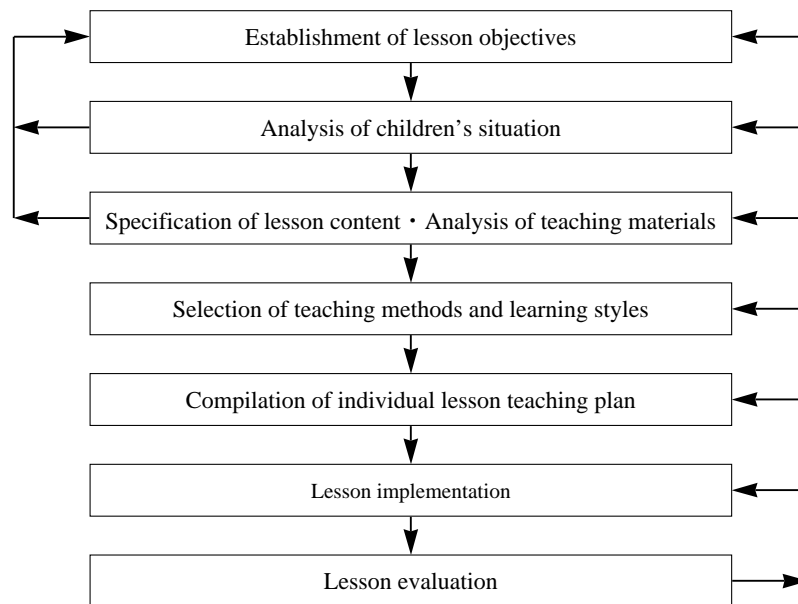
	Analysis of the situation of children	Analysis of teaching materials
Content	With regard to the children who are the object of the lesson, investigation of their situation, as carried out by the teacher before the lesson, and knowledge of their situation in relation to the lesson objectives.	With the aim of getting an insight into the core of the teaching materials and implementing a lesson matched to the real situation of children, carrying out a range of research activities up to the point of drafting the unit-based lesson plan, deepening knowledge of the teaching materials and at the same time, clarifying the unit objectives and teaching content.
Results	By means of an accurate grasp of the various aspects of the average child’s growth and the children’s actual learning situation, the unit objectives and the lesson objectives will become clear, and the need for reappraisal and change will become clear.	By means of an accurate grasp of the various aspects of the average child’s growth and the children’s actual learning situation, the unit objectives and the lesson objectives will become clear, and the need for reappraisal and change will become clear.

Source: Compiled on the basis of NAGANO (2001).⁴

³ Nagano, Tadashi (2001) “*Jugyo no Houhou to Gijutsu- Kyouin toshite no Seicho* [Teaching Methods and Technique-Raising level of the teaching skills],” Tamagawa daigaku shuppan bu.

⁴ *ibid.*

Diagram 11-2 Teaching model for implementation of individual lesson



Source: Compiled on basis of NAGANO (2001) .⁵

carried out, and rearrange the contents accordingly. Because the results for children can be greatly affected by the ability on the part of a teacher to research teaching materials, research and analysis of these materials is very heavily stressed in Japan (see Table 11-3).

A model example of the chain of activities in a lesson, which has as its foundation analyses of the situation of children and of teaching materials, is given in Diagram 11-2.

Because it is very difficult for teachers to construct lesson plans concerning all the class period, what actually happens in many cases is that plans are compiled by unit and by individual lesson when needed for the purpose of lesson study. However, regardless of whether a plan is actually compiled or not, Japanese teachers are required to be aware of the need to design a lesson in advance⁶. An example of a lesson plan is given in Appendix 3.

1-5 Choice of Learning Styles and Teaching Methods

Both at the time of preparing the unit teaching plan and the individual lesson teaching plan, and at the time of actually implementing (teaching) a lesson, the teacher must make a choice of appropriate learning styles and teaching methods. In most cases, the learning style will be selected by the learning objectives or methods of the lesson, and can be categorized by the methods of putting the class or learning group together. The 3 main learning styles are broadly distinguished in Table 11-4.

Associated with each of these three learning styles are plus points and problem areas. It is also the case that it is both difficult and undesirable to implement many different kinds of teaching and learning processes within the framework of one learning style. It is expected of teachers that on the basis of an understanding of the strong points and the weak points of each learning style, they will choose and put together an appropriate style, in accordance with

⁵ *ibid.* Nagano (2001)

⁶ In a teaching plan written for the purpose of implementing lesson study, there are many cases where the unit lesson plan and the main individual lesson plan are written as a sequence. This is done so that it will be clear to the observers and participants involved in the lesson study what the objectives of the main lesson are within the unit lesson plan as a whole, and what location the main lesson plan occupies.

Table 11-4 Kinds of learning styles and their characteristics

Name	Individual learning	Full class learning	Small group learning
Style	Style in which individual children's aptitudes and learning suited to their level are furthered.	A style in which one teacher using one method teaches the same content to all the children in a class at the same time.	Style in which children are divided into groups of 2 or more, and common learning is promoted for each group.
Strong points	Possible to respond to individual children's reactions and to differences between children.	Very easy to acquire common academic ability because shared information can be transmitted quickly to all members of the class.	Good development of thinking within the group and readiness of group members to articulate their thoughts. Interdependence of members can favor character formation. Heightening of positive attitude to tackling difficult problems.
Weak points	Difficult to transmit shared ability. Costly and a drain on teachers' energies.	Tendency for teaching to concentrate on force-feeding of facts and surface-level verbal transmission. Difficult to respond to individual differences and possibility of children getting left behind.	Tendency for dependence on the most able children to develop. Without strict rules, learning can become inefficient.

Source: Compiled on the basis of YOKOSUKA (1990) and NAGANO (2001).⁷

Table 11-5 Kinds of teaching methods

Method	Characteristics
Lecturing	Verbal transmission of knowledge and information to the children. Efficient use of time, but tendency for the children to become passive learners.
Discussion	Fostering shared thinking through discussion and debate with the aim of identifying and solving problems.
Q & A	Broadening and deepening of learning through format in which children respond to questions posed by the teacher. Need to put emphasis on eliciting questions from the children. Danger of excessive prompting by the teacher.
Presentation	Letting the children present feelings, opinions, or investigation results obtained through individual or small-group study.
Revision	Central focus on drills and revision exercises aimed mainly at ensuring that basic skills and elements of knowledge are thoroughly learned.
Experiments and Observations	Locates the basis of learning in direct, hands-on experience, acquired through experiments and observations.

Source: Compiled on the basis of YOKOSUKA (1990) and NAGANO (2001).⁸

the lesson and teaching plans, that will serve to develop children's abilities in an appropriate manner.

Teachers must also, as well as choosing learning styles, select and combine teaching styles that are appropriate for realizing the objectives of the lesson. There is also a mutual interrelationship between the

selection of teaching methods and the lesson objectives and choice of learning styles.

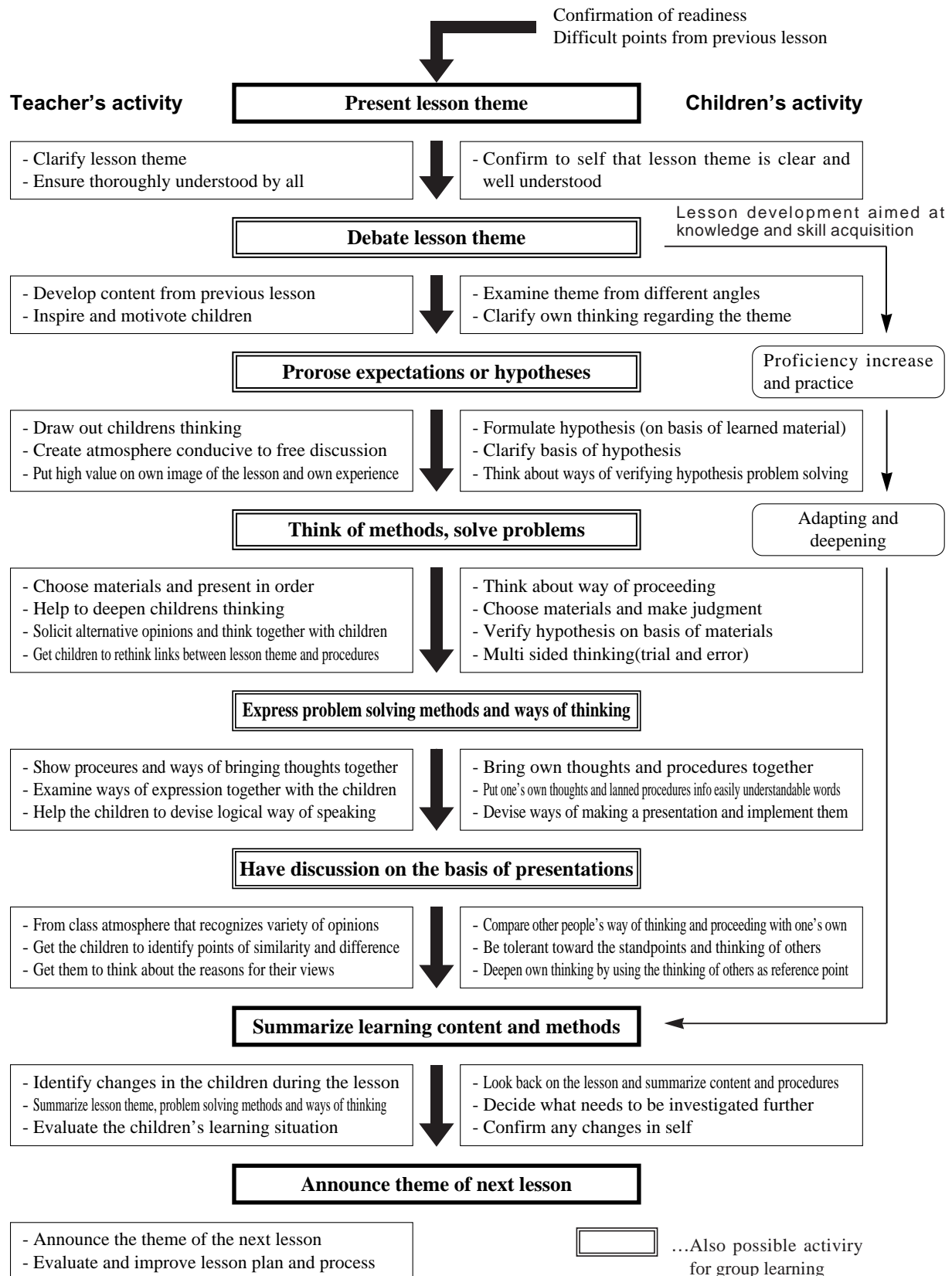
It is also the case at the present time that in addition to the above, many cases can now be found of new teaching modalities being devised, such as "specialist teaching,"⁹ which utilizes the special

⁷ Yokosuka, Kaoru (1990) "*Jugyo Kenkyu Yougo Jiten* [Dictionary of Lesson Study Terms]," Kyoiku Shuppan and Nagano, Tadashi (2001) "*Jugyo no Houhou to Gijutsu- Kyoin toshite no Seicho* [Teaching Methods and Technique- Raising level of the teaching skills]," Tamagawa daigaku shuppan bu.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ A teaching style, in which a teacher with a high degree of specialist knowledge in a particular subject will teach classes in a particular grade or in the whole school in that specialty. This is one method of heightening effectiveness by improving the traditional method, whereby one class teacher covers all subjects.

Diagram 11-3 Example of lesson flow



Source: JICA (2003).¹⁰

¹⁰ JICA Bolivia Office (2003) "Gakko Kyoiku Kaizen (Kodomo ga Shuyaku no Gakushu Dukuri) Project" [Improvement of School Education (A form of teaching which children are the main learning agents) Project].

knowledge and skills of individual teachers, or “combined teaching,” in which classes drawn from 2 grades are more are taught together, or “team teaching,” in which experienced, veteran teachers support other teachers.

1-6 Blackboard Writing

In the Japanese classroom, the teacher makes a written record on the blackboard, in line with the development of the lesson, of such matters as the children’s thinking, details of the lesson theme and relevant data, questions from the teacher, answers to the questions, and so on. This “blackboard writing” is recognized in Japan as a special term. At the end of each lesson, the learning process (actions by the teacher and the children respectively) and a summary of what has happened are written on the blackboard, and by reading what has been written down, it is possible to grasp what changes have taken place in the learning topic or in children’s thinking, or how the children’s ideas have deepened. Carrying out “blackboard writing” in this way is known as “structuring blackboard writing.” If a structured blackboard writing plan is formulated, this is seen in Japan as equivalent to a lesson development plan, hence teachers are advised to make careful preparations before a lesson begins so that they can produce appropriate and structured blackboard writing in the course of the lesson. Furthermore, if structured blackboard writing is in place, then at the end of the lesson, children can get a visual overview of the whole of the lesson and at the same time, make a close examination of what happened during the lesson in terms, for example, of the flow of ideas. An example of a blackboard writing plan is given in Appendix 3.

1-7 The Actual Practice and Structuring of a Lesson

With the lesson plan and blackboard writing plan as a foundation, the teacher will carry out a lesson. In

relation to the lesson plan, it is necessary to bear in mind that there will be particular characteristics in the lesson development arising from the nature of the subject concerned, but in these paragraphs, while giving due consideration to the diversity of different subjects, we have given, in Diagram 3, a basic outline of the flow of development such as may be considered to be broadly applicable to any lesson.

The flow chart, which comprises Diagram 11-3, presents a basic flow of learning development, and is one example of a “structured lesson.” As the flow chart shows, actions on the part of the teacher and the children have been theoretically designed and built into the flow, and the respective actions are linked within the set time period that constitutes a lesson. Within one lesson, within a framework of organic linkage of various processes conducive to learning, the flow proceeds from presentation of the lesson theme, through discussion of the theme, suppositions or hypotheses as to what may happen, problem-solving activity on the part of the children, presentations by the children of the results of their thinking, a summary by the teacher of the results of this lesson and a statement foreshadowing the contents of the next lesson. Of course, in terms of everyday classroom activity, while the basic framework will still provide the foundation, depending on the objectives of the lesson or the location of the lesson within the unit, some processes will be emphasized and some processes will be omitted.¹¹

An example of an actual lesson, based on the information in Appendices 1 to 3 and in Diagram 11-3, is given in Appendix 4.

2. Conclusion

With the aim of encouraging children to become autonomous learners, lesson preparation in Japan is carried out very carefully in a structured way. In particular, considerable weight is attached, in the

¹¹ For example, in the case of lesson development aimed at acquiring knowledge of Japanese ideographs or focused on basic calculation techniques, the raising of hypotheses or discussions based on presentations would be omitted, so that a discussion of the lesson theme would link directly to a summary of the main content.

process of lesson planning, to the lesson teaching plan and to the blackboard writing plan, which are recognized as embodying the fundamental skills of all teachers. If the lesson teaching plan and the blackboard writing plan have been drawn up, then even if the teacher changes, it is possible to share, on the side of teachers, the knowledge and experience of what kind of lesson was planned. Furthermore, many teachers share their skill in lesson design based on the lesson lesson plan, so that debates and discussions aimed at raising the level of skill can also be carried out.

In developing countries, this kind of careful planning can be very useful in effectively and efficiently developing lessons in which children are the main actors. In order to achieve this end, it is necessary for teachers to learn at the stage of teacher training that the main role in a lesson is played by children, and that the learning process must be structured with the central focus on children's activities. And in order to develop a lesson in which children play the main role, teachers must possess the basic teaching skills required in teaching, and the skills required to design a lesson. Also classified as basic skills are the skills required to analyze unit

objectives or to structure learning development, as well as to compile evaluation problems. By means of acquisition of the kind of skills set out here, the teacher will be enabled to compile one lesson plan at a time, and to carry out necessary teaching materials preparation and preparations for asking questions. When the skill of designing learning plans in this way is appropriately used, then for the first time the teacher will be able to implement in the classroom "learning in which children are the main actors."

Furthermore, with a view to heightening these skills, it is desirable not only that every individual teacher makes the necessary efforts, but that through such devices as lesson study or school-based training, teachers as a group aim at the sharing, accumulation and upgrading of skills. Through such means as lesson study and school-based training, teachers can raise the level of each other's skills, and it can also be assumed that children's own awareness of the need to develop their own subjective learning will be fostered. With regard to lesson study, please refer to Lesson 13 for a detailed explanation.

