

日本教育に関するアメリカ研究者による 分析・解釈への補足的・批判的研究

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I) 共同研究経過の概要——佐藤三郎

1983年（昭和58年）中曽根首相・レーガン大統領の首脳会議での合意に基づいて、翌1984年の日米文化交流会議（通称カルコン）合同委員会で、日米両国の教育専門家グループによる相手国の教育について相互研究を行う必要性が勧告された。これを受けて両国政府（森文相とベル教育省長官）間で協力研究を行うことの合意ができ、それぞれに専門家グループが設置され、以後、調査研究が進められ、87年1月、日米同時に、その成果報告書が発表された。日本語版は文部省顧問で、日本側研究グループの代表である天城勲編著の『相互にみた日米教育の課題』（第一法規、1987年）の書物の形で公刊されている。

天城氏がいうように、このプロジェクトの成立を促したのは両国の当時の教育の状況にある。日本の場合、政治改革、行政改革とともに教育改革を重視すると公言した中曽根総理が83年6月に私的に諮問した「文化と教育に関する懇談会」は翌年3月『教育改革についての報告書』を提出した。続いて84年9月には、これまで文部大臣が諮問した中央教育審議会ではなく、総理大臣が直々に諮問する臨時教育審議会が発足。実質3ケ年をかけた審議は四次に及ぶ答申を行った。この間、臨教審だけでなく、それと呼応するかのごとく各界各層にわ

たつての教育改革論議が活発に行われ、まさに“第3の教育改革”の名に適わしい一時期を画した。（参照—海老原治善・永井憲一・三輪定宣編『資料集・教育臨調・教育改革』エイデル研究所、1984年 文部省大臣官房編『臨教審答申総集編』文部時報臨時増刊号、ぎょうせい1987年）

一方、アメリカの場合、天城氏も指摘しているように、83年、レーガン政権の連邦教育省長官ベル（Bell, D.）の設問委員会が提出した『危機に立つ国家』*A Nation at Risk*が、教育界で未曾有の反響をよび、それまで各州規模で進められてきた教育改革に一定の方向を与えたのは周知の事実がある。（橋爪貞雄訳『危機に立つ国家』黎明書房、1984年）それとはほぼ前後してボイヤー（Boyer, E.L.）の*High School*（中島章夫監訳『アメリカの教育改革』リクルート出版、1984年）、アドラ（Adler, M.J.）の*Paideia Proposal*（佐藤三郎との共著『教育改革宣言』教育開発研究所、1984年）が相次いでわが国に紹介され、日米が相互に、それぞれの国の立場と状況の中で教育的改革のあるべき方向を求めて研究を交流する時期が熟してきた。

『相互にみた日米教育の課題』（1987年）に収録された日本側の報告『アメリカの教育改革』は、政府間プロジェクトということもあって、文部省が人選した研究者の分担執筆という形をとり、総括班、中等教育班、高等教育班の三班がおかれ、なぜか初等教育を欠くだけでなく班の内での調整・交流も十分でなかったと、班員の一人が私に説明している。あえて、そういうのは、アメリカ側の報告*U.S. Study of Education in Japan*（以下、鈴木陽子監訳『日本教育の現状』八千代出版、1987年による）は、連邦教育省内のリースマ博士（Leestma, R.）を代表責任者とするOERI（教育研究改善局）のチームの共同作業の成果であって、簡単なながら、日本教育の歴史的背景と文化的基盤から始めて義務教育、後期中等教育そして高等教育に及び、また当時進行中の臨教審の答申に触れ、最後に、連邦教育省長官ベネット（Bennett, W.T.）が執筆した「アメリカ教育への示唆」を載せている。この報告書が整然とまとまっているのは研究チームの構成のしかたにもよるが、アメリカと根本的にちがって、日本の教育制度は中央集権的のといえは言い過ぎだが、教育委員会はあっても文部省によって一元的に監督・指導され、どこを切っても金太郎飴のような類似

性を持つからである。

アメリカの連邦教育省は、アメリカ最大の教員組織で民主党の有力な支持団体であるNEA（全米教育連盟）の支援によって、カーター政権の時、一部局から省に昇格したが、レーガン大統領に代って廃止される寸前にあった。その時のベル長官が諮問して発表された『危機に立つ国家』の成功が連邦教育省を廃止の“危機”から救うことになった。『危機に立つ国家』の背景にはベトナム戦争の後遺症もあるが、工業力を含めて急速に発展し、分野によってはアメリカを追い越す経済生長を遂げた西ドイツ、韓国、日本の学校教育への関心の高まりがある。

例えば80年代に入って、アメリカ一流の学者による日本の教育に関する優れた研究が相ついで我が国にも翻訳紹介され、実地でのフィールドワークの手堅さとそれに基づく理論的考察には定評がある。（Cummings, W.K. *Education and Equality in Japan*, Princeton University Press, 1980. —カミングス著、友田泰正訳『ニッポンの学校』サイマル出版、1981年；Duke, B.C. *The Japanese School, 1986*. —デューク著、国弘正雄・平野勇夫訳『ジャパニーズ・スクール』講談社、1986年；Rohlen, T.P, *Japan's High School*, The Regents of the University of California, 1983. —ローレン著、友田泰正訳『日本の高校』サイマル出版、1988年）

他方、日本の研究者によるアメリカ教育研究も決して少なくない。中村雅子は「日本におけるアメリカ教育：1960～1991」で、この30年間にわたるアメリカの教育研究に関する文献目録一覧表を作製して紹介した。（東京大学・「アメリカ研究資料センター年報」、第14号、1991年）50州、16,000にのぼる市町村学校区は相互に歩調を合わせる傾向を見せてはいるが、それでも日本とは大いにちがってそれぞれ独自の特色をもち、善し悪しは別として変化の動きも早い。従って『危機に立つ国家』が、危機のシグナルを発しても、それが国の共通の路線を敷く結果にはならず、強いていえば、連邦政府や地方地自体に較べて教育支出費の多い州政府（とくに州知事）が主導する教育政策がめだってきているが、主体はあくまで地方地自体にある。（参照：アメリカ教育学会第4回大会シンポジウム、「アメリカにおける連邦・州・学校区の教育行政の区分と役