< **KOJIMA Michio** >

Appendix 1. Example of Annual Teaching Plan: Overview of a Teaching Plan in “Japanese language” to Grade 4 of an Elementary School in ‘A’ City

No. 1	Objectives of “Japanese language”
	To cultivate the ability to express oneself appropriately and achieve accurate understanding in the Japanese language, to heighten the ability to communicate, and at the same time, develop thinking and creative abilities as well as linguistic awareness, to deepen interest in the Japanese language and foster an attitude of respect for the language.
No. 2	Grade objectives for Grade 4 in “Japanese language”
	<p>To enable children, in line with the situation of the other person(s) and the grade, to speak in a logical manner about what they have investigated, and to listen to the speech of others while focusing on the central point, and at the same time, to cultivate in children an attitude of actively wanting to engage in verbal discussion with others.</p> <p>To enable children, in line with the situation of the other person(s) and the objectives, and in such a way that what they investigated is communicated, to write sentences that display their ingenuity, while paying attention to such points as links between paragraphs, and at the same time, to cultivate an attitude of wanting to use appropriate expressions.</p> <p>To enable children, in line with the objectives, to read a written passage while grasping the central point and thinking about the links between paragraphs, and to cultivate an attitude of wanting to read a wide range of written material.</p>
No. 3	Perspectives for assessing “Japanese language” in Grade 4
	<p>Interest, extent of eagerness, and nature of attitude, vis-à-vis the Japanese language: Assess extent of interest in the language, willingness to participate actively in discussion, appropriateness in writing, and eagerness to expand scope of reading material.</p> <p>Speaking and listening ability: Assess whether, in line with the situation of others and the objectives, children are speaking in a logical way about what they have investigated, and when listening, are paying attention to the central point.</p> <p>Writing ability: Assess whether, in line with the situation of others and the objectives, children are communicating what they have investigated, and are devising sentences in the form of connected paragraphs.</p> <p>Reading ability: Assess whether, in line with the objectives, children are grasping the central content, and are reading in such a way that they think about the links connecting paragraphs.</p> <p>Knowledge, understanding and skill vis-à-vis the Japanese language: Assess whether children understand such basic points about the Japanese language as sounds, characters, words and phrases, sentences, differences between words, and so on.</p>

Grade 4					
	Month	Name of unit	Teaching material	No. of hours	
Term 1	April	Reading and understanding sentences. Title: It's good to have friends.	Reading / understanding: 3 requests	8	
			Reading / understanding: I'd really like to do that	3	
		Composition	What I'm proud of	4	
	May		Reading while paying attention to paragraph linking (explanation)	A song of spring (poem)	2
				How are you? (Reading / understanding)	6
				Can I write this word?	2
				The town in which the swallows live (explanation)	11
	June		Composition: Writing clearly what you want to express Practice in writing characters	How to use a Japanese language dictionary	3
				I want to become a newspaper reporter	13
				Construction of a character (ideograph)	2
				If I lived on an uninhabited island	4
				The white hat (story)	5
July	Let's expand our book world (reading / understanding)	How to look for books	3		
		Let's design a poster to introduce a book	8		
Term 2	Sept.		The flower 'morning glory' (reading / understanding)	2	
			Word quiz (words learned in Grade 3)	3	
		A presentation that people will remember (presentation)	Celebrating a birthday	13	

Term 2	Oct.	Composition	An appreciation of a book	5
		Comparing scenes while reading	One flower (a story)	12
			Different kinds of signs and symbols	2
			Using a graph as a base	6
	Nov.	Let's find out about our bodies (Explanation, reading/understanding)	Mechanisms for keeping the body healthy (Explanation)	5
			This is me! (Expression)	8
		Study of compound words	The meaning of compound words	2
	Dec.	Let's give a report on what we've investigated (Presentation)	Finding a lifestyle. A report on the daily life of my group.	15
			Making a promise on the phone	4
			Words with many different meanings	3
Term 3	Jan.	The study of words	Putting one's own thoughts and musings into words	
			Words that it is easy to get wrong	
	Feb.	Let's say what's in our hearts (Explanation; presentation) See Appendix 2	Reading with your hands and your heart (Explanation)	4
			Encounter with sign language	3
			Let's start a circle to think about "mutual communication"	15
			Links between sentences	5
	Mar.	Choosing for oneself	The story of a fox called Gon	14
The mystery of moving pictures			2	
Total class hours				205

Appendix 2. Unit Teaching Plan: Unit Teaching Plan for Japanese Language to Grade 4, B Elementary School in 'A' City

This is an example of a unit teaching plan for a lesson in Japanese language to Grade 4 pupils prepared by an elementary school teacher. The theme is: "Let's say what's in our hearts."

Grade 4 Japanese language lesson: Unit title "Let's say what's in our hearts."

1. Unit and teaching materials name

Unit name: Let's say what's in our hearts (read explanation)

Teaching materials name: Reading with your hands and your heart

2. Unit objectives

To get children to read while thinking about what message the writer is trying to convey.

To enable children to write down in summary form and communicate what they have talked about and what they have investigated without missing out important items.

To enable children to read a passage intelligently while grasping the development of the narrative, grasping the central points of each paragraph and obtaining an accurate understanding of what the writer aims to convey.

To enable children, by means of examples showing that words can be interpreted in many different ways, to understand the depth and the fascination of words.

3. View of the children and of the teaching materials

(1) View of the children

This class contains many active, cheerful children, who are keen to develop everyday activities within the class. In the “Japanese language” class, in terms of “reading,” children were given a homework reading assignment at the beginning of April, and eagerly started to get to grips with the material. In terms of “listening,” children willingly listen to things that they find interesting, but maintaining interest over a period is difficult. There is a need to extend their ability to “listen while thinking.” In terms of “speaking,” there are children who are able to get straight to the point and express what they want to say, while on the other hand, there are children who are unable to express their own opinion. I help those children by looking at the notes they have made as I walk around the class and when I find an interesting opinion, give that child increased self-confidence by calling on him/her to stand up and present that opinion to the rest of the class.

(2) View of the teaching materials

The teaching materials, entitled “Reading with our hands and our hearts” consist of a text and an accompanying Braille transcription. The content of the text tells of the writer’s troubles at losing the ability to read, and conveys a very keen sense of the joy that the writer felt at acquiring the ability to read in Braille. The aim is to get the children to understand the importance of words and written characters, and to get them to feel the happiness that comes from being able to read and write freely. At the same time, a further aim is to get the children to understand the daily lives of those with visual impairment, and to get them to think about how to associate with the visually impaired and about what they themselves can do. My hope is that through the use of these teaching materials, children can learn something of the very broad theme of welfare in terms of “coexistence with physically disabled people,” and also take this opportunity to take a fresh look at human relationships with friends and others in the class.

4. Whole unit teaching plan (22 hours in all)

Stage 1	Selecting a topic	Objective: to enable the children to grasp the purpose of the lesson through the medium of the topic “reading with our hands and our hearts”.	<u>3 hrs</u>
		1-1 After discussing the topic, get the children to read through the text and express their feelings about points that they learned for the first time or that they found surprising, and get each child to identify an individual study topic.	1 hr
		1-2 Get the children to discuss what they would like to study, and get the class as a whole to clarify a study theme.	2 hrs
Stage 2	Pursuing a topic	Objective: To get the children to read in line with the development of the narrative, and while grasping the central point of each paragraph, enable them to understand what the writer wants to convey.	<u>12 hrs</u>
		2-1 Get the children to read and discuss the wonderful actions of the mother in working to get the writer to learn Braille, and the joy that the writer felt at acquiring a knowledge of Braille.	1 hr
		2-2 Get the children to understand the principles of Braille.	2 hrs
		2-3 Get the children to read and discuss the inconvenient points regarding Braille and ways of using ingenuity to overcome these.	4 hrs
		2-4 Get the children to write a summary and discuss what the writer most wanted to convey through the text.	5 hrs
Stage 3	Expression	Objective: To enable the children to bring together what they have learned and experienced, and on the basis of this information, deepen and give clear expression to their thinking.	<u>7 hrs</u>
		3-1 Get the children to assemble in a structured way the information about what they have discovered and experienced, and while devising ways of explaining this, make the necessary preparations for a presentation.	2 hrs
		Get the children to exchange their opinions and ideas about what they have discovered and experienced, while devising ways of explaining this	5 hrs
			Total: <u>22 hrs</u>

Appendix 3. Individual Lesson Teaching Plan: Individual Lesson Teaching Plan for a Lesson in “Japanese language” to Grade 4 Pupils in B Elementary School in ‘A’ City.

This example is unit hour 19 of the 22-unit hour plan presented in Appendix 2 on the subject, “Let’s say what’s in our hearts,” and the topic for this lesson is: “Presenting and exchanging opinions on what we’ve found out.”

**Unit: Reading an explanatory text: “Let’s say what’s in our hearts”
Lesson plan for unit lesson 19**

- 1. **Date:** February 15, 2002
- 2. **Class:** Class 1, Grade 4 (16 boys, 18 girls, total 34 children)
- 3. **Unit name:** “Let’s say what’s in our hearts” (22 hours in all)
- 4. **Objectives of lesson 19:**

To enable the children to communicate, using their ingenuity, what they have investigated and experienced, and to share their feelings and opinions with others in the class.

5. Lesson development: (45 minutes)

Learning activity	Anticipated activity on the part of children	Teacher support
1. Know what the lesson objectives are	M.C. (one of the children) announces the order of the presenters	Before the presentations begin, announcement of particular points to be noted.
2-1. Presentation by group (1) - Making technical preparations and then making presentations (actual size items put on display) - Exchange of opinions between the person(s) speaking and the person(s) listening.	[group that investigated Braille displays, daily life materials, and so on, in public facilities] - Reasons for choosing this topic: “We wanted to find out what kind of Braille displays there were in which places in the area round the school.” “It was said that daily life items had been adapted so that visually impaired people could use them.” - Things that we discovered or thought: “I hadn’t noticed until now, but there are daily life items that have been adapted so that visually impaired people can use them.” “There are beer cans with Braille markings on them.” “There are traffic signals where you can hear music when the light changes to green.” “There is almost no Braille in shops.” “There are sidewalks and pedestrian crossings where blocks of raised dots are set into the road surface.” - Asking questions, expressing their feelings, exchanging views.	- Noting the places where Braille was available and marking these on a map of the area. - Helping the children to display materials. - Enabling children to be aware of how to report things they had heard from others.

Learning activity	Anticipated activity on the part of children	Teacher support
2-2 Presentation by group (2) - Making technical preparations and then making presentations (interview format) - Exchange of opinions between the person(s) speaking and the person(s) listening.	[group that investigated the daily lives and feelings of visually impaired people] - Reasons for choosing this topic: “We wanted to know how visually impaired people spend their daily lives.” “We wanted to know what kind of uncertainty or unease they feel”. - Things that we discovered or thought: “They keep things very tidy and remember where they put them.” “They divide up different kinds of coins and keep them separate.” “Ingenuity is used to arrange things in such a way that one person can manage alone”. - Asking questions, expressing their feelings, exchanging views. - The M.C. announces the end of the presentations	As above - Putting various questions so as to encourage the flow of opinions.
3. Getting children to give their own answers regarding new topics and what was discovered. Also, getting them to put in order items that they would like to investigate.		- Encouraging the children to respond to what they would like to know more about and what they would like to investigate.
4. Announcement of the topic of the next lesson.		- Announcing the topic of the next lesson.

6. Blackboard writing

Date. Class period (e.g. third period)
Name of teaching materials: “Let’s read with our hands and our hearts”
Name of first group to give presentation
Particular points to watch out for or listen to during the presentation
Discussion points on the presentation
Name of second group to give presentation
Particular points to watch out for or listen to during the presentation
Discussion points on the presentation
New topic

7. Lesson evaluation

- Was ingenuity used during the children’s presentations?
- Did the children making the presentations do this in such a way that they were consciously aware of the children who were listening?
- Did the children give their opinions and listen in such a way as to encourage exchange?

Appendix 4. Example of Lesson Development Plan: Japanese Language Teaching Plan, Lesson Development Plan

1. **Lesson date:** January 17, 2003 (Friday). Third class period.
2. **Grade and class:** Grade 5, Class 2 (16 boys, 13 girls, total: 29)
3. **Unit name:** Poetry appreciation (let's savor a poem)
4. **Unit objectives:**
 - To enable children to feel such things as the suitability and effect of the expressions used and to savor the poem as a whole;
 - To get the children interested in shades of meaning and ways of using words
5. **Objectives of this lesson:** To enable the children to recite from memory, while savoring the superb nature of the expressions, the poem "Longing for a meeting" by the poet K.
6. **Lesson development**

Learning activities and expected reactions from children	Points for special attention
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Listening to the poem "Meadow Song" from K's works, and entering the world of the poem. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • K's poem is very enjoyable to listen to. It's nice. • I read this poem "Meadow Song" somewhere before. 2. Confirming the objectives of the current lesson. Read K's poem "Longing for a meeting," and while grasping the poet's thoughts, stimulate the children into wanting to recite it from memory. 3. Children hold the feelings of the poem in their mind and copy it into their notebooks. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which words are especially important? • Some words and phrases are repeated. 4. Drawing a line to mark high-quality expressions or ones where the feelings of the poet are shared; writing in one's own thoughts and sharing these with others. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is it that the poet wants to meet? • What sort of meaning is contained in the dash? • Are the poet's thoughts there, in the repetition of the words? 5. Reciting the poem from memory, stopping at points where one's own heart is engaged. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I think these words are a very good choice. • The poet's feelings come over very well at this point. 6. Looking back over the lesson and telling the children about the next lesson. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I really like the rhythm of the words. • I want to think a little more about the poet's message. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prepare poem "Meadow Song." • Make a game of guessing the title so as to make it easy to enter the world of the poem. • Give a slow model reading so as to make it easy for the children to grasp the poem's image. • Write the poem on the blackboard, matching this to the speed at which the children copy into their notebooks. • Help the children to write clearly while treasuring the meaning of the words. • Give the children guidance on how to write down their own thoughts at the places marked with a line. • Wipe away the blackboard writing section by section, leaving the important words up on the board. • Reduce resistance to reciting from memory by getting the whole class to recite the poem. • Tell the pupils about the next lesson and get them to think, while going through the poem, about what the poet wanted to convey.

7. Lesson evaluation perspectives

Did the children have impressions and feelings of their own while reading the poem? Were they able to read the poem while at the same time being aware of high-quality expressions and the effect of the poem?

(for reference) The teaching materials for this lesson

Title: Longing for a meeting Author: KUDO Naoko
 I've wanted to meet somebody
 I've wanted to meet something
 Ever since I was born ---

Who is it I want to meet? What is it I want to meet?
 The meeting, when will it be? ---
 I feel like a child sent on an errand,
 and before I reach my goal, I've lost my way.
 What can I do?

And yet, there's something in my hand,
 I'm holding something I can't see.
 I feel as if I have to hold it tight,
 and hand it over.

That's why
 I'm longing for the meeting

Appendix 5. Actual Illustrations of the Lesson Based on Appendix 4.

Process No. 1: "Introducing the lesson" (getting a sense of readiness)

Teacher activities	Pupil activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting the children to read aloud one of K's poems that they have studied before. (laying the ground for poetry study) • Making it easy for the children to enter the world of poetry by speculating on the name of the author and the poem. • "What did you think when you read this poem?" "Who liked this poem?" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whole class reads aloud (classroom scene 1) (getting ready for poetry study) • Imagining the name of the author and the title of the poem from the content. • Children who liked the poem share their feelings with the class. (classroom scene 2)

Classroom scene 1



Classroom scene 2



**Process No. 2: “Confirming the objectives of the lesson” (announcing the lesson theme)
: “Reading and appreciation of the poem” “Exchange of feelings after first reading”
(discussion about the theme)**

Teacher activities	Pupil activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Today, we’ll think about another poem by K.” • Announcing the lesson theme.: Write on the blackboard: “Let’s recite a poem aloud while we try and let ourselves feel the poet’s thoughts.” • Reads out the poem title “Longing for a meeting” (classroom scene 3). Reads slowly to make it easier for the pupils to form an image in their minds. • Discussion of the theme: “Say what you thought was good.” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The pupils copy down the theme into their notebooks. They get to grips with what it means. • Pupils listen while forming an image of the poem in their minds. • 2 or 3 pupils say what they thought after hearing the title for the first time. “I thought the idea of wanting to meet was great,” etc. (classroom scene 4)

Classroom scene 3



Classroom scene 4



Process No. 3: “Expectations held by individual children about the thoughts of the poet.” “What did you feel about the poem?” (deepening expectations and thoughts)

Teacher activities	Pupil activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Write the poem down in your notebooks.” Teacher writes the out the poem slowly on the blackboard, matching the speed of writing to the speed at which the pupils copy into their notebooks. (Classroom scene 5) • Helps the pupils to copy neatly while showing respect for the words. • After writing up the text on the board, “Mark with a line any high-quality expressions or ones where you share the feelings of the poet, write down what you feel and explain why you feel something is good.” (deepening of thoughts). • After finishing writing on the board, the teacher walks round between the desks , confirming that the pupils have understood. Where possible, the teacher’s eyes should be on a level with those of the pupil, as the teacher asks: “Is there anything you don’t understand? Anything you want to ask me?” (Classroom scene 6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The pupils listen to the poem and while they react to the content, copy the text into their notebooks. • Pupils write down their own thoughts about the words marked with a line. “When the poet writes about “longing for a meeting,” who does she want to meet?” “What is the poet’s purpose in repeating words?”

Classroom scene 5



Classroom scene 6



Process No. 4: “What kind of things did you feel? Let everybody exchange their thoughts” (pupils say what they thought and felt)

Teacher activities	Pupil activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting pupils to share their feelings with the class: “Which part of the poem remained in your heart?” Pupils take turns to indicate a particular part of the poem, and the teacher marks these on the board with a different color piece of chalk. (classroom scene 7) • “Weren’t there any words you didn’t understand?” • “Is there anyone who can imagine what these words might mean?” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 or 6 pupils explain why they noted particular parts of the poem that remained in their hearts. (classroom scene 8) • Several pupils ask about words they didn’t understand. Several pupils suggest meanings.