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割」『教職研修』1993年1月号、教育開発研究所）だからアメリカ側からみた報告書『日本教育の現状』と同じ手法で日本側からマクロ的視点からの「アメリカ教育の現状」を一定の期間と予算内でまとめるのは事実上不可能である。

日本の研究者によるアメリカ教育研究で実質的成果をあげているのは、特定の学校区で集中的に行ったフィールドワークで、例えば（発行順）稲垣忠彦『アメリカ教育通信』評論社、1977年、梶田正己『ボストンの学校』有斐閣、1983年、安彦忠彦『よみがえるアメリカの中学校』有斐閣、1987年などがある。

92年、前出 *U.S. Study of Education in Japan* (1987) の続編というよりも、それを責任執筆した OERI の研究員も含めて分野ごとの専門家の合同執筆による下記の論文集が発刊された。

Japanese Educational Productivity, (eds.) Leestma, R and Walberg, H. J., Center for Japanese Studies — The University of Michigan, 1992.

これをもって一応アメリカ側の日本教育研究プロジェクトは作業を終えることになった。一方、同92年に開かれた（日本）アメリカ教育学会第4回大会理事会において、文部省審議官在任中、上記日米プロジェクトの推進をした中島章夫理事は渡米を機会にリースマ氏と会った時、氏が共同編集して出版されたばかりの上記論文集を提供され、彼自身が執筆した第10章 *Further Research Needed* に対する何らかの資料、できれば回答が欲しいといったという。

理事会では、この要望に答えるため学会内の有志で研究チームを組み、文部省の科学研究費への公募を決め、同日の総会では、研究計画の細目、研究分担者の選定など研究代表者に決った私に任すことを承認、その後直ちに補助申請を行い、追加交付が決定して研究に着手したのは93年末からである。

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研究テーマ

「日本教育に関するアメリカ研究者による
分析・解釈への補足的・批判的研究」

研究代表者 佐藤 三郎

研究1年次にはリースマが *Further Research Needed* の中で挙げた研究項目のすべてを、研究者の全員23人が分担し、分担者の一人である鈴木陽子訳の『日本教育の現状』（*U.S. Study of Education in Japan* または *Japanese Education Today*）を全員に配布して、各人がそれと照合・点検しながら補足的・批判的な小論文の提出を求めた。2年次は、アメリカ側の報告書でも疑問点が多く出されている高校を実地訪問、また計2,500人以上の高校生に対して学校生活に関するアンケートを配布して回答を集めて分析・解釈を行った。一方、最終報告書の作製にむけて国立教育研究所の石坂和夫、九州大学の中留武昭（この二人は前出の日米共同プロジェクトに加わり、アメリカの調査をしている）、福井大学の安藤輝次を執筆担当者として依頼、この三人は自分に割りあてられた分野だけでなく、1年次末に提出されている他の人の小論文の取扱いもひきうけている。三人は相互に調整するだけでなく、所属しているアメリカ教育学会第6回大会（1994年）シンポジウムで発表したり（「アメリカの日本教育研究をどう受けとめるか」『教職研修』1995年1月号、教育開発研究所）第7回の大会（1995年）の終了後の研究分担者総会ではそれぞれ準備した報告書原稿を全員に配って質疑応答だけでなく、郵送によるコメントを求めている。

96年1月には執筆者と代表の私が福井大学に集まり、最後の調整を行った。

以上、いささか事務的な経過報告という形になったが、代表者の私は単なるコーディネイターとしてでなく、最終報告書が「補足的・批判的研究」として一定の質を保持し、アメリカ側の期待にそえるよう、三人の最終原稿に削除、補正、加筆を行い、時には越権に近いことまでした。幸い分担者、執筆者はそれについて寛容であるどころか、有言無言の援助を下さった。

さて、本研究では当初文部省への科学研究助成申請の研究計画で明示したように、正確にはリースマ氏が提起した質問項目に対する我々の補足的・批判的的回答を英訳して発送することになっている。限られた予算のために、日本文の最終報告書自体、執筆者の最終原稿を大幅に削除しているが、さらに英訳のためには再削除して簡略化した。英訳を快くひきうけてくれたのは、大学の若い同僚 Larry Walker で、教育学プロパーの専攻ではない氏には多大の苦勞をお

かけた。日本文の最終報告書の初校の刷りあがったのは2月中旬、それを簡略化して英訳の作業に入ってから、印刷が完成するまで実質1ヶ月ほどしかなかったが、Larryの「この仕事は私にも勉強になる」との一言が、どれだけ私を元気づけてくれたか分らない。

せっかくのLarryの労作を文部省と我々研究チームのメンバーだけのものとして終らせるのは惜しいと思い、大阪経済法科大学論集に投稿し、同時に、それを参考にして、彼自身の小論文を書くように勧めたのは私である。

II) Supplemental Commentary on Some of the Questions Raised by American Researchers of Japanese Education by Japanese Research Group

(translated by Larry Walker)

Ministry of Education • Board of Education

Referring to Report of the First American Education Mission to Japan, the newly established board of education based upon legislation passed in 1948, aimed to reform educational administration such as the privatization of education, strengthening of educational administrative power of local authorities and maintaining autonomy in education. However, following Japan's independence, the new system for boards of education of that time faced such problems as ① the board's shortage of revenue, ② shortage of capable human resources, ③ unit of governance, be it local, municipal or prefectural, and ④ the problem of little public concern for election of education boards (so-called layman control). Thus, the system of publicly electing the board members was abolished. In 1956, the Local Educational Administration Organization and Operations Law was enacted. Within the meaning of this law, the outline of the relationship of authority between the Ministry of Education, boards of education and schools was made clear.

Regarding administrative organization, no superior or subordinate

relationship exists between the Ministry of Education and boards of education under this law. The proper administrative relationship between the Ministry of Education (Minister of Education) and the boards of education is one of assistance and regulation by the former. In postwar educational administration reform, national administrative control was widely curtailed. In place of that, in the Tokyo metropolis, Hokkaido, urban and rural prefectures, counties, cities and villages, board of education authority was strengthened. As a result, the guidance and counseling is from the Ministry of Education toward prefectures and municipalities, and from the prefectural boards of education toward cities, towns and villages as exemplified in 11 articles of the 1956 law. On the other hand, the establishment of the standards necessary for the arrangement of educational conditions, qualification and the regulation for accreditation of education-related enterprises remained within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and the boards of education.

In particular, the Ministry of Education may exercise the right of consent to the appointment of a superintendent of educational affairs (prefectures, designated metropolis), mandate of improvements or corrective measures, investigative authority related to local educational affairs, as well as the authority to establish various criteria for management of delegated duties. In reality, the nation's (Ministry of Education) predominance and position of leadership clearly amounts to central authority in some cases.

Moreover, in making important national policy, the Minister of Education, establishes appointed councils such as the Central Council on Education (CCE), Curriculum Council (CC), etc. and respects the outcome of the councils' deliberations.

Regarding the relationship of local boards of education and schools, the local boards hold the right to administer and supervise the schools as founder. It includes the supervision of school buildings and other facilities,

equipments, teaching aids and related property, and the management of teacher personnel affairs in matters such as certification, duties, job performance assessment, in and out of service training, school curriculum, teaching materials, formation of school organization and handling the care of school children.

Such supervisory operations by boards of education are indispensable to the maintenance and management of the school. However, in regards to the relationship with the board of education, the school itself has a relatively high degree of autonomy. The management of the school and the supervision of its internal operations demands originality and devices.

Board of Education and Superintendent

A full-time superintendent and clerical office have been set up for urban and rural prefectural and municipal boards of education. The board has the right to make various decisions regarding office work within its jurisdiction, but the superintendent as an educational administration professional will provide both professional and technical advice to the board and has the right to execute policies the board has decided upon.

In Japan, the relationship of the layman board members and the “professional” superintendent appointed by the prefectural governor or the head of the community is indivisibly fused. In contrast with the United States, the board of education and superintendent have little sense of a division of labor, though it can be said the actual situation is that duties are performed under the leadership of the superintendent.

National Educational Finance

Differing with that in the United States, national educational finance in Japan is one part of general financing. Even in the case of the Ministry of Education, when exercising rights to annual revenue and expenditure

budgets, the decision of the national parliament is required.

The Ministry of Education accounts for 13.6% of general budget expenditures which among the ministries is second only to the Ministry of Welfare. Looking at the itemization of the general accounting, subsidies and assistance to localities and transfer of expenditures account for approximately three-quarters of the budget. In the itemization on how operating expenses are spent, personnel expenditures account for 80%. If the Ministry of Education had the same ceilings as other ministries, policy expenditures would be suppressed. This inflexibility has been pointed out and recently there has been a movement toward taking another look at this issue.

Local Educational Finance

Local educational administration expenses account for 21.0% of total annual expenditures of the locality. A rather large amount, proportionally this is second only to civil engineering expenses at 22.6%. In itemized annual expenditures, personnel expenses such as teaching faculty and employee salaries and the costs for building and equipping school facilities account for about 90% of the entire budget. High operating costs and low budget amounts for policy expenditures point to the difficulties facing local boards of education. Furthermore, the expenses local education account for in school expenses went down for the first time in 1993 when compared with the previous year because of a decrease in the number of children of school age. Social education expenses, taking as a background the promotion of life-long learning, are experiencing yearly increases. Moreover, regarding local educational financing expenditures (revenue source), in the absence of an independent income source from a school tax like that of the United States, the source of revenue for education which local governments must pay is actually left to a form of dependent financing which is referred to as "30% local autonomy." This means the locality is responsible for 30% of

their educational financing and the national government funds the remainder.

School budgeting, in cases of compulsory education, is carried out by the clerical office of the boards of education in principle. However, the principal has partial authority which in elementary and junior high schools is relatively minor, but in high schools is rather extensive.

Teacher Certification

In accordance with the revisions in the Education Employees Certification Law of 1988, conditions and requirements for certification greatly changed. Depending on one's schooling, the standard certification (valid for life) is divided into the categories of those holding a master's degree qualification, those who have graduated with a bachelor's degree from university and those who have graduated from junior colleges. Also newly established was that every prefectural and municipal board of education may confer certification upon lay persons with superior knowledge or technical skills (valid for from 3 to 10 years) in order to bring them into the education world. Furthermore, in special cases of the certification system, part of the course work of subject matter in a field of study can be handled by those without certification. This is made possible by the employment of special part-time lecturers.

While in both Japan and the United States, the principle of "certification first" prevails, in the United States ① lifelong certification is rarely issued soon after graduation. Under much stricter conditions than observed in Japan, a master's degree level qualification or a fixed number of years of work experience is required for the issuance of lifelong certification. ② University level teacher education courses for the teacher competency test (National Teacher Examination) are imposed by more than 27 states, Special Education is required in 36 states, Health Education (drugs, alcohol)

in 16 states, and Computer Education also in 16 states. In Japan, universities which require test results from university sponsored teaching competency tests or completion of a number of credits as qualification to take teacher education courses do not exceed 13%, and in actuality most universities unconditionally allow students to take teacher education courses.

Inservice Training and Training for Beginning Teachers

A topic which holds interest for the United States is a system of training for beginning teachers which started in 1989. In order to assist newly appointed teachers with practical teaching ability, nurturing a sense of mission and acquiring wider knowledge, upon being employed, a one year inservice training is given.

Beginning teachers undergo required training for performance of their duties both inside and outside school which includes basic knowledge and skills, school management, curriculum, and teaching method, morals, special activities, student guidance, etc. The training takes place in the school under the guidance of lead-teachers on a twice weekly basis for 60 days throughout the year and provides guidance and counseling on making teaching plans, assessing instruction, planning school management and its assessment, methods for understanding students and providing guidance to individuals and groups.

Outside the school, the new teachers are trained on a weekly basis 30 days throughout the year, at prefectural and local education centers. Training topics include lectures, seminars, the study of teaching for schools of different grades, observation of social educational facilities and voluntary activities. Usually the training is held at the beginning of the year or at summer break or other longer periods when classes are not in session. In some instances trainees lodge at the centers for up to 5 days and gain

firsthand experience from training activity. According to several investigations regarding the training for beginning teachers, trainees generally recognize the importance of such training. Based upon the results of the investigations and with an aim toward improving the quality of future beginning teacher training courses, the following points require consideration.