Classroom scene 7



Classroom scene 8



Process No. 5: “Whole class comprehension, reading aloud, and appreciation.” (deepening of pupils’ thinking on the basis of the reports)

Teacher activities	Pupil activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deepening of thinking on the basis of reports and comments: “What kind of words or thoughts on the poet’s part do you think were hidden?” Making sure that every pupil has a chance to speak. • “When you first heard the words “longing for a meeting” and then heard them again at the end of the poem, do you think the poet’s feelings were the same or did they change?” • “Let’s all recite the poem while thinking about the expressions that remained in each of our hearts.” As a verse is read aloud, the teacher cleans that verse from the board. (blackboard cleaning technique) (classroom scene 9) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Every pupil has time to think. • 4 or 5 pupils express their opinions. “I think the poet’s feelings were stronger at the end,” etc. • Pupils recite the poem while thinking about their impressions and the parts that remained in their hearts. (classroom scene 10)

Classroom scene 9



Classroom scene 10



¹ When the teacher’s teaching style changes from whole-class teaching to individual or small-group teaching, the teacher walks around between the children’s desks, using a teaching style appropriate to checking what each individual child has learned. While doing this, the teacher pays close attention to the level of each pupil’s eyes, and to the tone of voice and way of asking questions used when addressing a particular child.

**Process No. 6: "Looking back on today's lesson" (summarizing the lesson content and methods)
"Telling the pupils about the next lesson" (announcement of the next lesson)**

Teacher activities	Pupil activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Looking back on and summarizing the lesson content: "Does anyone have any views on today's lesson?" "What impressions remained with you at the end?"	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Views of the lesson. "Even though we all heard the same poem, people's feelings are different." "Depending on your mood, the words about "longing to meet" strike you differently," etc.• Pupils get to grips with the theme of the next lesson.

Photos provided by Kyoto City Educational Center

Chapter 12. Teacher Education and Training

Issues for developing countries

At the present time in developing countries, many different policies are being tried out to raise the specialist level of teachers in order to improve the quality of education. However, there is hardly any pre-service or in-service training which is based on the teacher's image expected in society, and the stage of trying to realize long-term professional development for teachers has simply not yet been reached.

A large amount of pre-service training in developing countries is carried out at the upper secondary stage of education, and the problems that exist include the fact that the curriculum is inappropriate, and that the teaching and guidance given in teacher preparation institutions is inappropriate, so that many graduates are not equipped with the necessary basic knowledge and skill. There are also cases where there is no properly established teacher licensing system. Furthermore, teachers' working conditions, particularly the low starting salary, are poor, their social status is low, and there is no framework for the employment of teachers, so for these reasons, there are many cases where graduates from teacher preparation institutions do not enter teaching. But even in cases where they do enter teaching, because of their immaturity in terms of knowledge and skills, they often find themselves unable to deliver suitable education in the classroom, leading to a drop in enthusiasm among the children, with the result that in a significant number of cases, children either have to repeat a year or drop out of school completely. It is also the case that in-service training, which is indispensable for raising the professional level of teachers, does not have a properly arranged structure, and even where training does exist, there is often a gap between the training content and the everyday experience of teachers, so the system itself has many problems.

Points

In Japan, ever since the introduction of modern education, the position of teachers has been very heavily stressed as that of persons who determine the quality of education and can radically affect whether or not school education will be successful. With these points in mind, while giving due consideration to the image of a teacher that matches the conditions of a particular age, the government has implemented a wide range of policies, including teacher qualification and licensing, pre-service training, in-service training, and improvements to teachers' working conditions. In ways such as these, with the aim of encouraging continuous and graduated professional development, a planned, long-term development process for teachers has been confirmed. At the present time, in the face of rapid social change, and to enable teachers to get to grips with many different kinds of tasks, it is considered to be indispensable to see pre-service training at higher education level and in-service training that matches a teacher's years of service and professional ability as an integrated continuum, and to provide teachers with a systematic program of education and training. In order that education and training of this kind can be implemented and the quality of teachers raised, it is necessary for the government to provide the required teacher training opportunities, for teachers themselves to utilize these opportunities and engage in self-study, and for the people to display understanding and support for pre-service and in-service teacher training.

To raise the level of education it is essential to have high-quality teachers, and to secure the needed high-quality teachers, it is necessary in the first instance for the image of the kind of teacher demanded by society to be clarified and then for qualifications and conditions that will turn this image into a reality to be set in place by means of a licensing system. Furthermore, with the aim of training personnel who will fulfill the conditions stipulated in the licensing system, it is important, in order both to raise the specialist professional level of teachers and to respond in an appropriate way to society's needs, that pre-service training is carried out in teacher training institutions that have been properly set up and that continuing in-service training is implemented for the graduates of these institutions who join the teaching force. It is also necessary, so that top-quality people will wish to become teachers, for improvements to be made, starting with the salary, to teachers' working conditions. Against this background, this Chapter will provide an overview explaining what kind of image Japan had of a teacher, what kind of qualifications and conditions were set in place in the context of this image, and how teachers' conditions of service, such as their salary, were improved in order to secure top-class personnel as teachers. In addition, we will describe how various kinds of in-service training were implemented with a view to raising the quality of serving teachers.

1. Changes in the Image of a Teacher

The *terakoya* teachers, who bore the main responsibility for education in the Edo era, were people with a high level of knowledge who carried out their educational duties with feelings of affection toward their charges. The image of the *terakoya* teacher was very influential and has been handed down among the Japanese as a substratum of popular feeling right up to the present day in the form of thinking that looks on teachers as "members of a sacred profession." The teacher in Japan is not simply someone who shares his knowledge and skill with others. It is rather the case that teaching should

be thought of as a profession that contributes to the spiritual and emotional character development of children, and there is a strong expectation that teachers will be persons equipped with a high sense of human dignity and strict attitudes. With this image of a teacher as a member of a sacred profession at the core, the ideal image of the teacher in Japan has undergone various changes in response to changing times.

With the advent of the democratization of education after the end of World War II, it was no longer appropriate to think of a teacher as someone who was prepared "to live in honest poverty," and a new idea came into being of a teacher as a worker whose working conditions should be improved in the same way as those of other workers. Against the background of this rising demand for better working conditions, the image of the teacher as a worker was added to that of the teacher as a member of a sacred profession. Society continued to change, and against the background of social change that accompanied socio-economic development, the "1966 ILO/UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers" signified a movement to confirm the status of teaching as a specialist profession at an international level. In Japan, the concept of "teaching as a specialist profession" was added to the overall image of a teacher.

At the present time, the core of the ideal image of a teacher still remains, at the level of popular feeling handed down over the years, that of a "member of a sacred profession." Added to this, from the perspective of working conditions, is the image of "the teacher as a worker," and from the point of view of meeting the changing demands of society, the image of "the teacher as a professional." Hence the present image of a teacher can be seen as a composite of these three images fused together and existing in a state of balance with one another.

On the basis of these changes in the image of the teacher, there have also been changes in pre-service training and in conditions of service in line with changing times.

2. Historical Changes in Pre-service Training and the Teaching Force

2-1 The Creation of a Modern Education System (1870s)

In 1871, the Meiji Government established the Ministry of Education, which began preparations for the establishment of a modern education system, while maintaining control of educational matters over the whole of Japan. In August of the following year, 1872, the Government promulgated the Education Ordinance, thereby putting in place the foundation of a modern education system in Japan, and establishing modern educational institutions in place of the patchwork of provisions, including *terakoya*, private academies, and so on, that had previously existed. Following the creation of a legal foundation, the prefectural authorities opened elementary schools one after the other, and the need to respond to the increasing demand for teachers became a matter of urgency for the national government. The conditions for employment as an elementary school teacher at this time, as formulated for the first time in Japan in the Education Ordinance, in the form of a unified set of teaching qualifications, were that teachers had to be “men or women aged 20 or over and in possession of a graduation certificate from a Normal School or a middle school.” In other words, it was specified that in principle someone who graduated from a Normal School was able to take up a position as an elementary school teacher, and the establishment of Normal Schools was the means by which the government tried to get to grips with the problem of training suitable teachers to take up teaching positions in a modern education system. In addition, emergency measures to cope with the shortage of teachers were taken in the form of recruiting as teachers such people as former *terakoya* teachers (Buddhist and Shinto priests, samurai, and so on), persons connected with the former fief schools, private individuals with sufficient learning, and former samurai who possessed the requisite knowledge and learning.

It was in May 1872 that the first Normal School was established in Japan in Tokyo. A specialist

adviser from the U.S. in the field of teacher education was invited to Japan, and teacher education in Japan was initiated on the basis of using the U.S. as a model. Subsequently, because the demand for teachers continued to rise as more elementary schools were established, the government decided to set up Normal Schools in each university district under the jurisdiction of the national government. However, many of the graduates from Normal Schools took up positions concerned with pre-service training, so the government measures did not achieve the result of wiping out the teacher shortage. In this situation, individual prefectures established “training schools” of different kinds offering short-term courses lasting between 2 and 7 months, aimed at force-feeding aspiring teachers. Subsequently, these institutions were gradually regularized, and the term “Public Normal Schools” was adopted as the standardized nomenclature. In addition, by organizing lecture training meetings for existing elementary school teachers, or by dispatching teachers from Normal Schools into elementary schools, and thereby disseminating modern teaching methods, the government aimed to raise the quality of teachers in schools. Reflecting these developments, the Ministry of Education in 1877 abolished the Central Normal Schools, and changed the direction of its policies into ones aimed at actively supporting Public Normal Schools by the provision of financial subsidies. It should also be noted that among the entrants into Normal Schools at this time, there were many former samurai, who had a high level of learning, resulting in the status of teachers being firmly established as a “unique intellectual stratum in the local community,” and teachers being ranked relatively highly on the social scale.

2-2 Establishing a Structure for Modern Education (1880-1930)

Qualification requirements that aimed to provide verification of the status of teachers were put in place by means of the teacher licensing system established under the Revised Education Order of 1880. Under this order, in order to obtain a teaching qualification, it was necessary to possess a graduation certificate

Table 12-1 Important laws concerned with teacher licensing, teacher training and teachers' conditions of service

Year	Name of the law or order	Overview (in respect of teacher licensing, etc)
1868	Education Ordinance	Conditions for acquiring a teaching qualification: man or woman of 20 years of age and older, holder of a graduation certificate from a Normal School or middle school.
1880	Revised Education Order	Establishment of Normal School in each prefecture. Dual-track system for teaching qualification: graduation from Normal School and award of license by prefectural governor.
1885	Third Education Order	Dual-track system made into single-track system. Rise of importance attached to license.
1886	Normal School Order	Fees and other expenses of students at Normal Schools paid by state.
	Regulations for Licensing Elementary School Teachers	License issued either by the Minister of Education or by the prefectural governor. Kind of license, geographical limits of validity, length of validity, etc, clearly specified.
1896	Law for Subsidizing City, Town and Village Elementary School Teachers' Long Service Increments from the National Treasury	Start of national system of subsidizing teachers' salaries.
1900	Order for Allowances for Municipal' Elementary School Teachers	Start of implementation of payment of salary and allowances on an equal basis throughout Japan on the basis of a "List of allowances payable to elementary school teachers."
1918	Law Concerning the National Treasury's Share of Municipal Compulsory Education Expenses	Expansion of financial help for ordinary elementary schools.
1940	Law Concerning the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory Education Expenses	Half the amount of teachers' salaries made a burden on the national treasury.
1948	Law Concerning Special Regulations for Educational Public Service Personnel	Confirmation of teachers' status as national civil servants.
1949	Educational Personnel Certification Law	"Open system" pre-service training of teachers to be carried out in principle by university education.
1973	Law to Secure Capable Educational Personnel (formal title: Special Measures Law Concerning the Securing of Capable Educational Personnel in Various Compulsory Education Schools for the Maintenance and Enhancement of School Education Standards).	Planned improvement in teachers' salaries (law passed through 3 revisions).

from a Normal School or a license awarded by a prefectural governor. Under the "Third Education Order" of 1885, it was decided that all teachers should have a teaching license, the possession of such a license was made compulsory even for graduates of a Normal School, and the kind of license, scope of its validity, and length of time of its validity, were all specified. From 1900, a license had lifetime validity, confirming that a teacher was seen as someone who "spends a lifetime in public service." With the aim of further emphasizing the distinctive status of qualified teachers with a license, under the "Regulations for Implementation of the

Elementary School Order" issued in 1900, unqualified teachers were labeled as "substitute teachers." In practice, however, while the teacher licensing system continued to be gradually put in place, the burden of teaching in elementary school continued to be borne by large numbers of "substitute teachers," and the issue of how to increase the numbers of licensed teachers and thereby provide an objective means of verifying the high quality of education was actively debated.

From another perspective, while the teacher licensing system was gradually being firmed up, large-scale reforms of the teacher education system

were being taken forward. In 1886, 4 kinds of education-related orders were promulgated by Japan's first Minister of Education, MORI Arinori, namely the "Elementary School Order," the "Middle School Order," the "Imperial University Order," and the "Normal School Order."¹ By virtue of these Orders, the structure of a systematic school system providing confirmation of a modern, national system of education was firmly established. The prewar in-service training system was regulated by the "Normal School Order," in which it was required that a teacher should be "a person of outstanding merit who can serve as a model for the children, providing the necessary education and discipline, who is possessed of virtue, and who can act as a formative influence on the children's character." It was also specified in the "Normal School Order" that Normal Schools would be categorized as "Ordinary Normal Schools" and "Higher Normal Schools." The Higher Normal Schools, which were placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Minister of Education, had the objective of training the principal and teachers of Ordinary Normal Schools as well as teachers of middle schools, while the Ordinary Normal Schools had the objective of training the principal and teachers of public elementary schools. Two points in particular, namely the "school fees allowance system" and "military training," are worthy of mention as characteristics of the Ordinary Normal School. Under the "school fees allowance system," not only tuition fees, but also the cost of school equipment and even living expenses were all paid by the state. This measure can be thought of as aiming to make access to a high-class school realizable for outstanding, even if poor, applicants, and at the same time, to implant in these young people a feeling of gratitude and obligation to the state and to their school education, and to contribute to upgrading their professional awareness as teachers and to ensuring the realization of the compulsory period of service as

a teacher after graduation. The objective of the Normal School was specified in the Normal School Order as the provision of training in the three qualities, "Obedience, Trust, and Dignity," and through the training and the communal dormitory life, every aspect of students' learning and their daily lives was administered and controlled.

As a consequence of the measures described above, many young people of comparatively high academic ability were able to advance into a Normal School even if their family circumstances were somewhat straitened, and by around 1890, the children of ordinary townspeople or farmers were able to think of earning their daily bread by becoming a teacher. On the other hand, the children of comparatively better off families continued their education by going on to middle school. Hence the establishment of the Normal School system as well as the demand for teachers and the absolute rise in teacher numbers brought change to the "teacher class" in society, and can be seen as linked to the decline in the social status of teachers.

With regard to conditions of service, the influence of the concept of "living in honest poverty," based on the view of teaching as a "sacred profession," could still be felt, and progress in this area was slower than in that of improvements to the teacher licensing system or the teacher education system. Immediately following the promulgation of the Education Ordinance, there were no set criteria for the employment of teachers at town and village level, but by means of the "Second Education Order" of 1880, a system of appointment by the regional governor (=prefectural governor) was instituted for teachers in municipal (town and village) schools, so that criteria for their salaries too were clarified at prefectural level. Subsequently, conditions of service for teachers in public schools were dealt with within the framework of conditions for public officials, a retirement allowance system was established, and

¹ Through these "School Orders," the objectives of each level of schooling were clearly set out, and at the same time, a dual level of schooling, consisting of "Education" and "Learning," was established within the public education system, with the "necessary level of education" being provided for the masses, and "general knowledge and learning" provided for the elite, who had to direct Japan's affairs. This kind of dual level remained a characteristic of the Japanese school system until the time of the education reforms after World War II.

Box 12-1 Case study to show the low level of financial remuneration for teachers

The “Third Education Order” of 1900 fixed the standard amount for teachers’ salaries, but the level of these salaries was significantly lower than that of general government civil servants. For example, over the country as a whole, the average monthly salary paid to a general public servant, of whom there were 59,456 at this time, was 35 yen a month, while the average monthly salary paid to an elementary school teacher, of whom there were 9,259, was 20.9 yen.

The starting salary for a teacher in a Normal School, even in a large city, was equivalent to the amount paid to the apprentice grade of the lowest grade of civil servant.

Source: SATO (2001).²

under the “Law for Subsidizing City, Town and Village Elementary School Teachers’ Long Service Increments from the National Treasury” of 1896, measures were put in place to improve the overall working conditions and status of public school teachers, including a resumption of the system of national subsidization of teachers’ salaries. However, compared to general government civil servants, the pay of teachers remained low (See Box 12-1).

In the period from the closing years of the Meiji era to the beginning of the Showa era (around 1910 to the late 1920s), quantitative expansion of the teaching force was accomplished. From then on, attention focused on “how to raise the quality of teachers.”

2-3 Pre-service Training in Wartime (1930-1945)

From the time of the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the Japanese political situation gradually became more nationalist in character. It is worthy of note that even in wartime Japan, the Ministry of Education put a lot of effort into securing a teaching force and maintaining standards. Specifically, as wartime industry expanded and prospered, there was a sharp drop in the number of applications for the low-paid profession of teaching, and the fall in the quality of teachers became a matter of grave concern. With the aim of trying to remedy this situation, the Ministry of Education asked regional governors (=prefectural governors) to take measures to try and maintain the

level of quality of students at Normal Schools, including increasing the number of students financed by the state, encouraging high-quality students to enroll, and encouraging entry into Normal Schools by graduates of industrial and agricultural vocational schools. In particular, with a view to remedying the shortfall in science teachers, the Ministry set up a new Higher Normal School in Kanazawa, but due to the worsening wartime situation, it was not able to fulfill its intended function.