① The first year of the institutionalized training program should focus on more practical items of training, particularly curriculum, class management and educational guidance, in order to promote better quality. From the second year on, a higher level training program is expected depending on the circumstances of the region.

② The system of in-school service training is suitable and proper, especially the beneficial influence available from colleagues who can help trainees with the formation of their competency. For this, it is necessary for educators in the school with classes of the same grade or teaching the same courses to establish a beginning teacher training system.

③ Beginning teacher's individual characteristics or the ways human relations should be handled inside the school are greatly influenced by effective training. Moreover, to increase the effectiveness of the training, beginners are allowed to make requests and to state individual preferences regarding selection of content for the training program, which itself is also carried out in a flexible manner in order to assist the formation of the beginner's competence.

In the United States, as in Japan, many states require newly appointed teachers (in some states principals included) to undergo training programs. As of 1994, 28 states had programs implemented with planning underway in other states. In every state interest is on the rise.

Composition of School Personnel

In general, the staff members working at schools include those educational personnel who are directly in charge of children's education such as the principal, vice-principal, teachers, school nurse, etc. and school personnel who handle affairs such as office clerks, janitors, cafeteria staff and guards. Especially for official requirements for teaching faculty and office staff members, prefectural and local boards of education make proper arrangements based on the Japanese legal system (Fixed Number Standard Law).

In public and private schools, the percentage of woman teachers in elementary schools exceeded 50% in 1969, and has been on the increase reaching an all-time high of 61.2% in 1995. The figures for junior and senior high schools for 1995 were 39.2% and 23.2% respectively. The proportion of positions women occupy has consistently risen in postwar times. Also, in the composition of the age of teachers, principals from the age of fifty-five to sixty years old are the most numerous at 76.9%, vice-principals from the age of fifty to fifty-five years are at 39.2% and those from fifty-five to sixty years are at 25.7%. An overall trend toward younger people in the positions can be seen.

Classification and Rank of Teachers

The basic organizational composition of personnel inside schools is regulated by national law, but personnel matters concerning placement and operations are commonly decided upon internally.

Nevertheless, job classifications tend toward diversification following the diversified school life. Besides school nurses, counselors have been placed in schools in recent years. In Japan, for these positions, the principle of the division of labor among these jobs observed in the United States, is far less

apparent. This is because of the traditionally deep-rooted view of a whole man which has been held for the all-mighty classroom teacher.

In the United States a school usually has some number of teacher-support staff members who assist the teaching faculty, but in Japan a teacher is supposed to have several other duties outside the teaching function itself. Role sharing is looked upon desirably in Japan.

In Japanese schools the duties of the office of the principal, vice-principal and department heads have been made into law and are clearly covered in Article 28 of the School Education Law. However, in actual practice, differing from that of the United States, bottom-up management by way of participatory faculty meetings, formally and substantially makes for a functional school culture. Democratic consensus building that surpasses job position or rank is accorded great importance in Japanese schools.

School Management and Leadership

When comparing Japan and the United States in school management and leadership, the following may be said :

① In both countries the leadership of the principal and vice-principal would ideally be performed through the serious consideration given to guiding and advising the school personnel. In reality, more time is taken up for managerial duties.

② Promotion to a managerial position in the United States is based upon acquiring certification for the specialization. In Japan, the principle of work experience as it relates to the seniority system has historically been the case. It is impossible to say which of the two better demonstrates leadership. In the case of Japan, it usually takes a career of teaching for several years to be promoted to a managerial position.

③ In both countries, leadership has taken on the additional role of creating and managing the school culture besides the abilities of management.

④ Again in both countries, the formalized duties between the principal and the vice-principal is that the former would perform the official duties of overall management and the latter would act in an assisting capacity. In reality, this is quite different. In Japan, the vice-principals' duties are prescribed for under the law. Not so in the United States, where local school districts vary in their scale, finance and kinds of school they have. Generally speaking, in the United States the duties of the principal and vice-principal are divisible while in Japan a strong tendency towards the vice-principal in the role of general assistant to the principal is the case. Thus in Japan, as opposed to having a staff, an order of hierarchy is more easily observed. Although the position of vice-principal is considered self-sufficient in the eyes of the law, it is in actuality a stepping stone to promotion to principal. Consequently, vice-principals in Japan find themselves under heavier work loads than their counterparts in the United States.

⑤ When it comes to the principal evaluating the work of the school personnel, in the United States specialization and the division of labor are systematically established and the standards for assessment clearly defined. In Japan, the business of the school is carried out in a strong spirit of teamwork and collectivism with the principal at its core. Teachers are not evaluated systematically one-by-one as individuals, and a rather hostile attitude toward such assessment has traditionally been taken by teacher organizations.

⑥ Japanese school personnel participate little in the real sense of administration, but instead faculty meetings proceed upon the premise of unanimous consent. In order to make the most of this appearance of unanimity, *nemawashi* or essential prearrangement, is absolutely indispensable before sensitive matters reach planning or steering committees. Accordingly, the leadership arrangement of the principal and vice-principal, and an independent, rational treatment by lead-teachers

throughout all levels of management is given special consideration.

Concerning job satisfaction in managerial positions, in Japan a human relations-oriented approach is preferred to goal-orientation. In the United States, a job-performance orientation built upon the principle of the division of labor is preferred.

Teacher Interaction

In contrast with the generalized manner of the public and private sectors, school organizations in both countries, as pointed out by D. C. Lortie, are a chain of cells where teachers live that comprise a facility. What's more, the absence of a mutual relationship between the teacher and society is symbolized by an island. (See : D. C. Lortie, *School Teacher : A Sociological Study*, University of Chicago Press, 1975)

However, the characteristic isolation from one's colleagues in the teacher's workplace has been singled out by administrators and researchers, although some explain this as being a reflection of the ideology of individualism that is prevalent in the United States. In an overwhelming number of U. S. schools, teachers go directly from the parking lot to their classrooms and spend the day there. Having little interaction with neighboring faculty members, a pattern of teaching their classes one after another is quite common. Staff meetings are also held, but these are mostly to communicate information from the principal and are held once or twice per month. Daily communiques are mainly handled through the use of mail boxes in the office, but it is thought that the school's educational activities can be maintained in this manner.

For Japanese teachers, as is certainly the same in the U.S., individual spaces are provided, but there is also much potential opportunity for mutual interaction and the use of community space. This community space is considered the teacher's room and is arranged by grade or subject for

functional diversity. The function of the space is not limited to management of classes of each grade or subject, shared clerical work, student counseling or a place for meetings, but as an area for in-service training, consultation with parents or those from outside the school or a place to take a break. In short, the community space is used to promote opportunities for interaction among teachers and to make the school culture reminiscent of the sense of community in the home. In this manner, the interaction among teachers is comparatively more lively than in the U.S. Children in the same grade, much like the situation with the teacher's room, also can be said to experience more interaction than their counterparts in the U.S. Why is there a difference between the degree of interaction among Japanese teachers and American teachers? The desire to pursue the bottom-up method of management is one possible explanation for the existence and function of the teacher's room and faculty meetings, which differs from the top-down style of management practiced in the U.S., but in fact, the degree and extent of teacher interaction is also affected by differences between the two countries in perceptions of a school and curriculum.

In Japanese schools, the formation of the child as a whole-man and harmonious development is traditionally deep-rooted. In curriculum development, the harmony of the intellect, virtue and body has come to be the ideal. In the three areas of education at a school including curriculum, special activities and morals, differing with that in the U.S., the role of the Japanese teacher is diverse and, because of the arrangement of the teacher's room and faculty meetings, cooperative discussion is necessary.

Factors in Job Satisfaction for Teaching

Job satisfaction or dissatisfaction has been said to influence the morale of education practice. Here we introduce one part of the research findings from an investigation of public school teachers by K. Aoki (1989) on what

aspects of their work evoked feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Reported in categories of gender and personnel ranking, the following characteristics were observed. "Atmosphere in school (workplace)" (Men : Satisfied = 57%, Dissatisfied = 36%, Women : Satisfied = 47%, Dissatisfied = 44%, "Salary" (Men : Satisfied = 27%, Dissatisfied = 71%, Women : Satisfied = 45%, Dissatisfied = 53%). This means that in public schools, the ratio of men to women is negligible and the equality of men and women in public schools and the seniority system is established.

Nevertheless, the ranking of personnel (principal, vice-principal, department heads, teachers) reveals some notable characteristics. The principal who has little opportunity for contact with younger students has a relatively high degree of satisfaction regarding "child student development" (Satisfied = 52%, Dissatisfied = 25%). However, this is not the case for vice-principals, department heads or teachers who have direct contact with the younger students (vice-principal : Satisfied = 52%, Dissatisfied = 25%, department heads : Satisfied = 53%, Dissatisfied = 43%, teachers : Satisfied = 52%, Dissatisfied = 44%). The same tendency is seen in the category of "work conditions". On the other hand, in the categories of "the job itself", "potential for professional growth" and "responsibility," teachers showed a fairly high degree of satisfaction. Teachers who are satisfied with "the job itself", experience the "potential for professional growth" and have confidence in their teaching abilities are able to concentrate and perform the "responsibility" of their jobs, but are not satisfied with the educational outcome in "child student development" because the results are not immediately apparent. From the age of 30 years and onward, a clear movement from dissatisfaction to satisfaction is evident.

Teacher Employment

Of the newly employed teachers at public schools in 1994, graduates fresh

from colleges and universities filled almost 50% of the new openings. This represents a 9% decrease compared with the 59% figure pointed out in *Japanese Education Today* in 1985. In addition, the number for fresh graduates who had taken the appointment examination and were hired stood at 17.7% in 1994, indicating the severity of the condition for graduates just out of college or university.

The appointment examination for teachers are held in prefectures and designated municipalities. In order to secure the finest human resources available, each applicant's ability and aptitude is evaluated in a broad and diverse manner. In addition to the written exam (education, professional, general) are interviews, compositions and thesis writing, practical skills, club and volunteer activity experience are seriously considered as the diverse method of selection proceeds. In 1994, for example, looking at the teacher appointment examination held nationwide, in the practical skills test, 19 prefectures required applicants to take a physical fitness test regardless of the kind of school they were applying for. Nationwide, all applicants for elementary school teaching jobs are required to take a test in physical education. In the interview stage of the examination, 42 prefectures and designated cities require applicants to attend the first and second interview. Generally group and individual interviewing are used, examples of other methods used for interviewing include simulated teaching, introducing oneself using the blackboard, a three minute speech and theme based group discussion.

Further, close inspection of the applicant's experience and individuality has led to an increase in the age limit for applicants. What's more, the age limit for working teachers and those with teaching experience is being relaxed as a number of prefectures are making exceptions to the rules.

On the contrary, in the U.S. some 14,500 public school districts, whether large, medium or small in scale, independently hire their teachers. They

inspect the necessary documentation (university diplomas, letters of recommendation, results from the teacher competency test) and interviewing with the school district personnel officer or principal. In recent years, much like the written examination for teacher appointment in Japan, the National Teacher Examination, prepared by the ETS Company is being utilized.

Standards for Reshuffling Personnel

The reshuffling of personnel at Japanese public schools usually takes place at the end of the school year. Each prefectural board of education yearly establishes a "personnel reshuffling policy" and the planning is carried out under appropriate standards in order to allow a school to accomplish its educational goals and to have a well balanced composition of school personnel letting teachers acquire diverse experiences. As for the policies for teaching personnel, some prefectures have established the procedures for appointment, placement, transfer or retirement of principals, vice-principals and teachers. The concrete details for each of the above differ according to the conditions in a community.

Social and Economic Status as Related to Student Achievement

According to an investigation on the relationship of social and economic status upon academic achievement conducted by a Tokyo Municipal University research group (1992), differences in achievement were shown clearly in the categories of

① achievement and the father's occupation, ② household income and ③ mother's academic background. In ①, the relationship between the father's occupation and achievement, children of blue collar workers when compared with children of white collar workers are few in number in terms of higher ranked achievement. In ②, the relationship between household income and

achievement, higher ranked students in households of annual income of less than 4 million yen stood at 15.4%. As income increases the proportion of higher ranked students increases. Yet in households with incomes of 12 million yen or more annually, the percentage of higher ranked students stands at 31.3%, which represents no significant change for students from households with annual incomes of 6 to 8 million yen. With lower ranked students the same trend can be seen. From the 4 million yen income range to the 8 to 12 million yen income range, the proportion of lower ranked students decreases, and the proportion of lower ranked students is higher than in that of students from 6 to 8 million yen annual income range. In ③, with regards to the mother's educational background, higher ranked students accounted for 19.8% when the mother had completed junior high school, 34.0% when trade or vocational school education had been obtained, 33.8% when high school had been completed, 45.9% when the mother had gone on to junior college and 57.6% when the mother had graduated from university. It is believed that the extent to the which the mother was educated has a strong effect upon the academic achievement of the child.