In addition, in 1943, during World War II, the Normal School Order was completely revised, and important revisions were made both to primary education and to Normal School education (pre-service training). Under the changes to Normal School education, 56 National Normal Schools were established across the country, and in principle, pre-service training was implemented in national government institutions. In an epoch-making reform aimed at raising the status of Normal Schools, it was also specified that elementary school teachers would be trained in institutions of higher education. As the structuring of the pre-service training system and quantitative expansion of teachers were taken forward, the number of “substitute teachers” declined, and there was a gradual rise in the numbers of qualified licensed teachers. However, as the tide of war turned against Japan, qualified male teachers went to war one after the other, and there were many cases where disabled soldiers or women who had graduated from middle school were appointed as

² Sato, Haruo (2001) “*Kyoiku Gairon* [Introduction to Teaching Profession],” Gakuyo Shobou.

teachers after taking only a short special course. Also at this time, measures were considered to double the number of scholarships for students going to Normal Schools, and to raise the starting salaries of male and female teachers, but encouragement and invitations to people to join the teaching world were insufficient.

With regard to the conditions of service of teachers, at the time of the depression following World War I and the financial panic in the early years of the Showa era (late 1920s), the conditions were miserable, with cases of delayed payment of salaries, forced donations, and so on. But that said, there was also a need to guarantee to the people of Japan a set standard of compulsory education, and with the aim of maintaining and raising standards of education throughout the country as well as that of securing high-quality people as teachers, policies were put in hand to improve the working conditions of teachers. As one example, one could cite the “Law concerning the National Treasury’s Share of Compulsory Education Expenses,” promulgated in 1940. Previously, the greater part of compulsory education expenses had been borne by local governments, but under the new law, it was specified that half the amount of teachers’ salaries would be paid by the national treasury, and as a result part of the financial burden borne by prefectures and municipalities was removed. In ways such as this, improvements to the working conditions of teachers were aimed at, but even if the salary level of teachers at this time is compared to that of general public servants in educational administration or workers in private companies, it cannot be claimed that teachers’ salaries were high.

2-4 Postwar Education Reforms (1945-1960)

With the end of World War II in 1945, large-scale educational reforms were implemented on the basis of the report of the U.S. Education Mission to Japan, including criticisms directed at the prewar Normal School education³. The basic direction of reform and

concrete suggestions are clearly set out in the report, and in August 1946, a newly established body, the Education Reform Committee, was established within the Cabinet with a brief to examine reforms across the entire education system. After the aftermath of the war in education was dealt with and issues relating to the old prewar system were settled, a series of important laws forming the foundation of a new education system were enacted and implemented.

Within the Education Reform Committee, the view was put forward that “with regard to teacher education, on the basis of putting stress on a wide perspective and a high level of general education, pre-service training should take place not in a special school, but within a 4-year university.” In line with the principle of an “open system,” the Committee felt that “pre-service training should take place in the Education Faculty of a comprehensive university or a single-faculty university.” In accordance with these views, under the “Educational Personnel Certification Law” of 1949, special schools such as the Normal Schools that had existed under the prewar system, were abolished, pre-service training was raised to university level, and the “open principle,” whereby a teacher’s license was to be awarded to anyone who had obtained the required credits on a course approved by the Minister of Education, regardless of whether the course was held in a general university or a teacher education university, was given legal force. Under the same law, acquisition of a teacher’s license was made compulsory for teachers, and the different kinds of license were specified in detail. At this point in time, it is possible to say that 2 major characteristics of pre-service training in Japan were confirmed, that it should take place in universities; and that it should take the form of an open system. In this way, the twin goals of quantitative expansion and qualitative upgrading were clearly identified. Against this background of a clear legal base underpinning

³ After the close of World War II, in response to a request from the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces in Japan (GHQ), the First U.S. Education Mission to Japan, composed of 27 people and led by G.D. Stoddart, arrived in Japan and spent a month examining and researching the whole of the education system. A report containing recommendations on the basic direction and policies for postwar education in Japan was produced by the Mission and submitted to GHQ.

the teaching profession and the improvement and strengthening of the pre-service training system, the percentage of qualified licensed teachers and graduates from 4-year universities in the teaching force increased, and the problems that had emerged immediately after the war of a shortfall in teacher numbers and an increase in unlicensed teachers were gradually wiped out.

With regard to postwar working conditions for teachers, these are very closely linked with the question of teacher status. Under the 1949 "Law for Special Regulations concerning Educational Public Service Personnel," teachers were clearly identified as "public service personnel," i.e. civil servants, and consequently, their salary was paid according to a remuneration list divided up according to their professional duties, grade and so on. There were differences in the salary system according to types of institutions, i.e. universities, upper secondary schools, lower secondary schools, etc, and then further divisions within one institution for principal, deputy principal, teacher and so on. In 1948, the "Law concerning the Burden of Remuneration for Employees of Municipal Schools" was passed, under which the responsibility for paying the salaries of teachers in public schools at compulsory education level was taken over by prefectures, with half the amount of the salary being paid from the national treasury.

2-5 After the Period of High Economic Growth (1960-)

Within the context of the remarkable industrial economic development displayed during the period of high economic growth from 1960 to 1970, demand increased in a number of different fields, primarily in the private sector, for employees of high ability, and there were signs of a growing difficulty in attracting high-quality people into teaching. Furthermore, accompanying the very rapid development of science and technology, more stress came to be placed on the need for education that did not just impart necessary knowledge and skills, but also developed children's creativity and respected their individuality. In response to this situation and social demands of this

kind, discussions were initiated on the qualities and level of specialization of teachers themselves as issues of current importance. Against this background, between 1955 and 1970, the Central Council for Education and the Council for the Training of Educational Personnel met several times to discuss how to go about raising the level of specialization among teachers, and made several constructive suggestions regarding improvements to the system of training teachers. In 1973, by means of an amendment to the Educational Personnel Certification Law, the qualification examination for teachers was strengthened, but at that time, no fundamental changes were made to the system of training teachers or to the criteria for teacher licenses.

In the early part of the 1980s, attention was focused, in terms of social problem areas, on frequent outbreaks of delinquency and problem behavior among school pupils, as well as on career guidance that was heavily dependent on the so-called "standard deviation test," which judged pupils and students solely on their percentile ranking. This situation led to a rise in popular demand for a further strengthening of teachers' abilities with a view to solving these kinds of problems, and the whole question of teacher education and training became a focus of attention on a political level. In response to this social situation, the Ministry of Education in 1984 submitted a draft to the Diet for a revision to the Educational Personnel Certification Law, under which a "Special License" requiring a Master's degree level qualification would be issued as a new license category, and the level of the criteria for a teacher's license would be raised. However, there was strong opposition from universities on the grounds that the proposed new measures were a restriction on teachers' licenses, so the measures were not implemented at this time.

Subsequently, in the National Council on Educational Reform, set up as a new advisory body in 1984 with the objective of conducting deliberations on educational reform, the problem of upgrading the quality of teachers was identified as a central issue in primary and secondary education, and fundamental suggestions were made covering the

whole area of pre-service training, employment and in-service training. The Ministry of Education compiled a large number of suggestions from many different sectors and from the specialists represented in the Council for the Training of Educational Personnel, and submitted to the National Diet in 1988 a draft for revision to the Educational Personnel Certification Law. A completed reform draft emerged at the end of the same year. The draft revision to the Certification Law represented a major reform of the system of licenses for educational personnel. Specifically, changes to the content of the system included changes to the license categories and license criteria established in 1949, new provisions for utilizing outside specialists in schools, and so on, resulting in very considerable changes and refinements of the existing certification system.

In a different context, teachers' conditions of service were also significantly improved following the period of high economic growth. Triggered by the

“1966 ILO/UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Status of Teachers,” the concept of teaching as a specialist profession became the focus of attention on an international level, and in Japan too, the need for a radical revision of teachers' salaries and ways of attracting capable personnel attracted considerable interest from many different quarters. On the basis of existing working conditions for teachers and the current of international opinion, the Ministry of Education, taking the view that compulsory education in particular was the primary agent in developing the fundamental qualities of the Japanese people, determined that there was a need to secure top-quality people as schoolteachers and to maintain and raise the level of school education, and presented to the National Diet the draft of a law entitled the “Special Measures Law Concerning the Securing of Capable Educational Personnel in Various Compulsory Education Schools for the Maintenance and Enhancement of School Education Standards”

Box 12-2 Changes over time in the teacher's license

The “Educational Personnel Certification Law,” enacted in 1949, was revised on several occasions in line with the changing current of the times. The main revisions can be summarized as follows: with the 1953 revision, an officially approved course leading to the issuing of a license was created; with the 1954 revision, the “provisional license” system was abolished, and the licenses for the posts of school principal, superintendent of education, and supervisory teacher consultant were also abolished; with the 1973 revision, an examination system for approval of a teaching qualification was introduced; and in 1988 a large-scale revision took place.

The background to the large-scale 1988 revision is that with the enactment in 1974 of the “Law to Secure Capable Educational Personnel,” the socio-economic environment of teachers was radically improved. This in turn resulted in a rise in number of aspiring teachers, so that the supply of potential teachers greatly exceeded the demand. Given this situation, in which the objective of the quantitative expansion in the number of teachers was largely achieved, emphasis in the objectives of the 1988 revision was put on developing the professional specialism and the guidance and leadership abilities of teachers. Specific major revision points were as follows: the ordinary license, which was formerly divided into 2 divisions (Grade 1 and Grade 2), was divided into 3 divisions (special: holder of a master's degree; 1st class: holder of a bachelor's degree; and 2nd class: holder of an associate degree); the criteria for obtaining a license were raised by increasing the number of credits required; listed subjects were grouped together as professional specialist subjects; and With a view to facilitating participation by non-teacher adult members of the community, a “special part-time lecturer system” was instituted. It follows from what has been said that the term “ordinary license” denotes 3 kinds of license: special license, 1st class license, and 2nd class license.

By a revision carried out in 1998, additional stress was put on the general education of teachers, and the new revision was to be fully implemented with students starting their course in April 2000.

Table 12-2 Salary of newly appointed elementary and lower secondary teachers (case of Tokyo 2003)

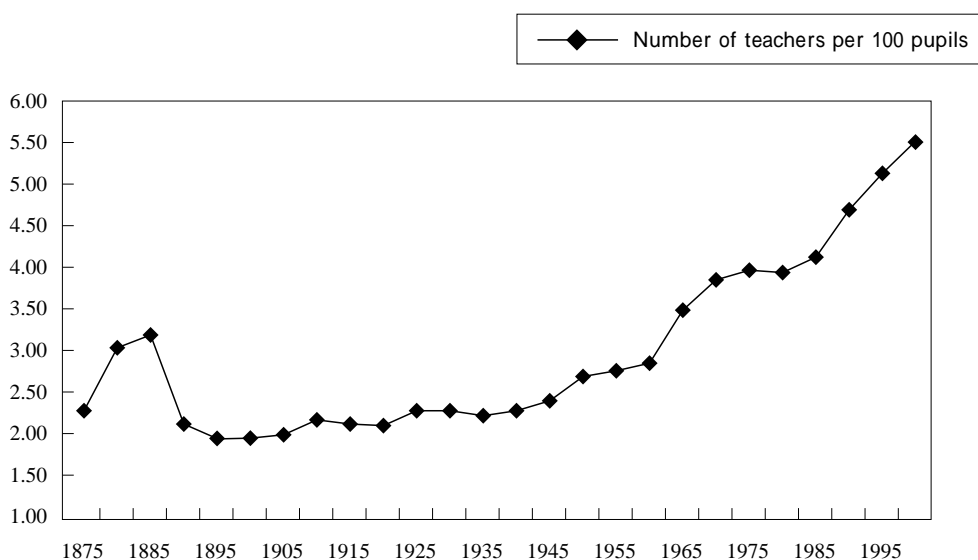
Type of teacher	Educational background	Monthly salary
Teacher	Graduate from a 4-year university	¥199,100
	Graduate from a junior college	¥181,100
Assistant teacher	Graduate from a 4-year university	¥188,600
	Graduate from a junior college	¥169,500

Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government Personnel Section home page

Box 12-3 Change in the number of teachers per 100 pupils

The graph below shows changes over time in the number of teachers per 100 pupils, clearly showing in what way the ratio of teachers to pupils has increased or decreased. Specifically, the graph shows that from 1890 until the period of high economic growth around 1960, in spite of increases in the number of school-age children, the ratio of teachers to 100 pupils remained constant at about 2 or 3, from which it can be deduced that the training and recruitment of teachers operated in a planned manner. In terms of reasons for the steep increase in the ratio from 1960 on, influences can be seen, taking the high economic growth period as a dividing line, from the decrease in the birthrate and the school-age population, but at the same time, there were also influences from the improvements being tried to the style of education and teaching, such as the “improvement in educational methods suited to the characteristics of individual children,” which started to be implemented, albeit in a rather fumbling manner, after the report of the Central Council for Education in 1971.

Changes in the number of teachers per 100 elementary school pupils



Source: Data from the Ministry of Education

(known in short as the “Law to Secure Capable Educational Personnel”). There was considerable discussion within the government about this law at the drafting stage arising out of the fear that the balance between educational personnel and other public service personnel would be disturbed, and after passing through various revisions, the law was passed in 1974. In the context of an attempt to promote a radical improvement in teachers’ salaries,

the law represented a measure with truly remarkable epoch-making content aimed at enhancing the qualitative level of teachers. Specifically, in accordance with the intentions of the “Law to Secure Capable Educational Personnel,” teachers’ salaries were revised in a planned manner on three occasions between 1974 and 1978, with the result that at the end of the process, salaries had been raised by 30% and were higher than the salaries paid to general civil

servants. Following these improvements in teachers' conditions of service, the traditional image of teaching as being a low-paid job was completely dispelled, competition in the examination for appointment as a teacher rose sharply, and the teaching profession came to be seen by young people as also offering economic attractions. At the present time, helped by these improvements in the working environment, the number of applications for teaching posts has increased, and the supply of potential teachers normally outstrips the demand.

3. The Present Condition of Pre-service and In-service Training

In Japan, the standard access route into teaching is to sit the teacher appointment examination organized by prefectural boards of education either while studying at university or after graduating, and if successful, to join the teaching profession. Thereafter, the general pattern is that teachers carry out their professional duties throughout their lives until the time of retirement. In these circumstances, with the aim of encouraging the growth of professional ability in teachers, it is considered important that in addition to completing a pre-service training course which will equip those on the course with the necessary abilities and qualifications up to a set level, teachers also participate in in-service training courses throughout their lives until they retire. In order that teachers can approximate more closely to the ideal image of a teacher, it is expected that they will continue to polish their professional and specialist abilities throughout their careers, and to this end, teacher education⁴ programs, comprising linked pre-service and in-service training are implemented before and after taking up a teaching post. The paragraphs below outline the present position both regarding pre-service training and post-appointment in-service training.

3-1 The Pre-service Training System

In order to firmly establish teaching as a specialist profession, it is important to raise the professional quality level of teachers and to maintain that level. The present pre-service training system is such that a teaching license is awarded to those persons who acquire the credits specified in the Educational Personnel Certification Law by attendance at a university or junior college which has been accredited by the Minister of Education to run a pre-service training course. As of 2003, as many as 85% of universities are accredited to run such courses. As far as teachers at compulsory education level are concerned, in order that a stable supply of teachers of quality and ability can be provided, each prefecture houses a national university or faculty which has the specific objective of providing pre-service training, and pre-service training courses are implemented in these universities and faculties.

As of 2003, over 60% of elementary school teachers have graduated from a national university, faculty, or junior college specifically aiming to provide pre-service training, but on the other hand, about 60% of teachers in lower secondary school, and about 80% of teachers in upper secondary school, are graduates of general universities, faculties or junior colleges. The reasons for this situation are that because of the specifically purpose-oriented and planned nature of education for elementary school teachers, there has inevitably been a tendency for their courses to assume a closed nature, and that the pre-service training of elementary school teachers has been limited to education-oriented universities as the main provider and to one section of private universities and junior colleges as well as designated teacher training institutions.

⁴ "Teacher education" is a relatively new concept, introduced in the 1960s as a comprehensive concept embracing both pre-service training, which takes place before appointment as a teacher, and in-service training, which takes place after a person has become a teacher.

3-2 The Present Condition of Pre-service Training in Teacher Education Universities and Faculties

3-2-1 The Present Condition of Teacher Education Universities and Faculties

Since the middle of the 1980s, in the broad context of administrative reform and the falling birthrate, the number of children has decreased, and this has been reflected in a drop in the demand for teachers. It is against this background that a restructuring of national teacher education universities and faculties has taken place. The content of the restructuring, involving a reduction in the quota of students accepted for pre-service training, has been implemented in various ways on the basis of the basic policy direction of the Ministry of Education:

setting up a new course (so-called “zero license credit earning course”) limited to students who will go into professions other than teaching; compensating for the reduction by increasing the quota of students accepted in other departments and faculties of the university; strengthening graduate schools; reorganizing the faculty; straightforward quota reduction.

In 1988, the Educational Personnel Certification Law was revised, and the number of credits required to be awarded a teacher’s license was significantly increased. This revision made it difficult to obtain a teacher’s license from a general university or faculty, and as a result the “openness” of the existing system was reduced. In this context, it is worthy of note that excluding teacher education universities and faculties, the percentage of license holders who were graduates of general universities and faculties

(including junior colleges and graduate schools) fell sharply during the 5 years from 1990 to 1995, from 21.3% to 17.7%. Moreover, by a revision to the Educational Personnel Certification Law carried out in 1998, the credits required for professional subjects for a license to teach in lower secondary school were increased very significantly; this is likely to lead at a stroke to a sharp drop in the number of lower secondary school teaching license holders who have graduated from general universities and to the transformation of the “open system” into nothing but a shell. In this situation, the pre-service training of teachers for elementary and lower secondary schools is showing signs of becoming the monopoly of national teacher education universities and faculties.