Moreover, a reality pointed out in research conducted by T. Kariya (1995) indicates that the more advanced the fathers' or mothers' academic background is, the more likely it is that children will enter universities in which the degree of difficulty of entrance exams is higher. Furthermore, according to H. Ishida (1989), who investigated the correlation between factors that determine attainment in an academic career and entrance into institutions of higher education, the factors included the economic strength of the household, parent's academic background, occupation and place of birth. The results revealed that the economic strength of the household and urban upbringing held the strongest influence over entrance to institutions of higher education. On the other hand, the father's occupation, when compared with the household's income, urban upbringing or academic

background, was less influential. Additionally, living in a rural area and having brothers or sisters is an inhibiting factor in going on to higher education. In regards to the parent's academic background, the extent of the mother's education is a more influential factor than that of the father's.

As these recent research works indicate, the viewpoint that economic factors such as income, and cultural factors such as the parent's academic background, give birth to different levels in academic attainment and obtaining higher education has been generally accepted. Regarding the gaps between these different levels, while no clear data exists, they are believed to be smaller in Japan than in the United States.

Outgoing Household Expenditures for Education

According to research by the Ministry of Education, compared with ten years ago the expenses parents bear for their children's education have doubled. *The 1993 White Paper on Living in Japan* issued by an Economic Planning Agency of the national government states that for middle aged parent families, educational expenses account for 5.3% of overall outgoing household expenditures, and the trend is increasing year by year.

The reasons why middle-aged parent families households' educational expenses are increasing is that : ① the proportion of children enrolled in supplementary education courses in private *juku* schools or taking private lessons in the accomplished arts such as calligraphy, music, flower arrangement, etc. is markedly on the increase. ② the opportunities for higher education are expanding. With the inclusion of special vocational schools, approximately 60% of senior high school graduates go on to higher education. This is a factor in the proportional rise of educational expenses. Related to ② is ③, which is that the cost of admission fees to university and tuition expenses are increasing. Payments for the student's first year of study steadily increase, especially in the case of private universities where

on average the total payments for fees and tuition already exceed one million yen. Even national universities have undergone yearly price increases in recent years because of the worsening condition of the nation's public finances. For the 1993 school year, admission fees were ¥230,000 and tuition ¥411,600. By 1994, admission fees had risen to ¥260,000.

Moreover, the proportion of student payments for total education expenses exceeds 30%. In the United States the figure is roughly 20%, while in the United Kingdom and Germany the figure is next to zero. Comparatively, for those who benefit from higher education in Japan, the financial burden is proportionally higher and the portion educational expenses occupy in the household budget is quite large.

In an *Investigation on Student Life* (1990) issued by the Ministry of Education, school expenses average ¥860,000 yearly and living expenses approximately ¥780,000 totaling ¥1,640,000.

A student's income averages ¥1,820,000 from which the household accounts for roughly 72%, scholarships 6% and 21% coming from students' part-time jobs. Thus, the overwhelming reliance upon the household can be easily understood.

Role of the PTA

After the war, the parent's voluntary group to serve a school changed into a PTA whose development was supported by the parents' expectations for new school education following the war. This is a system parents automatically enroll in when their children reach a certain school age. In America, parents are free to enroll in the PTA and once enrolled, they are active in expressing their opinions even against the federal government and exert an influence on public opinion. The PTA in America cooperates with school administration, sometimes criticizes it, and brings issues in education to the public's attention. In Japan in 1952, the National Council of the PTA for

elementary and junior high schools, and the National Council of Senior High School PTA which has been renamed to Association, were established. The Ministry of Education distributed the first reference rules of the PTA in 1948, which is colored with a noble spirited of humanism under the principle of world peace based upon adult education, democratic education and cooperation with the community. Enthusiasm for the PTA at that time lost its momentum by 1954 when the first reference rules for PTA were revised, and in a 1967 report by the Ministry's Council for Social Education, the PTA became merely a shadow of what it had been before the war and has been considered of no use often times.

However, arguments for the people's rights to education which rapidly spread in the 1970's gained strength with the parent's goal of educational democratization and began a new phase of PTA activities. In 1971, concerned parents, teachers, researchers, journalists, etc. formed a National Study Group of the PTA and a movement of mothers was activated. Mother members in particular worked toward the increase of the number of senior high schools, the improvement of school lunches and financial assistance for private schools by the national government. Such activity has expanded.

In 1982, the National Council of the PTA carried out research on parents' and teachers' attitudes toward the PTA. According to opinions regarding the content of activities the PTA should perform, the overwhelming majority of parents hoped for out-of-school guidance and the betterment of the community environment. The feelings parents expressed included children's safe participation in a wide variety of social activity especially for those who are isolated and confined because of the changes in society such as the nuclear family, smaller number of children per family and the lack of places for them to play. In addition, they strongly desire lectures and seminars that will raise the level of their own culture and life style which would make the PTA a place for lifelong learning.

Fundamental Perspective of Educational Reform

Extraordinary Council on Education and other Related Councils' Reports

Education in Japan has undergone a remarkably widespread development because of the serious importance given to it by the national character and the rise of national income, and has become the driving force behind economic, social and cultural development. On the other hand, rapid societal change and the quantitative expansion in education has also had a great influence upon the way education should be. The appearance of the phenomenon of "wasted education," exemplified by the over-estimation of the academic career, the over-heating in testing wars, problems with adolescent behavior, uniformity in schools and inflexibility are some of the points at issue.

In an effort to tackle such problems, Prime Minister Nakasone established the Extraordinary Council on Education (ECE) to act as an advisory organ in 1984. Spreading over wide areas of discussion which covered three years, the Council reported many far-sighted declarations on necessary reform plans four times. The early days of the Meiji era was the first stage of reform. The second were the reforms that occurred after the end of World War II, and the third following ECE reports emphasized the necessity of comprehensive educational reform with an eye toward the coming century.