3-2-2 The Curriculum of Teacher Education Universities and Faculties on the Basis of the Educational Personnel Certification Law

Article 5 of the current Educational Personnel Certification Law specifies as set out below the conditions for acquiring a Class 1 teacher’s license to teach in elementary or lower secondary school, and the pre-service training curriculum is compiled by each university on the basis of these conditions.

(1) Credit acquisition conditions for obtaining a license

The conditions for acquiring a teacher’s license are as set out in Table 12-3.

(2) Subject item requirements

Subject item requirements for obtaining a Class 1

Table 12-3 Conditions for acquiring a teacher’s license (example)

Kinds of license/required qualifications		Basic qualification	Necessary credits to be acquired at university		
			Specialist subject credits	Professional subject credits	Either specialist subject or professional subject credits
Elementary school teacher	Grade 1 license	Holder of Bachelor’s degree	8	41	10
Lower secondary school teacher	Grade 1 license	Holder of Bachelor’s degree	20	31	8

Note: Nowadays the standard license acquired by persons graduating from a 4-year university is a Grade 1 license, so we have chosen that as the example.

Source: Compiled on the basis of SATO (2001).⁵

⁵ *ibid.*

Table 12-4 Subjects concerned with professional development (example)

Subjects concerned with professional development	Items included in subjects listed in left-hand column	Minimum credit requirements	
		Grade 1 license for elementary school teacher	Grade 1 license for lower secondary school teacher
The significance of education	• The significance of the teaching profession and the role of teachers	2	2
	• The content of professional duties in education		
	• Variety of opportunities contributing to career guidance		
Basic educational theory	• Educational ideas and the history of educational thought	6	6
	• Emotional and physical development and the learning process in infants and children		
	• Social, systematic and management issues concerned with education		
Curriculum and teaching methods	• The significance of the school-level curriculum and means of compiling it	22	12
	• Teaching methods for: individual subjects; moral education; special activities.		
	• Educational methods and skills		
Pupil guidance, education counseling, career guidance	• Theory and methodology of: pupil guidance; education counseling; career guidance	4	4
Comprehensive seminar* ¹		2	2
Teaching practice* ²		5	5

* 1: The “comprehensive seminar” is a newly introduced subject concerned with “developing the ability to act from a global perspective.” A number of topics are selected on the lines of: respect for human beings and human rights; the global environment; understanding of other cultures; the aging society, falling birthrate, and welfare; the nature of the family, and so on, and the seminar-type format includes discussions, participation visits, surveys, etc.

* 2: Teaching practice is specified in Article 5 of the Certification Law as a requirement for acquiring a teacher’s license. It is said to have been introduced in 1873 in the elementary school attached to Tokyo Normal School as a means of enabling Normal School students to implement and practice teaching methods. In 1907, the Japanese name for the subject was changed, and it now denotes a way of putting into practice in the classroom the academic knowledge learned at university. As a means of combining theory and practice, it is regarded as an extremely important educational topic.

Source: Compiled on the basis of Sato (2001).⁶

teacher’s license for teaching in elementary school are that 2 credits or more must be obtained in each of the following subjects: Japanese Language (including character writing), Social Studies, Mathematics, Science, Life Environment Studies, Music, Drawing and Craft, Home-making, and Physical Education.

In order to acquire a license to teach in lower secondary school, students are obliged to acquire the minimum number of credits in the specialist subject they intend to teach.

(3) Professional item requirements

Professional subject item requirements are as set out in Table 12-4.

⁶ *ibid.*

(4) Other

In addition to the professional requirements set out above, it is obligatory to acquire credits in: “The Constitution of Japan,” “Physical Education,” “Foreign Language Communication,” and “Operation of IT Equipment.” In addition, in line with demands of the time in the form of a rapidly aging society, all new students entering university after April 1998 are required to have experience in care for the elderly in order to obtain a standard license to teach in elementary or lower secondary school.

Box 12-4 Significance of teaching practice and learning points

[Significance]

- Diagnoses suitability as a teacher.
- Constitutes basic course of training to form practical ability as a teacher through hands-on experience and experiments.
- Constitutes basic course of training to develop professional ethics as a teacher on basis of experience.
- Constitutes curriculum to develop on basis of experience basic general knowledge concerning self-development and education within the nation-state of Japan.

[Learning points]

Target points in class observation; Method of preparing teaching plan; Methods of putting questions and responding; Ways of calling on specific pupils; Blackboard writing as a part of lesson development; Ways of giving guidance on note-taking as means of deepening understanding; Learning to relate note-taking and the level of the voice; Way of walking round the classroom between desks; Ways of giving out homework; Aim of tests; Ways of assessing the level of understanding by pupils; How to respond to a pupil who has made a mistake; Methods of class management; How to conduct lifestyle guidance; Mental preparedness for supervising school lunch; Ways of responding to accidents.

Source: From the elementary pre-service curriculum of Tokyo Gakugei University

3-3 An Overview of In-service Training

The strengthening of in-service training, with the aim of supporting the qualitative upgrading of teachers, is an ongoing aim in Japan. Before the war, there was no legal or regulatory backing for in-service training, and any training that existed was on an ad hoc basis, taking such forms as observation of classes at a school attached to a Normal School, participation in lecture meetings organized by the administration, or attendance at public research study meetings arranged by local schools. Nowadays, however, against the background of the growing sophistication and diversification of education that have accompanied turbulent and rapid social change, with the aim of enabling teachers to respond to social demands and to changes in the roles of teachers and schools, the current tendency is to put increasing weight on the importance of undertaking in-service training after the initial appointment, and many different kinds of training are now carried out on an everyday basis. Taking part in in-service training is an obligation for teachers, and at the same time, the legal right to take part in such training is specified in the “Law for Special Regulations Concerning

Educational Public Service Personnel,” and there are provisions to ensure that this right is adequately guaranteed (see Table 12-5 for details).

Characteristic examples of in-service training, with a specific explanation of the content, are given below.

3-3-1 Training in Line with the Number of Years of Service as a Teacher

Many teachers in Japan who take up teaching after graduating from university continue to serve as teachers until their retirement, and considerable importance is attached to their attaining “growth as a teacher” by means of undertaking in-service training in accordance with the number of years of service as a teacher. Training in relation to number of years of service can be broadly divided into 2 categories, training for newly appointed teachers, and training for teachers with teaching experience. Training for newly appointed teachers is the first in-service training aimed at teachers who have just taken up their posts. It was newly established in 1988, and is categorized as a form of professional training. On the other hand, experienced teachers take part in in-

Table 12-5 Kinds of in-service training by main organizer

Main organizer	Kinds of training	Examples of training
Central government (implemented by Teacher Training Center)	Training to develop teacher leaders	Training for principals and deputy principals, training for core middle-level staff, ship-based training, overseas training, career guidance lectures, training seminars for teachers concerned with new industrial technology.
	Training to cope with topics of immediate urgency	Training of leaders to take forward development of ICT in education, training meetings on prevention of AIDS, misuse of drugs, and so on.
Boards of education in prefectures, designated cities, and core cities	Training geared to length of experience and professional ability	Training for newly appointed teachers, training for teachers with 5, 10, and 20 years of experience, training for teachers in charge of pupil guidance or those newly charged with administrative duties, subject-based training, etc.
Municipal boards of education	Training geared to the actual condition of cities, towns and villages	Training concerning conditions of service for municipal employees and personnel transfer, present situation and problem areas concerned with school lunches.
Schools	Attainment of school objectives, etc.	
Individual teachers	Self-study training for personal enlightenment	

Note1: Central government subsidizes training carried out at important points in a teacher's professional career or geared to those who will occupy key positions in school management

Note2: Municipal boards of education cooperate with training carried out at prefectural level and implement training aimed at improving pupil guidance or at ways of responding to current conditions regarding delinquency and to the police authorities.

Table 12-6 An overview of training geared to experience and length of service

	Training for newly appointed teachers	Training for experienced teachers (after 5 years, 10 years, 20 years)
Objectives	The period immediately after a new teacher's appointment is very important as one in which the teacher tries to connect what has been learned during pre-service training in university with the daily experience in the classroom. In order to create a foundation during this period to increase the teacher's self-awareness of teaching as a profession and enable the teacher to undertake autonomous educational activities, planned, organized training is required. On the basis of an awareness of this need, this training aims to develop practical teaching ability and a sense of mission in the teacher, and at the same time, to broaden the teacher's perspective.	At the same time as enhancing specialist teaching abilities in each subject, this training aims to deepen a teacher's ability to tackle educational research and to heighten the qualities appropriate to a professional teacher.
Training format	In-school training: about 2 days a week for 60 days or more in a year. The teacher mentor plays the main part and gives the newly appointed teacher advice and guidance. Out-of-school training: about 1 day a week for 30 days or more in a year. As well as lectures in an Education Center, observation visits to other schools, and practical activity in the local society, a 4-night residential training course is also included.	[Example: training after 10 years' service] Courses for a teacher with 10 years' experience are divided into 3 stages on the basis of a personnel performance evaluation. The content, aiming to enhance teaching methods, lifestyle guidance, and the qualities required in an educational public servant, is implemented by municipal boards of education for 15 days in school and 15 days out of school. Prefectural boards of education provide whatever support is possible.
Training content	Items considered necessary for the performance of professional duties (Examples) mental preparedness as a teacher, basic general knowledge, class management, subject teaching, moral education, special activities, pupil guidance, health guidance, safety administration, etc.	[Example: in-service training in Tokyo public schools] The basic parameters for any teacher (professional duties, etc); training concerned with guidance and teaching (subject-oriented guidance, lifestyle guidance, educational methods, career guidance, educational counseling, etc); school management (school-level curriculum, grade and class management, school environment, etc); updating on social developments (information processing education, environmental education, etc); cross-curricular and ex-curricular issues (anti-discrimination education, disaster preparedness, educational assessment).

Table 12-7 Constituent ability items and training examples suited to professional ability level

	Constituent ability items	Training content suited to professional level
Principal stage	Ability in: school management and administration, internal and external coordination, general management. - Ability to manage at the highest level of responsibility - Ability to negotiate with board of education - Confident professional decision-making	- School management and the principal's role. - Problems in school management and administration. - School administration regulations - Service evaluation - Personnel transfer matters - Accounting matters
Deputy Principal stage	Ability in coordination within the school. - Planning and drafting ability - Responding to teachers' union - Organizing management ability - Readiness for community liaison - Problem-solving in the light of educational laws and regulations - Human relations coordination - Demonstrating problem identification and problem solving methods	- School management issues and the deputy principal's role - Problems in school management administration - Responding to teachers' union - School accidents and responses to them - Lectures on education laws and regulations
Teacher-in-charge stage (responsible for student guidance, or for grade matters)	Ability as a teacher leader - Has the confidence of teacher colleagues Teacher guidance - Activating teachers' talents - Understanding of children's emotions - Conversations with parents about education - Human relations coordination - Fair and equal treatment of teachers - Organizing management ability	- Issues in promoting student guidance - Overview of educational counseling - Practical duties in educational affairs - Ways of looking and thinking about educational laws - Understanding of problem behavior - Present state of juvenile delinquency and interfacing with police authorities
Ordinary teacher stage	Basic abilities, class management ability - Understanding of children's emotions - Has the confidence of teacher colleagues - Firmly based educational ideas	- Training for newly appointed teacher or for teacher with 10 years' service (See 3-3-1 for details of training geared to length of service)

Source: Compiled on the basis of KOJIMA (1996).⁷

service training after 5, 10 or 20 years of service.

A particular characteristic of in-service training in Japan is that it is implemented over a very wide spectrum, from national level to the level of the individual teacher, in line with the training objectives and professional experience of the teachers concerned.

3-3-2 Training Matched to Professional Ability

A teacher's professional career might pass through several stages, beginning with the status of an ordinary teacher, then progressing to that of a teacher with special responsibilities, and on to deputy principal and principal. At each stage, qualitative and

quantitative changes take place in the duties that the teacher performs. And at each career stage, the kinds of ability that are required will change. It is accordingly expected of teachers that their abilities will be formed in accordance with the demands of the career stage reached. It is therefore important to establish in-service training that matches the professional abilities required. The kinds of abilities that need to be formed at each career stage and the kinds of in-service training arranged to match these are summarized in Table 12-7. As this Table shows, when a teacher is at the stage of an "ordinary teacher," what is most needed is the ability to understand and give appropriate guidance to children,

⁷ Kojima, Hiromichi ed. (1996) "Gakkou Kanrishoku Kensyu Dokuhon [Textbook: The Training for Personnel of School Management positions]"

Box 12-5 The significance of in-service training for teachers

The first report of the Teacher Training Council of the Ministry of Education in 1997 said that since teachers have responsibility for the education of children in their classes, it is imperative that they constantly engage in profound study with a view to achieving qualitative upgrading of their abilities. Specific examples of the kind of study and training required are as follows, and training is provided to meet these needs.

Training aimed at enhancing human qualities as an educator.

(Example) Cultivation of sense of mission and mental preparedness as a teacher, of enthusiasm for education, and of affectionate feelings for children.

Acquiring high-level specialist knowledge and skills.

(Example) Learning how to apply in a specialist way in the classroom the knowledge and skills acquired at university.

Acquiring new teaching methods.

(Example) Acquisition of new teaching skills suited to the changing times, such as teaching with the help of new media such as computers.

Communication and assembling of information among teachers.

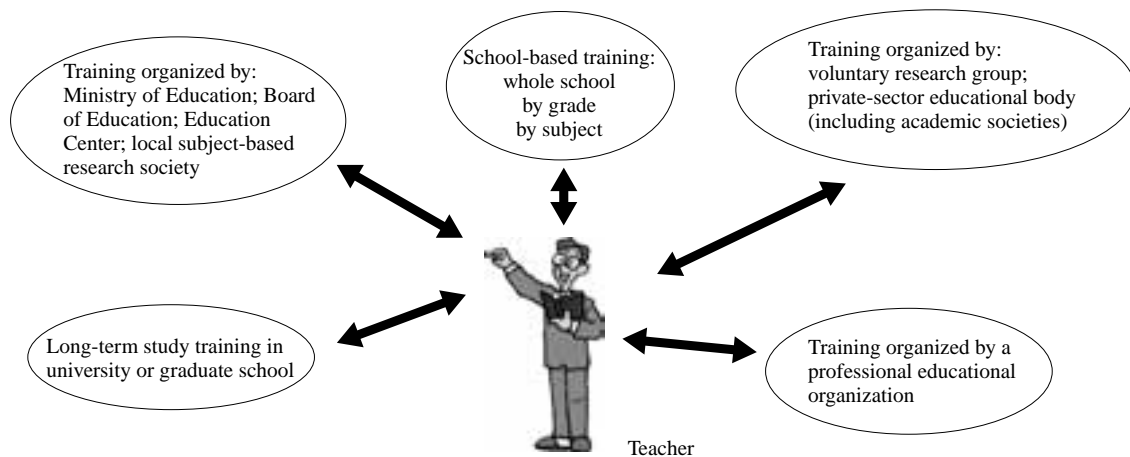
(Example) Construction of a lateral network linking teachers.

Assembling information provided by the administration

(Example) Acquiring information necessary for teachers or the school by participating in training provided by the administration on a topic such as new Courses of Study or new guidelines.

Source: First report of the Teacher Training Council. (1997)

Diagram 12-1 Overview of training organizations and locations



but as the teacher takes on special responsibilities and moves toward the post of principal, leadership ability and management ability gradually become more important and are increasingly required. In-service training is organized by prefectural boards of education, and generally speaking, in-service training courses last between 3 and 5 days, focused principally on lectures and conference meetings.

3-3-3 School-based Training

School-based training is a form of training in which all the teachers in a school take part in training in a planned and intentional way through educational practice and on the basis of a set theme with the aim of fulfilling the school’s educational objectives. Because the training take place at the teachers’ place of employment, participation is easy, the research

Box 12-6 Strong points of school-based training

- Has potential to deepen research on urgent problems faced by the school or the teacher.
- Has potential to take research forward in the context of linking it with everyday school practice.
- It is easy to utilize research results immediately for classroom practice.
- Has potential to deepen joint research in context of smooth human relations.
- It is easy to carry out research on the basis of relationship with parents or local community.

topic is very close to the teachers' concerns because it is drawn from actual experience, and the results of the research can be immediately linked with educational practice, so all this means that school-based training is a very important research modality for the professional growth of teachers.

It was from around the mid-1960s in Japan that in-service training began to be actively developed with the aim of improving school education at classroom level, and particular effort, even within the context of a variety of research activities, was put into making it more substantial. At the present time, school-based training in many cases is implemented and evaluated on the basis of a one-year cycle, and incorporated afresh every year into the yearly planning schedule. In a context in which school-based management has become an issue in many countries, the kind of Japanese-style school-based training described here has become a global focus of attention in terms of its school-based formula.

In general terms, there are 2 kinds of school-based training, namely "school-based research" and "professional training." The form taken by in-school research in many cases is that a school will decide on a research theme, and research is taken forward as a whole-school research activity, driven primarily by a body such as the Research Promotion Committee or the Comprehensive Research Committee. Professional training, however, is a training activity carried out with the aim of achieving a common understanding in respect of the situation of the school or of a particular problem issue, or with the aim of acquiring some particular kind of knowledge or skill. Activities such as section-based training divided by subject or grade, or professional subject training based on a division of professional duties within the school would fall within this category. Nor is there a

need for activities to be limited to those carried out within a school; "self-study training," where an individual teacher identifies and takes forward a specific theme, or active participation in "out-of-school training," carried out within an education center or a study training organization, can result through application of the multiplier effect in a deepening of the content of school-based training and in enhancing the qualities and abilities of teachers. Systems for promoting school-based training include the system of "designated schools," i.e. schools identified by the Ministry of Education or by boards of education as centers of research and training, and the system of research grants offered by private organizations such as educational trusts and foundations.

4. Conclusion

Within a modern school education system, the role played by teachers is extremely large, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is the quality of teachers that determines the quality of school education. It follows that the training and recruitment of the teachers who bear the burden of school education and their qualitative upgrading have always been in any age topics at the forefront of attention as well as being filled with problems. If we look at the historical changes over time in teacher training and recruitment in Japan, it is clear that considerable effort has been expended on recruiting top-quality personnel as teachers and on enabling them to offer high-quality education on an equal basis to all children, also that many different kinds of policies and interventionist measures have been implemented in the areas of teacher licensing, teacher education, and teachers' conditions of service. So on the basis of

what we have seen of Japanese experience to date, what items or factors can be seen as being able to contribute to the pre-service and in-service training of teachers in developing countries? In this concluding section, we will think a little about this issue.

Firstly, it is necessary to have a clear conception of the ideal image of a teacher. In terms of the process of deciding what kind of teacher is needed, it is important to conduct a debate among the people as a whole, to assemble opinions, and to form a national consensus regarding the concrete image of a teacher. By doing this, it will be possible to confirm a teacher's social status, and at the same time, to promote understanding of the policies and measures needed to achieve the necessary pre-service training, recruitment and in-service training, and to develop and employ teachers who are equipped with appropriate qualities.

Secondly, the realization of teacher education as a comprehensive concept embracing pre-service and in-service training is indispensable. It is necessary to assume teaching to be a specialist profession, and while giving due consideration to the lifestyle of individual teachers, to carry out a planned and long-term teacher development program with a view to encouraging continuous and graduated professional ability development, on the basis of the image of a teacher required by the society in question. In this way, it will be possible to make appropriate improvements to the pre-service training curriculum, and to structure the frequency, content, and form of the necessary in-service training. Of course, a precondition for a program of this kind is stable recruitment and employment of teachers. but any risk of that not happening can be offset by stipulating as a condition the fulfillment of a set level of professional growth during a set period of time.

Thirdly, there is the question of adjustment of teacher supply and demand by means of setting the level of difficulty of teacher qualifications. At times when there is a demand for large numbers of teachers, it is necessary to secure a large number of applicants for teaching by lowering the level of qualifications through use of the "open system" of

pre-service training. At such times, in particular when there is an enhanced sense of need and urgency for teachers with a particular set of qualifications, there is a need to examine ways of funding all necessary expenses by, for example, constructing a system of national scholarships. On the other hand, when teacher demand drops, it is possible through such devices as "raising the level of pre-service training in universities," to make qualification requirements more severe.

Fourthly, there is the issue of the realization of flexible and diverse in-service training. Generally in pre-service training, there is a tendency, rather than responding to changing needs, for emphasis to be put on forming the foundation needed by any teacher and orthodox education to be demanded. It follows that in order that a response can be made quickly to constantly changing socio-economic conditions, there is a need for a certain degree of flexibility and diversity to be guaranteed within the framework of in-service training. Many different bodies, including central government, local autonomous bodies, academic organizations, teacher unions and schools, have prepared a wide range of training opportunities reflecting social needs, and it is necessary to construct a mechanism to enable each teacher to participate freely in these opportunities according to need or to the teacher's own specialty. In this way, the teacher can be enabled to acquire constantly the knowledge and skills necessary for a specialist profession in touch with the needs of the time, and to respond to the demands of children, parents, and local communities. It is also expected that teachers will not only participate in these kinds of training opportunities offered by outside bodies, but that they will also take an active part in spontaneously organized study groups or school-based training as the place where such spontaneously organized training takes place. In this context, it is possible to identify "open classes" and "lesson study" as effective devices that enable teachers to share their experience and upgrade their skills as well as being conducted in a very familiar environment. It is probably also reasonable to say that attending lectures and courses outside school is an effective

means of training in those areas not covered by school-based training.

In order for suitable school education to be provided for all children, it is absolutely indispensable for every teacher to have a high degree of professional confidence and enthusiasm, and to maintain a set level of knowledge, skill and ability. With these requirements in mind, it is the responsibility of the state to provide education and training opportunities, and the responsibility of each

individual teacher to make maximum use of these opportunities, and to engage constantly in an ongoing process of self-training. And it is for the people to demonstrate their understanding of the provisions offered by the state and the efforts made by teachers, and to continue to offer their support for education.

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Chapter 13. Lesson Study

Issues for developing countries

At the “World Education Forum” held in Dakar in 2000, a point stressed afresh was that it is not sufficient simply for children to be enabled to attend school, but the question also has to be asked what they learn in school. In the same context, it was reaffirmed that the objective of educational development in international society is “Quality Education for All.” In the objectives and content shown in the national curricula of every country (in the case of Japan, in the Courses of Study), there is a significant degree of similarity in the content, and stress is put on autonomous learning by children. However, simplifying the present situation, in the classrooms of developing countries, a widespread type of education is one in which “children move their mouths and hands mechanically without thinking for themselves as teachers instruct.” In the face of this estrangement between ideals and reality, i.e. between the national curriculum and classroom lessons, not only reappraisal of the national curriculum, but also reform at classroom level is called for.

Points

In Japan, through the medium of “lesson study,” teachers bridge the gap between the Courses of Study (equivalent to the national curriculum) and classroom lessons, and bring about changes in their teaching by gradually adding practical improvements. “Lesson study” is a device for lesson improvement, put together on the basis of the principles of “Plan-Do-See” and developed within the framework of the Japanese educational environment; specifically, “teacher colleagues research teaching materials as a group, teach a class, discuss their teaching, and then use the results of the discussion for the next study session.” Characteristics of lesson study are that the teachers are the main actors, and it is teachers who think and try to develop strategies for solving problems, in the classroom context. Through lesson study, teachers learn from each other, develop their own ability and self-confidence, and construct better lesson models. It is this kind of accumulation of teaching improvements at classroom level that makes high-level education possible, and is undoubtedly the reason why lesson study has attracted worldwide attention. However, when carrying out lesson study, it is necessary to pay attention to the need on the one hand, while always continuing to aim at gradual daily lesson improvements, to have a long-term perspective and return to the core of education, and on the other hand, because in lesson study the process is stressed more than the result, to think, when applying lesson study to developing countries, in terms of development that is matched to the real situation and to give sufficient consideration to the cultural and social background of each country.

Lesson study, with the aim of raising the quality of teaching, consists of studying and researching effective teaching methods and ways of conducting a class through a process whereby teacher colleagues criticize and discuss a lesson conducted by one of

their number. In Japan, lesson study has played a major role in the formation, development and transmission of teaching skills. And leading on from this, a form of class teaching has developed, in which children are the major actors, and in overseas

countries too, as well as in Japan, the level of interest in lesson study is rising.

This chapter will examine lesson study along the following lines. The first section will give an oversight of the concept of lesson study. Section 2 will look back over the development process of lesson study up to the present time. Section 3 will provide an interpretation of the significance of lesson study, and Section 4, on the basis of the preceding content, will discuss points to be taken into consideration in terms of the application of lesson study to developing countries.

Unless otherwise specified, all subject examples refer to Mathematics.

1. What is Lesson Study?

Lesson study is a methodology denoting collaborative action by teachers to improve the quality of lessons. As explained in the following paragraphs, it is made up of three stages, namely the study of teaching materials, lesson implementation and reflection on the lesson, and can be implemented in various forms, for example, as part of school based training or within a framework organized by an academic society. It is worthy of note that it is quite commonplace in Japan to find teachers carrying out, on their own initiative, practice-based research concerned with their teaching, and spending their time engaged in trying to improve the quality of their daily teaching in the classroom. The following paragraphs will provide a confirmatory explanation, in logical sequence, of the nature of lesson study.

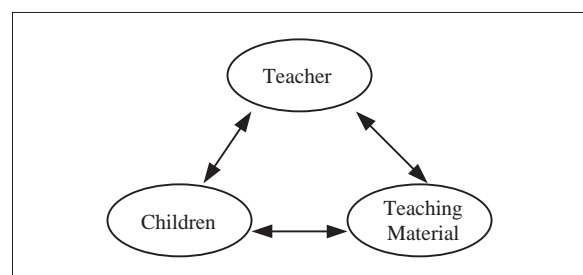
1-1 Lesson Study and Its Three Elements

The term “lesson” passed into common usage after the promulgation of the Education Ordinance of 1872, and was used for the first time in an official document in the Education Order of 1879. More specifically, in contrast to the prevailing concepts the Edo era, namely “learning how to read and write (*tenarai* in Japanese)” and “constant practice (*keiko* in Japanese),” a “lesson” was the product of a

modern school education system. Specifically, the concept of a lesson accompanied the introduction of frontal class teaching, which began at a set time and ended at a set time, and was aimed at all the children in a classroom.

The three basic elements of a lesson are “children,” “a teacher,” and the “teaching materials” that are dealt with in the course of a lesson. And the existence of a “relational network of tensions” linking these three factors is a precondition for a good lesson¹. A lesson does not simply consist of the teacher carrying out the act of teaching in line with the demands of the children, nor does it consist simply of children engaging with the teaching materials on their own initiative. Nor is it enough simply for the teacher to copy the contents of a textbook onto the blackboard. Teachers present afresh the contents of the materials that they have studied in preparation for the lesson, and while constantly observing in detail the children’s reactions, provide them with ongoing guidance, drawing out their abilities and leading them to the point where the learning objectives of the lesson are accomplished. During this process, it may be that the children in a particular class will evince a reaction that goes beyond what the teacher has anticipated, in which case the skill with which the teacher has put the lesson together will determine whether or not that teacher can make use of the children’s reaction and use it to enliven the lesson. This kind of situation can be termed a “relational network of tensions,” and in such a case the lesson will be highly evaluated.

Diagram 13-1 Pattern of links connecting the three constituent elements of a lesson



¹ Saito, Yoshihiro (1970) “SAITO Yoshihiro Zenshu dai 6kan, Jugyō no Tenkai • Kyoikugaku no Susume [Complete Works of SAITO Yoshihiro, Vol 6. Developing the lesson / An Introduction to Pedagogy]” Kokudo sha.

1-2 What is Lesson Study?

Put simply, “lesson study” is research which has a lesson as its object. It has a number of characteristics, but the most important one is the “continuing study and research carried out by teachers in the course of their daily lessons as they seek to achieve the objective of raising the quality of their teaching.”

In Japan, educational guidelines are established by the Courses of Study, which in turn serve as the foundation for the production of textbooks. And lessons in turn are implemented on the basis of the textbooks. As shown in Diagram 13-2, Courses of Study, as the concrete manifestation of national criteria, are fixed, but classroom “lessons” retain a high degree of freedom, and teachers are expected to decide how they will construct their lessons on the basis of the Courses of Study. Lesson study is a device that functions as a bridge linking the national criteria in the form of the Courses of Study with the classroom lesson, and it is eagerly implemented in

Japanese schools.

In this section, with the aim of elucidating lesson study further, we will examine what kind of stages “lesson study” has passed through as it developed;

what kind of perspectives are used in the context of trying to achieve improvements in lessons; and

what are the different kinds of lesson study that exist.

(1) The process of lesson study

“Lesson study” is made up of three elements, namely “study of teaching materials,” the “experimental lesson” itself, and the “lesson discussion meeting” (see Diagram 13-3).

“Study of teaching materials” begins with the selection of topics, and continues as a succession of activities concerned with teaching materials, from a detailed analysis of the content of textbooks so as to obtain a deep insight into their core qualities, to the conception and construction of a lesson suited to the

Diagram 13-2 From Courses of Study to Lesson

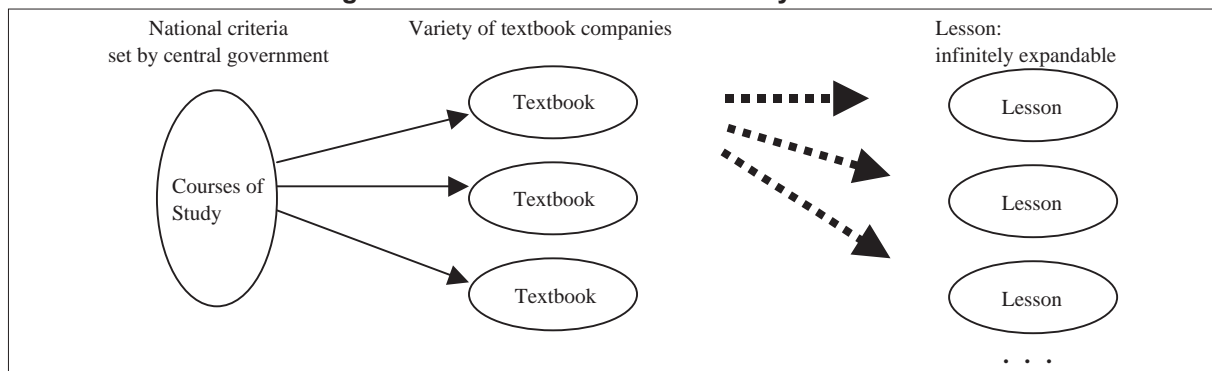
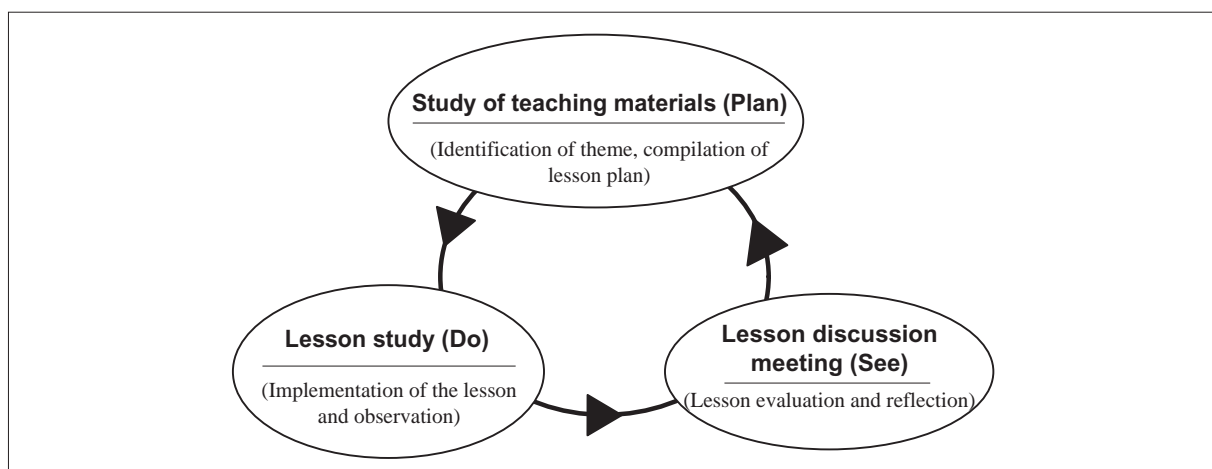


Diagram 13-3 The process of lesson study



real situation of the children concerned, through to the construction of a lesson plan². The study of teaching materials is carried on as one link in lesson study, but at the same time, lesson study also serves to confirm the significance of teaching materials and to correct unclear points. In other words, lesson study is a part of the study of teaching materials, and at the same time, the study of teaching materials is a part of lesson study. Lesson study is initiated by the study of teaching materials.

As part of the process of “lesson study,” after adequate study of the teaching materials and on the basis of a carefully prepared lesson plan, an experimental lesson will take place. On that occasion, many fellow teachers, and sometimes a supervisor or university professors will also watch, observing carefully every move the teacher makes. On the occasion of a large public research meeting, it may happen that many tens of people will be watching one lesson.

When the lesson is over, it is time for the “lesson discussion meeting (exchange of opinions concerning the lesson).” The meeting normally starts with an explanation of the lesson objectives given by the teacher. After this, the observing participants all express their opinions or ask questions in turn, clarifying the lesson objectives, or commenting, on the basis of their own experience, about such issues as the learning activities of the children during the experimental lesson, the role of the teacher, other teaching methods, and so on, so that a lively, wide-ranging discussion unfolds.

This succession of processes can be expressed diagrammatically (see Diagram 13-3), comprising a number of successive stages: identification of theme and formulation of lesson plan (Plan); implementation of the lesson (Do); evaluation and reflection on the lesson (See); reconsideration of the lesson (Plan); implementation of the reconsidered lesson (Do); evaluation and reflection (See); sharing of the results³. Through

this type of formulation, it is possible to see the Plan-Do-See cycle coming into being. Repetition of the cycle as needed, and consequent refinement of the lesson constitute the process of lesson study.