In the council's final report on educational reform (1987), the following three areas of fundamental consideration were pointed out : ① principle of respect for the individual, ② a drastic shift toward a system of lifelong learning, ③ adaptability to changes, especially in terms of internationalization and information.

Within the reform recommendations of the ECE, problems which require concrete measures for discussion abound. Regarding these problem areas,

the related councils the Ministry of Education appointed carried out discussions and came to the results described below.

The Central Council on Education (CCE) reported on *Arranging the Basic Requirements for Lifelong Learning* in 1990 in order to promote the basic concept of lifelong learning itself and a system for promoting it. A 1991 report on *Educational System Reform Adapted to the New Era* referred to having a policy of extending to senior high school students wider selection of course units, improvement for varied ways of selection for entrance into senior high schools and universities, the role of schools in lifelong learning and assessment of learning outcomes.

The specified measures of various individual policy issues mentioned above were discussed and are being discussed by the investigative research committees within the Ministry of Education. For example, following the 1991 CCE proceedings on senior high school education reform, Senior High School Education Reform Promotion Committee first reported in 1992 on full-time credit-based high schools, inter-high school cooperation, accreditation of learning outcomes at special vocational schools and the accreditation of examined specific skills. Following their second report in 1992 on the improvement of the method of selecting entrants to senior high school, the 1993 committee reported on carrying out the various ways of selection with regard to the characteristics of each school and course of subjects, carrying out the various selection of entrants by increasing the opportunities in entrance, the introduction of entrance by recommendation, flexibility in judging the importance of academic records and achievement tests, proper evaluation of volunteer activity and the selection of entrants without the use of deviation value based test results from *juku* or other external sources. A fourth report in 1993 recommended to provide various electives including specific vocational subjects.

Examples of the Embodiment of the Reform Plan

In touching upon the ECE and related committee findings, a number of systematic reform approaches have been undertaken. The major items of reform are set out as below.

There were nine changes in the law between 1987 and 1992. Typical among these were, for example, the establishment of university council and in-service training for beginning teachers. Since 1992, from the viewpoint of promoting the individualization of education, new methods of teaching such as teamteaching in public elementary and junior high schools and a six-year program (Improvement of Teacher Placement), beginning in 1993 and to run through 1998, was started in order to reduce the number of students per class from 45 to 40 in public senior high schools.

From the second term in 1992 in public elementary and secondary schools, the second Saturday of each month ceased schooling. Following that, every second and fourth Saturday began being taken off from April of 1995. In the not too distant future, a 5 day school week could be realized.

Research and Development

In Japan, research and development are carried out both on the central and local levels, and at the school level. For the latter, new materials for use within the school and development and diffusion of teaching methodology are the goals which practical research takes aim at. Here we will see the circumstance of central and local research and development. The Minister of Education has prescribed that schools referred to as “Research and Development Schools” will carry out practical research through which new courses and methods such as guidance, counseling and instruction are developed. It is recognized that these schools do not necessarily follow the National Course of Study (NCS) for curriculum construction. As for the

Ministry of Education and local boards of education, the designated schools for curriculum study were established to proceed with research on the improvements of school subjects and, as a result, contribute to future revisions in the NCS. However, when the NCS requires drastic change and schools cannot and will not be ready for the change, much consideration should be given.

From 1988, the year before the present NCS was issued, to the present, included within the content of research and development schools, are the cooperation between kindergarten and elementary school curriculum-making, newer subjects of study such as human being, environment and information, etc., expanding elective subjects or courses, integrated subjects, international understanding, teaching beyond the framework of a grade or course, and English at the elementary school level. The results of these research projects will have an impact on the Curriculum Council (CC) and the NCS when its revision is considered.

In every prefecture, designated metropolitan city and in some communities, the local educational center (local institute of educational research) is set up to carry out education-related function of investigation, research, teacher training, collection and delivery of documents and information. The role and function of the local educational center is expanding as a comprehensive institute with regards to investigation, research, training and information. These centers, national and local, are associated together in order to exchange research work and information.

Basic Issues in Textbooks Comparison

When comparing textbooks used in Japan and the United States it is necessary to consider the relationships of the two educational systems (calendar age, for example), the characteristics of the textbooks and supplemental teaching materials in actual use in children's education and

reference books together with censored textbooks.

From elementary schools through senior high schools (grades 1 - 12), the use of textbooks is made compulsory under the law in Japan. Further, there is no skipping of grades nor holding back of students to repeat a grade. In compulsory education, the same textbook is used for all students of a given grade regardless of differences in the children's academic proficiency or aptitude, while in the United States this is certainly not the case. In fact, the use of textbooks is not compulsory nor is there any system of authorization by censor. Consequently, content differences in the textbook can be seen, but this does not necessarily mean differences are seen in the implemented curriculum.

When looking over the catalog from an American textbook publishing company, the following three categories of books are listed : ① Kindergarten to Grade 8, ② Fifth or Sixth Grade to Grade 12, ③ High School AP (advanced placement) textbook. We need to notice that streaming or tracking (a kind of ability grouping) is used particularly at secondary school level in the United states.

A detailed comparison of the age of students in each grade is essential, too. This is particularly true for the grades of elementary schools where a difference of age of a number of months may give birth to significant variance in the formation of scholastic abilities. In the second international investigation on mathematics conducted by the International Education Association, when comparing thirteen-year-old students, seventh graders in Japan and eighth graders in the United States were used as the subjects of the study.

In Japan, the curriculum intended by the national government and curriculum implemented by teachers overlaps to a great degree. For example, in elementary arithmetic and math textbooks, composed of roughly 100 pages in a Book 1 and Book 2 format for each grade, whichever

publishing company's materials are used, given the similarity of content, the teacher is generally able to cover all the items. On the other hand, in the United States where the number of pages is quite large, textbooks are not made to cover all items. In addition, as teachers have great leeway in such decisions and the number of hours for mathematics study are not regulated as in Japan, differences in the apportionment of time exist depending upon the teacher.