(2) The perspectives of lesson study

In lesson study, it is important to know where to locate the objectives. And if the teaching materials are not refined and polished sufficiently in line with the objectives, the whole lesson study process will remain restricted to a surface level. In this connection, the All-Japan Federation of Educational Research Institutes has commented as follows: “A lesson is a complex phenomenon, which comes into being as a process of mutual interaction between teacher and pupils, mediated by way of teaching materials. In analyzing and forming a diagnosis of the lesson, “where to focus the attention” and “how to view the lesson” are important factors. The perspectives of analysis and diagnosis must be decided in line with the objectives.”⁴ This statement indicates in general terms the importance of perspectives, and more specifically, the Federation also commented that one important aspect of “lesson study,” namely a teacher’s teaching ability, can be analyzed from 3 perspectives: “the ability to form an insight into children”; “the ability to interpret teaching materials”; and “the ability to construct a lesson.” The first two of these points link to the “concept of children” and the “concept of teaching materials,” referred to in the lesson plan, while the third indicates the ability to make the first two abilities into a reality within the framework of a lesson. It is on the basis of perspectives such as these that many diverse opinions are expressed in the lesson study discussion meeting.

(3) Kinds of lesson study

The concept of lesson study comes in many different sizes and shapes. Generally speaking, it is implemented either as one link in school based

² For a detailed account of the study of teaching materials, see Chapter 11, “Lesson Planing – Lesson Structuring.”

³ Stiegler and Hiebert (1999)

⁴ All-Japan Federation of Educational Research Institute (1980) “*Gakkou ni okeru Zyugyou Kenkyu* [Lesson Study in Schools]” Touyoukan Shuppansha.

training, on the basis of selecting and setting a specific research theme, or in the form of a meeting of like-minded enthusiasts, who gather to view and criticize one another's teaching, but in addition to these two formats, others might include lesson study meetings organized by a teachers' union or by an academic society. "Lesson study" can be categorized into different types, as shown in Table 13-1, according to the scale of participation and the primary organizers. Mention should also be made, although not strictly definable as lesson study, of many different kinds of public events or types of training, as seen in such forms as open day for parents, practice lessons undertaken by trainee teachers, or lessons given by newly appointed "probationary" teachers. Consequently there are abundant opportunities in Japan for teachers to view the lessons given by other teachers. This fact makes a very significant contribution to the ability of teachers to participate in critical observation, and to integrate into their own makeup the points that can be elicited from such observation, thereby becoming able to create better lessons for themselves.

2. The Development Process of Lesson Study

So when did lesson study, as we have defined it here, begin to be practiced?

Lesson study as it is known today came to be

generally practiced since the private-sector curriculum development movement of the 1960s. It should not, however, be taken as something that burst suddenly into existence, but rather as a phenomenon that came to assume its modern shape within the context of the process of accepting modern education by the education world of Japan.

As the concept of a "lesson" was introduced into Japan as part of the introduction of modern school education, there was strong interest among teachers in such methodological questions as how daily teaching should be carried out. In particular, at the time of the early Meiji era, when what even today can be seen as comparatively advanced teaching methods were introduced from the U.S., there is little doubt that the former "*terakoya*" teachers faced significant difficulties. It is against this background that it is possible to identify from a fairly early date, trial attempts that come close to the category of "lesson study." On the basis of the teaching methods introduced by American specialists in teacher training, reference materials aimed at teachers were produced, primarily in the Tokyo Normal School established in 1872, and in this way, advanced teaching methods were transmitted via the Normal Schools in each prefecture, into ordinary schools.

From the time of the Taisho era through the early Showa era, a new global education current began circulating in the form of such objectives as "education in terms of respect for the individual,"

Table 13-1 Varieties of Lesson Study

Scale of participation	Main participants
Within a school	Principals and deputy principals of public-sector schools
Research associations in prefectures, municipalities and districts	Teachers in public-sector schools
Research associations in prefectures, municipalities and districts	Boards of education and education offices
Whole country of Japan	Principals and teachers from schools attached to higher education institutions
Individual prefectures, whole country of Japan	Private sector (academic societies, firms, etc.)

Source: IKEDA et al. (2002) p. 28.⁵

⁵ Ikeda, Toshikazu, et al. (2002) "*Nichibe ni Okeru Sansu • Sugaku Jugyo Kenkyukai no Bunseki - Dai 2 kai Posuto ICME seminar no Houkoku kai*- [Analysis of research group on Mathematics lessons in Japan and the U.S.- the second ICME seminar report]," *Nihon Sugaku Kyoiku Gakkaishi Sansu Kyoiku* [Journal of Mathematics Education in Japan], 84(2), pp.26-34.

Box 13-1 Representative case studies of lesson study

Case Study 1: Seijo Gakuen

Seijo Gakuen, a private educational institution (established as an elementary school in 1917), in which SAWAYANAGI Seitaro served as Principal, became the core of the Progressive Education Movement of the Taisho Era. Advocating objectives such as “education in terms of respect for individuality,” the school implemented a very advanced approach to educational innovation (e.g. introduction of Reading as a class subject, emphasis in education on the natural world, learning activities based on children’s plans, and so on). In contrast to the existing pattern of a formalized lesson meeting, the school advocated the presentation of free case-study research. In 1920, the teachers at the school and others who agreed with their ideas formed the “Society for Research into Educational Problems,” and through publications and other means, influenced many teachers of public and private schools.

Case Study 2: Shima Elementary School

As the principal of a local elementary school, SAITO Yoshihiro publicized the practice of his school, Shima Elementary School, in terms of the way in which the character of the school and of classes was formed, and influenced subsequent development of the concept of “lesson study.” He located the “lesson” at the central core of the school, and saw it as embodying the creation of a new type of school and classroom lesson arising from cooperation among teachers, parents, and scholars. This thinking is expressed in Saito’s words as follows:

“For human beings to become rich and affluent in spirit, it is necessary to take the clear rules and laws of science and transform them, within the interactions and collisions of living beings that make up a lesson, into something alive, and for teachers and children to become steadily richer in the course of this process.

and with the aim of achieving these objectives, much thought was given to new teaching methods, and many kinds of practical action plans were formulated at classroom level, aiming to implement research and study by opening up lesson teaching and devising ways to make it better. Particularly noticeable were such private schools as Seijo Primary School (later to become part of the Seijo Gakuen educational complex) (see Box 13-1) and such attached schools as Akashi Elementary School attached to Akashi Normal School in Kobe Prefecture.

In wartime Japan, these movements died away, but with their revival after the war came a growing popularity of private-sector movements that laid emphasis on the interlinked network comprising schools, children and the community. Shima

Elementary School exemplifies this trend (see Box 13-1). From around the 1960s too, it was possible to observe attempts to make education more scientific along the lines of the “teacher-proof”⁶ packaging developed in the U.S., which aimed to grasp the common features of top-class teaching.

At the present time, attention is focused on the diversity of education and class teaching, and lesson study is being carried on within the context of many different methods and perspectives. Historically speaking too, in the Meiji era, the objectives of lesson study were to be found primarily in the transmission of teaching methods, but gradually the term came to acquire stronger implications of self-improvement stimulated by colleagues.

In ways such as those described here therefore,

⁶ In the context of making educational research more scientific, this denotes a curriculum designed in such a way that it can be implemented by anyone in conformity with set criteria; specifically, it denotes a package of high-level teaching materials that aimed to serve as a standard in terms of combining specialist academic knowledge with rich professional experience, resulting from a project on which specialists with a deep-rooted insight into teaching themes and subject matter worked with specialists in the development of teaching styles that laid special stress on the creativity and autonomous professionalism of teachers.

lesson study was originally introduced along with the dissemination of modern school education, and then passed through a number of stages in the course of its dissemination. During this process, different kinds of opportunities for lesson study were created, many teachers participated, and related documents were widely published. Through the medium of a succession of activities spread over a long period, the nature of lesson study gradually came to be understood by those involved with it, opinions regarding its objectives and methodology also became more unified, and the dissemination of lesson study was taken forward. In addition, as a result of lesson study being practiced by large numbers of people, new viewpoints regarding its further improvement were put forward, so that lesson study can be thought of as still subject to ongoing development.

3. The Significance of Lesson Study

Lesson study offers concrete models for improvement at classroom level, and its significance can be characterized in terms of the ways in which the national-level curriculum is made more specific and adapted in terms of the realities of the classroom; through opportunities for joint study, teaching skills and an image of what being a teacher means are passed on and continue to develop; and teachers form self-confidence and abilities on their own initiative.

3-1 Concrete Embodiment of the Courses of Study

In Japan, the Courses of Study exist as the national-level curriculum, and on the basis of these, textbooks are compiled and published, and various kinds of teaching plans are prepared. With a view to ensuring penetration of the Courses of Study, various kinds of training are implemented. However, even the most splendid educational objectives and high-level teaching materials have hardly any meaning unless they are given specific form and developed within the framework of a classroom lesson. Lesson study, in which teachers are the main agents, is a means of adapting and giving concrete form in the shape of a lesson to the national-level curriculum, and can be seen as a bridge between the ideal concept and the real world.

3-2 The Transmission and Development of Teaching Skill, and the Formation of the “Image” of a Teacher

Lesson study has come to play an important role in the accumulation and handover of teaching skills⁷ as well as in the formation of the image of a teacher⁸. In lesson study, a group of educationists, teacher colleagues, teacher advisors, university professors, and so on, will assemble together, observe the lesson conducted by one teacher, and during the subsequent lesson discussion meeting, exchange opinions, and thereby deepen their own knowledge of teaching materials, children’s learning, lesson composition and so on. This kind of lesson study is very popular

⁷ Apart from lesson study, a major role in the transmission of teaching skills has come to be played in each school by the in-school training of newly appointed teachers. A veteran teacher is designated as the education mentor of each newly appointed teacher in their first year of teaching, and will observe the teaching of the junior colleague and give advice and guidance right down to the fine details of teaching skill, including such matters as contact with the children, where to stand in the classroom, how to move between the desks and observe the children, how to write characters, how to use the blackboard, and so on. These practices have very great significance from the perspective of transmitting from senior to junior colleagues the characteristically Japanese elements of teacher culture including mental attitudes and preparedness vis-à-vis the profession of teaching.

⁸ The pattern of thinking that forms the basis of what it means to be a teacher is not formed by lesson study alone. Before any person becomes a teacher, that person will have passed through 14 to 16 years of education as a school pupil. During that time, the pupil will have been taught by teachers almost every day, and an image of what teaching is all about will have been absorbed, albeit unconsciously, and internalized by the pupil. In addition, during the teacher training course, the students will have spent every day studying how to become a teacher, with the shared concept of an ideal teacher constantly in mind, and one can say that as a result, the thinking that constitutes the foundation of that person as a teacher, i.e. the person’s view of education, of learning, of children, and of teaching materials, will to a certain extent have become shared knowledge and perceptions.

in Japan, and recently too, every teacher teaches a class in front of colleagues once a year. Teachers who do this learn from each other, and by means of the repetition of the process of finding solutions to educational issues through teaching in this way, the teaching skills of each teacher are shared among others, and at the same time, a common pattern of thinking with regard to teaching and learning is formed among teachers.

Furthermore, at the time of carrying out the experimental lesson, the teacher constructs the lesson plan on the basis of the teaching materials that have in turn been the object of thorough study and examination, and implements the planned lesson. Within the framework of a lesson prepared in this way, there are a significant number of occasions when novel teaching plans and teaching methods will be integrated into the lesson by the teacher and implemented in the course of the lesson. And in the lesson discussion meeting that follows the lesson, critical comments about the lesson will be made from many different angles, and points for improvement will become clear. By means of cooperation among the educationists concerned, the process set out here is repeated many times, and as a result, there is a high possibility that new educational content and teaching methods will be developed afresh, and systematically arranged in the form of know-how. Lesson study carries, concealed within itself, the potential to develop new teaching content and new teaching methods.

In point of fact, in Mathematics, in the form of fusion between lesson study and subject education research and in the context of a cooperative venture linking leading subject teachers with university academics, many different kinds of action projects have been put together. For example, the open-ended approach⁹, begun in the 1970s and continued for nearly 20 years, and continued even after this in an advanced form, has come to constitute a distinctively Japanese form of problem solving that is attracting considerable attention today. It is precisely this

fusion between theory and practice that constitutes the reason why lesson study is highly valued as a means of creating new teaching content and methods.

3-3 The Formation of Ability and Self-confidence in Teachers

In the normal course of events, the teacher is the only educator in a classroom, and that single teacher delivers the lesson to several tens of pupils. Moreover, if the objective is to achieve a "good lesson," then, as mentioned above, a "relational network of tensions" is always in being, linking the teacher with the children and with the teaching materials. The teacher presents afresh the carefully scrutinized teaching materials and develops the lesson, all the time carefully observing the state of the children and their reactions, and leads the children toward realization of the objectives that have been set for that lesson. Whether the lesson will be a success or not depends on the ability of that teacher. Within the context of this situation, the teacher is expected to conduct a self-examination on whether the lesson plan, the teaching methods and skills that will be used in implementing it, and so on, are appropriate for the lesson in question. To expect all this is in fact to make an exceedingly difficult demand of the teacher.

Lesson study offers an effective remedy to problems of this kind. By having one's lesson evaluated by a third party, the strong points and weak points of the lesson can be clarified. Confirmation of strong points is linked to increased self-confidence, and the teacher is enabled to devise techniques which will utilize these strong points in the next lesson. With regard to the weak points too, methods of improvement can be identified, and with intensified efforts on the teacher's part, it will be possible for solutions to the problems to be found.

In addition, critical observation of another teacher's lessons is linked to strengthening of one's own reflective capacities, and opportunities for discovering new lesson styles and effective teaching

⁹ A teaching method which takes an uncompleted problem as the theme, and has the objective of utilizing in a positive way the diversity of possible correct responses, thereby developing teaching styles further, and in this process, internalizing previously learned knowledge and skills.

methods are thereby created.

As shown in these pages, lesson study can be seen as the most effective method of heightening the ability of a teacher to conduct a critical appraisal and consideration of another teacher's teaching, the ability to construct lessons and the ability to carry out teaching in the classroom, at the same time as providing opportunities to strengthen one's strong points and overcome the weaknesses.

4. Conclusion

At the present time, there are movements in a number of countries, with the U.S. in the lead, to introduce lesson study. International movements of this kind for the dissemination of lesson study deserve attention insofar as they demonstrate the usefulness of the concept, but the question that still has to be asked is why lesson study has attracted attention in other countries and why attempts are being made to introduce it.

In the first place, it is because it represents an attempt to get to grips with lesson improvement at classroom level, and offers the kind of reflective perspective embodied in such questions as: "Was the curriculum implemented in the classroom or not?" or "In what way was it implemented?" A clear evaluation of attempts to get to grips with educational problems at classroom level, and a clarification of the nature of problem points and directions for improvement not only make it possible to raise the qualitative level of education in the classroom context, but can also be seen as linked to appropriate improvements to national standards at the level of national policy.

Secondly, it is because lesson study is evaluated as something which makes realistic improvement of education an actual possibility. When educational problems become policy-level issues, politicians

have a tendency to carry out radical curriculum reforms. The problem is that reforms of that kind often impose a very heavy burden on, and bring uncertainty to classroom teachers, with the possibility that conditions at classroom level will degenerate into confusion¹⁰. On the other hand, lesson study is an approach comprising very gradual reform at classroom level, and it has the potential to bring about appropriate revisions to the curriculum matching the needs of the classroom, without necessarily leading in the direction of large-scale reforms. Within the framework of lesson study, it is possible for graduated lesson improvements to be carried out in line with the abilities and skills of the teachers, and for qualitative upgrading to be attempted in an appropriate way.

It is clear that lesson study can be thought of having the potential to effect improvements at the actual classroom level, and as being able to offer hints and suggestions which would be of use to the educational development of developing countries. It is often the case in developing countries that teachers know what good education is but do not implement it, or that the circumstances are such that they are unable to implement it. It is also often the case that individual teachers may have good ideas, but that these remain the exclusive property of the individual concerned and are not shared with other teachers, so there is a tendency for better teaching methods not to be widely disseminated. Lesson study, which consists of teachers learning from each other and sharing their experience and skill, has the potential to provide a route leading to a solution of these problems.

This being so, what is the best way to turn that potential into reality?

Firstly, because within the broad framework of lesson study, people having many different standpoints and different ways of thinking meet and have discussions together, there needs to be a degree

¹⁰ Stiegler and Hiebert point out in the following words that any large-scale curriculum reform that is not based on classroom conditions is questionable: "Policymakers adopt a program, then wait to see if student achievement scores will rise. If scores do not go up- they begin hearing complaints that the policy isn't working. Momentum builds, experts meet, and soon there is a new recommendation, then a change of course, often in the opposite direction. Significantly, this whole process goes on without ever collecting data on whether or not the original program was even implemented in classrooms or, if implemented, how effective it was in promoting student learning. If we wish to make wise decisions, we need to know what is going on in typical classrooms."

of consensus among them that they will participate in such a way as to have an attitude of appraising, while having respect for, the work of others, and that they will discuss and criticize in a constructive way. In many cases in developing countries, the principal of a school, or a head of department (HOD), or inspector, is unused to this way of conducting affairs, and is only able to speak in a unidirectional way. In these circumstances, it is important to create an atmosphere in which all those who participate in lesson study feel they can learn from each other and think of how they can praise or offer constructive opinions on the teaching of others, all standing on the same footing regardless of differences in status.

Secondly, the teachers who participate in lesson study in Japan form a network for the exchange of information. In developing countries, this kind of network does not exist in many cases. Even among teachers of the same school, it is very common to find that they cannot discuss with one another what the best teaching methods are. In these circumstances, it is important to establish a network for the sharing of information and little by little to

expand it. With this aim in mind, there is a need for a third party such as a specialist from Japan to act as an intermediary, and to work in such a way as to accelerate the formation of contacts among teachers in the developing country. It is also important to establish clearly the important position of networking within educational cooperation activities.

Moreover, we must always bear closely in mind that the image of "education" in the minds of teachers and the formation of their view of "study" and "learning" have been greatly influenced by the education that the teachers themselves received during their schooldays and in the course of their teacher training course, and that these images and views that they hold will be reflected in the style of teaching that they adopt. It is also necessary, when "lesson study" is introduced or implemented, to ensure that sufficient attention is paid to the fact that as the substratum of these various views and beliefs, every country and every region will have its own distinctive "culture."

< **BABA Takuya, KOJIMA Michio** >

Supplementary Chapter. School Culture

Issues for developing countries

Both in developing countries as well as industrially advanced countries, education is influenced not only by social, economic and political factors, but also by cultural factors of the country and region. When developing countries aim to take educational development forward, it is important to give consideration to these cultural factors and activate their characteristics. In recent years, the phenomenon of globalization has been developing all over the world, and education in developing countries too is being pressed to respond to the challenges of internationalization and the development of global networks. At the same time, there is a rising level of interest in every country in the relationship between education and culture, and examples can be seen of how traditional culture as well as local culture and wisdom are being incorporated into the educational process.

Points

School culture, at the same time as being influenced by the culture of society, also has an influence on the culture of that society, and an insight into the culture of a given society is indispensable to an understanding of school culture. When the people of developing countries set out to learn from Japan's educational experience, if they pay careful attention to the characteristics of its social culture and school culture, they will be aware of the importance of not just seeing partial images of the organization or of the content and methodology of school education, but of getting a comprehensive view of the inter-relationships. Then it is likely to be possible to achieve a much more appropriate application to the needs of their own country. It is also necessary to give deep consideration to the international feasibility of Japan's school and social culture, and to its international and social effects.

Introduction

The chapters up to this point have considered aspects of Japan's educational experience such as quantitative expansion, qualitative upgrading and management improvement in the light of the educational issues faced by developing countries. But what has not received any particular attention, though

it forms the foundation of these activities, is the issue of school culture.¹

"School culture" includes all the constituent elements in a school, but in this report, factors such as the educational environment within which teachers operate, the curriculum, teaching styles, school management, and so on, are dealt with separately and

¹ According to the *New Dictionary of Educational Sociology*, produced by the Japan Society of Educational Sociology, school culture is "the complex of learned, shared and transmitted culture by part or all of the constituents of a school. Three types of component elements can be differentiated: physical, behavioral and conceptual. The specific items contained in these elements are: physical: school architecture, facilities and equipment, teaching implements, school uniforms, personnel; behavioral: teaching and learning styles in the classroom, patterned behaviors within the school such as formal ceremonies, events and pupil activities; conceptual: knowledge and skills as represented in educational content, rules, value systems and norms, and attitudes within the teaching and pupil body.

analyzed in other chapters. Consequently, this chapter will deal with informal aspects of school culture (the distinctive school value systems, rules and consciousness that define the behavioral parameters of teachers and pupils) apart from formal aspects of school education and the school system. This kind of informal school culture shapes the identity of a school, and is what comes to constitute the foundation of school education. As noted in the following paragraphs, former students and trainees who have studied or been trained in Japan have shown a strong interest not only in formal aspects of Japanese education, but also in informal aspects, incorporating or thinking of incorporating aspects of Japanese experience into their own country, which indicates that Japan's school culture is seen as providing a useful point of reference for the education of developing countries.

It is impossible to capture with a single, linear approach the informal nature of school culture, which is formed by multiple approaches interlinked and coupled together, so that it cannot be assumed that when a single process has taken place, a set result will appear. With these points in mind, we will introduce in these pages those aspects of school culture that have attracted particular interest from developing countries, namely: group consciousness, discipline, self-generated activities, and a culture of the written word.

It is also possible to draw on some deeply interesting survey results which indicate how Japan's school culture is seen by several Asian countries. From 1997 to 1999, a group of researchers² led by Professor MURATA Yokuo, University of Tsukuba, administered a survey questionnaire to a number of former students and trainees (hereafter referred to as "former students") from Asian countries, asking

them: What do you think the characteristics of Japanese education are?; and have you incorporated these "Japanese characteristics" into the system of your own country? In the course of their replies, the former students pointed out all the characteristics of Japanese school culture listed above with a variety of specific examples. Along with the discussions on the characteristics of "group consciousness," "discipline," "self-generated activities," and "a culture of the written word" in the following sections, the comments of the former students will also be introduced.

Finally, the chapter will conclude by looking at the interrelationship between school culture and social culture, which needs to be kept in mind when the characteristics of Japanese education are transmitted to overseas countries in the educational cooperation.

1. The Characteristics of Japanese School Culture

(1) Group consciousness

In Japanese schools, there are many occasions when the pupils form groups and undertake various kinds of teamwork or activities such as experiments, observation studies, group projects and so on. Mention should also be made of the various kinds of activities such as morning assembly, school or class assembly meetings, Sports Day, the annual Culture Festival, group excursions, and other similar events when all the pupils of a school or a class take part in a joint activity, enabling a spirit of comradeship among the pupils and attachment to their school to develop. This spirit of attachment or affection for one's home school is also developed through competitions of different kinds with other schools. Another factor which is linked to a heightening of

² The research project, assisted by a subsidy from a fund to assist scientific research, lasted for 3 years from 1997 to 1999, and was carried out by a research team led by Professor MURATA Yokuo, University of Tsukuba. The aim was "to carry out practice-based comparative research concerned with the effects of Japanese education on Asian countries, focusing particularly on the influence of educational cooperation and aid." The research aimed to elucidate what kind of education Japan has transmitted to the recipient countries and how they have received that education. A survey questionnaire was administered to former students and trainees from 7 Asian countries, i.e. Korea, China, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Singapore, and they were asked: What do you think the characteristics of Japanese education are; and have you incorporated these "Japanese characteristics" into the system of your own country or not? Full details of the methodology and results were published in a research paper, in Japanese, in March 2000.

feelings of attachment or affection is the existence of shared items which are common to all the pupils of the school, such as the school song, flag, badge or uniform. In ways such as these, pupils become aware of their “own school” or their “own class,” and thanks to these feelings of attachment or affection, groups can be formed, and as a consequence of this, educational activities may be carried out more efficiently and effectively. And at the same time that feelings of attachment to a group are heightened, feelings of cooperation, courtesy and consideration for others are also cultivated.

So how did the former students view these kinds of phenomena? They commented that in many Asian countries too, through the use of badges and school uniforms, competitive sports events and similar factors, feelings of affection for one’s home school were cultivated. In terms of small-group activities that includes group study training in which adults participated in their companies as well as group learning in school, they made a number of comments such as “through small-group learning, students can deepen their understanding,” “student groups split into small groups to carry out experiments and observations,” “students carry out their work by means of teamwork, and become able to accept mutual responsibility,” or “all the members of a group allocate different tasks among themselves, and take an appropriate share of responsibility for the work.” Many of the former students expressed views to the effect that they would like to incorporate into the systems of their own countries small-group activities of the kind they had seen in Japan.

(2) Discipline

Discipline is present as a factor that regulates the behavior patterns of pupils. Discipline in schools is something that is needed to form and maintain order in terms of the groups in which pupils carry out learning activities. By participating in group activities and training in manners and ritual behavior from the time of kindergarten and day nursery onwards, when group behavior takes place, discipline comes to be seen as something particularly important for children. In schools, the quality of discipline is

formed by such factors as school rules, group activities and lifestyle guidance. In Japan, school rules do not exist simply as something to be remembered, but permeate the school lifestyle through everyday lifestyle guidance given by teachers.

In terms of the area of discipline, the item most frequently mentioned by former students as being a typically Japanese characteristic was strict timekeeping, followed by the ritual morning assembly and morning meetings. In particular, the students put a high value on points such as exchanges of information, safety checks, confirmation of problem areas, etc, that took place during morning assemblies. Also highly evaluated was group discipline as manifested in such ways as team work carried out in small groups, the system of taking turns to perform duties in connection with, for example, cleaning rooms or during the communal lunch, and the sense of public-spiritedness as shown by the feeling of not wanting to cause annoyance to others. In particular, the practice of rotating duties in connection with cleaning rooms or at lunch times, in terms of a device “to get pupils to work as a team and be able to take mutual responsibility” was seen as a typical Japanese characteristic. Frequent comments were made in respect of Japanese school pupils along such lines as “they are correct in their manners” or “they don’t annoy others,” “they don’t just throw rubbish away in the streets,” or “public morality is adhered to.” In connection with comments such as these, the inculcation of good manners in the home and the school is seen as playing an important part in the strict observance of public morals and discipline. In terms of leading to an attitude conducive to observing formal rules and discipline, this can be observed, at class level, in small-group study and class-based or group-based activities, and at school level, in terms of group commuting between home and school, the morning assembly, various kinds of committee meetings, and so on. Moreover, care must be taken not to overlook, in terms of the social background, the existence of discipline in the home and in local communities, experience of communal shared enterprises such as residence-based group

activities, and the like.

(3) Self-generated activities

Self-generated or spontaneous activities are also carried out by pupils in Japanese schools, and through these activities, pupils can be thought of as taking responsibility for the formation of one part of school culture. Included under this label of “self-generated activities” are various kinds of group activities, club activities, pupil councils, events planned by these councils, and so on. Through participation by pupils in these activities, behavior patterns in the form of subjectively generated relationships with the school are formed. However, it is necessary to note that talking about self-generated or spontaneous activities does not mean that individual pupils are free to do whatever they like. Approved activities are those that take place within some kind of framework, taking such forms as a class, a year group, club, and so on.

With regard to views of self-generated activities, the former students paid close attention to the way in which learning, research, work and play were carried on through the medium of small groups. It was remarked on that in Japan, spontaneous, small-group activities are not restricted to learning activities in class, but can also be seen in club activities and special activities in school, as well as in youth baseball, youth soccer, and hobby-type activities in local areas.

Numbers of past students put a high value on and showed a strong interest in self-generated activities, making comments related to methods of study such as: “Teachers teach the children to learn, to practice and to discover things for themselves,” “They are taught how to use the library to investigate,” “More weight is put on observation than on memorization,” and “Students research and debate for themselves and receive guidance on research methods.”

(4) A “culture of the written word”

In Japanese schools, it is possible to identify habits of reading and recording that have been termed “culture of the written word.” Recently, there have been some examples of time set aside for reading in

the mornings, and in general, the environment, with book corners in class rooms, reading rooms in schools, and libraries in local communities makes it easy for children to interface with books and magazines. There are also many low-priced magazines in circulation, and it is easy for children to get books in their native language, Japanese. With regard to written records, each class keeps a class diary, and on an individual level, a special notebook is provided for communication between the school and the home. Each school also produces its own prospectus and school guide, and the Cumulative Records of pupils as well as records of school events are also matters of written record. Looking outside the school too, one can find local magazines and histories of local areas in many places.

With regard to a “culture of the written word,” the former students listed many examples of “the habit of reading and recording,” “easily understandable texts,” and “the wide dissemination of reading rooms and libraries.” In the same connection, they also shared their views of what they saw as Japanese characteristics with comments such as “children often read books,” “they get into the habit of reading in their homes from a very early age,” “whenever anything happens, they make a note of it and then file their notes as a record,” “wherever you go, there are libraries and reading rooms, which are very easy to use,” or “there are many easily obtainable books, magazines, and academic reference books in their mother tongue (Japanese).” The strengthening of resources in terms of reading rooms and libraries, notebooks, files, computers, and so on, in developing countries is not an easy task, but the former students expressed strong wishes to incorporate the habit of reading and making written records into their own cultures.

2. School Culture and Social Culture

School culture is not something that is formed only by a school, but is also greatly influenced by what could be termed “social culture,” comprising generally accepted ideas, social morality, social habits and customs, and the expectations of society

toward the school. School culture depends directly on the educational activities of class teachers and school teachers, but it is necessary to understand that for these activities to function smoothly, there has to be an informal code or set of standards shared by the class, the school, and the local society.

In the course of his explanation about “school culture in Japan,” IWAI Hachiro has written the following comments about Japanese characteristics: “In the case of Japanese society, there is a widely shared ‘informal set of standards’ regarding daily interpersonal relationships. This ‘informal set of standards’ has the backing of parents and society outside the school, and because both teachers and pupils share this common opinion to a certain extent, it serves to provide criteria for behavior in areas where formal control is relaxed.”³ In recent years, regulations regarding school organization in Japan have been relaxed, and control has become looser, but it is generally assumed that the informal set of standards to which both teachers and pupils subscribe in the home, in the school, and in the community, functions so as to make school education operate smoothly and produces good results.⁴

However, if we define the foundation of school culture as “a common awareness, common experience and well understood objectives,” that are shared by everyone, we still have to define precisely what it is that we are talking about. Between local residents and teachers there is a shared perception that “school is important” and that “the school is a shared asset.” Furthermore, parents and children share the experiences of school education over the generations as well as occasions like Sports Day or the annual Culture Festival. It can be assumed that there is a shared, unspoken understanding between residents and teachers that perceptions and experiences such as these have the objectives of “raising children’s academic ability” and “imbuing children with group discipline.” It is within the

framework formed by the informal set of standards that we have been talking about, that parental observation of school classes on “open days,” or reports by teachers to parents, are realized, and within which an education system that shows concern for others is confirmed.

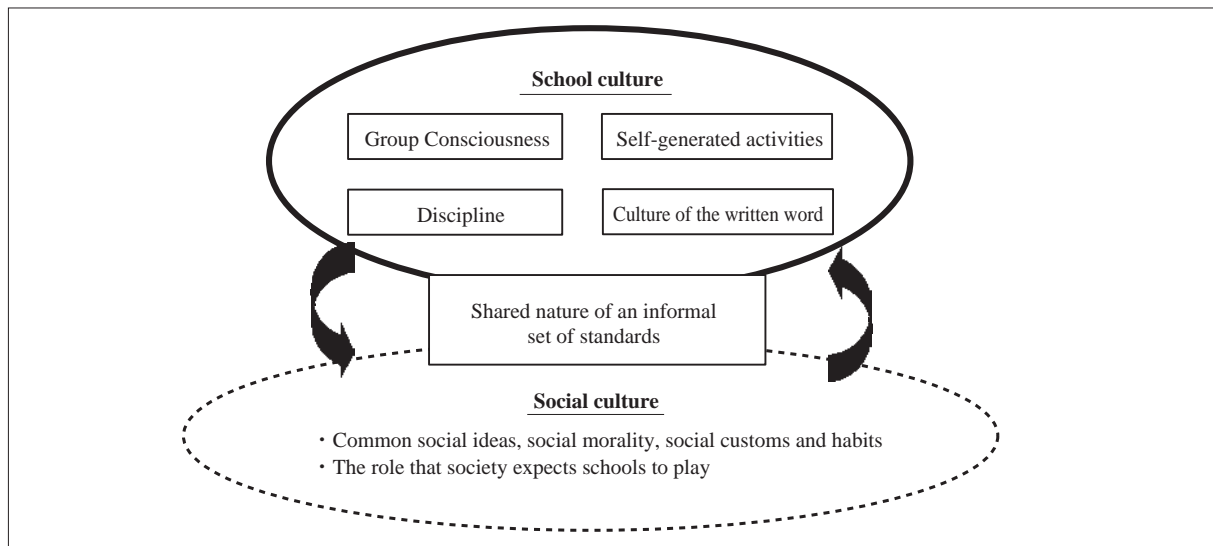
In the results of the survey questionnaire administered to former students too, there were comments to the effect that parents should certainly be involved in school education activities. Specific comments included the following: “Parents participate in school activities,” “Both parents and teachers value their relationship,” “Parents make observation visits to school classes,” “Teachers often communicate with parents,” and “On Sports Day, parents also participate.” With regard to the comment that “from childhood, group consciousness and education that shows consideration for others are systematized,” a specific illustration of this might be the way in which education in correct manners is given in the home, in the nursery and in school. Also worthy of mention is the comment that “right from the time when children are in kindergarten or a day nursery, they receive education in the pattern of a communal lifestyle, are taught to understand the concept of ‘others’ and brought up to believe that they must not cause annoyance to others.”

And as example of the ways in which social culture influences school culture, mention should be made of the role that society expects schools to play, a value system that puts emphasis on scholarship (education), the pattern of teaching respect for one’s seniors, the sense of public-spiritedness that discourages annoyance to others, and the habits of reading and recording. Social culture is transmitted to schools directly and indirectly by such channels as education in the home, events in the local community, PTAs and the mass media. For their part, schools respond to these influences by studying the pattern of their response and making appropriate corrections.

³ Nagao, Akio and Ikeda, Hiroshi, ed. (1993) “*Gakkou Bunka –Shinsou eno Perspective-* [School Culture – In-depth Perspective],” Toshin dou. pp.55-59.

⁴ With regard to an “informal set of standards,” in his thesis on “Japanese economic growth and socio-cultural factors,” Nathan Glazer has written that there is “a feeling that everyone is bound together by common perceptions, common experiences and an understood set of objectives.” *ibid.* p.157

Diagram S-1 School culture and Social culture



It is as if the society that surrounds schools constitutes a collective entity, and schools function within the parameters that define this entity. On the other hand, there is also the schema whereby school culture is returned via the school pupils to society (See Diagram 1).

Furthermore, if we broaden our perspective, it is possible to confirm that those phenomena discussed above as constitute elements of school culture are not limited to schools, but are acknowledged as being shared elements in local societies. Therefore, when

conveying the characteristics of Japanese school education to overseas countries in the educational cooperation, it is important not just to look at individual parts of class activities or school education, but also to get a comprehensive grasp of and to deal with school culture as a concept that includes local society.

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