Changes in the National Course of Study (Mathematics)

Looking over the past thirty years of transition in the National Course of Study (NCS), it is necessary to observe the characteristics noted in each of the 1957, 1968, 1977 and 1988 National Course of Study editions and a curriculum based on it. In Chapter 4 (Comparison of Mathematics Textbooks between Japan and the United States) of the book titled *Japanese Educational Productivity*, the object of comparison used by the American side was based on Japanese textbooks in the 1977 edition for junior high schools, and on the 1978 edition for senior high schools. However, as pointed out below, it would be difficult to say that the educational circumstances in Japan were sufficiently touched upon there.

As elementary and junior high school education is compulsory in Japan, textbooks are produced from the viewpoint of providing education for the masses. In the case of senior high schools, the influence of the era when few went on to higher education still remains a characteristic in Japanese textbooks. That is to say, despite the appearance of so-called "drop-outs," there is a tendency toward maintaining a high standard of educational content. In addition, the degree of revision in textbook contents is characteristically large.

In the new system of senior high schools which started after the war, the 1947 textbook editions were of three varieties: 「Analysis 1」, 「Geometry」

and 「Analysis 2」. Following that in the 1951 edition, 「Mathematics General」 was added and was regarded as a subject of easier content. Then in the 1956 edition came 「Math I, II, III」 and 「Applied Mathematics」. 「Math I」 became a required subject and geometry was dropped. In the 1960 edition, 「Math II」 was divided into 「Math II A」 (average level content) and 「Math II B」 (high level content). In the 1970 edition, 「Mathematics General」 was added and either this or 「Math I」 was required.

It was in this manner, aiming at the popularization of the curriculum, that the quality was changed and Japan's 1978 textbook edition used as the object of comparison by the American side had undergone a great change. At the time when the textbooks of the 1970 edition were used, enrollment into senior high schools attained almost 90%, and students who completed 「Math III」 were limited to those who wished to enroll in departments of science or engineering at universities. This was because the subjects tested on university entrance exams were changed. In universities and departments related to humanities courses, as math was no longer a tested subject, high school students' ability could be charted in a U shaped distribution and a tendency toward polarization in scholastic ability was evident. The scholastic ability of students who selected math as a subject of examination being notably higher, and for other students being notably lower, was an emerging trend and this was made clear in an investigation by the present writer, K. Ishizaka, in 1992.

Without a comprehensive overview of American textbooks such as AP textbooks, age of university entrance (generally over the age of 16 years), the practice of skipping grades, gifted/talented education, etc., it is difficult to seize the essence of the situation. Simple comparison of textbooks is not enough. Lastly, the important issue of the "Axiomatic System of Geometry," and geometry as a prerequisite requirement for university entrance will be touched on. Between Japan and the United

States, whether classified as arts or sciences, a wide gap exists in the way universities regard geometry. In the United States geometry is studied with a textbook based on the axiomatic system of G.D. Birkhoff, while in Japan Euclid's comprehensive approach is relied upon. It is necessary to compare this substantive difference in approach.

Geometry has traditionally been called tenth grade mathematics in the United States, but in actuality gifted students from the ninth or even eighth grade take this class which is a reality that should be pointed out. Attention should also be brought to the fact that geometry credits are required as a condition for entrance to prestigious American universities.

Scholastic Achievement in Mathematics

In Japan, nationwide scholastic achievements tests have not been administered for the last 30 years. The first investigation after the war in 1956 academic year took a sampling from elementary, junior high and senior high school students. The sixth investigation, a "cover all" work using second or third year students in junior high schools as subjects, met with intense opposition from the Japan Teachers Union. The main reason for this was the union's position that the practice amounted to a "manpower development test." The union began the "Fight against National Testing," and as a result the Ministry of Education discontinued all such testing in 1966, and the stoppage has remained in effect to this day. Since the suspension, the words "scholastic achievement" have been regarded as taboo and the use of other terminology such as "degree of attainment" act as replacements, though in recent years the original term seems to be begun a revival. By the 1980's the Ministry of Education took a sample of 1% of students and conducted an investigation on arithmetics and mathematics and the other major subjects (Japanese Language, Social Studies, Sciences, English) and the results were made public. Here the term used was "degree

of attainment” not “scholastic achievement.” In line with this thinking the Ministry of Education has continued to carry out such investigations since 1993. Because of these circumstances Japan has been without proper nationwide achievement testing for the last thirty years, the exception being the first and second IEA international math investigations.

Issues in Science Education

Since the beginning of the 1980's, promotion of science and technology education has been at the center of reform efforts in the United States. As math and science education in Japanese senior high schools has been highly evaluated in the States, there has been a tendency toward taking suggestions or hints from it. However, the extremely worrying circumstances of math and science education in Japan cannot be denied. By referring to documents prepared by an Aichi Prefectural research group this condition can be clarified.

① The fall of science education resulting from the changes in senior high school curriculum.

In actual curriculum practice based on the 1960 NCS, science courses had their highest enrollments and were unproblematic. Between 1973 and 1980, a new 「basic science」 subject was established and at the same time the contents and upgraded level of 「Physics II」, 「Chemistry II」, etc., were academically systemized. It can be said that science education was at its peak in both quality and quantity at that time. This revision, dating back to the early 1960's, was the reflective result of the modernization of science and technology education obtaining cooperation between the federal government and academic associations in the United States as seen in PSSC (Physics) and CHEMS (Chemistry) which tried to promote science and education preparing for innovations. After that, in keeping with science education revisions in the NCS, 「Basic Science」 began, 「Science I」 and 「General

Science」 were introduced which led science education in the direction of lesser quality.

② Decline in the number of students studying sciences.

Since the revisions in the NCS in 1970, an undesirable trend has emerged in science education. This trend can be observed in the nationwide decrease in demand for science textbooks. During the time up until 1972, when new subjects such as 「Science A」 and 「Science B」 were introduced, more than 90% of students studied physics and chemistry. In 1970, for example, about 770,000 studied 「Physics A」 and in 「Physics B」 about 540,000 were enrolled accounting for 93% of the students.

At the time 「Physics I」, 「Physics II」, 「Chemistry I」 and 「Chemistry II」 were being studied, the overall number of students hardly declined, but in 「Physics II」 the number was below 20%, and for 「Chemistry II」 below 30%. This clearly reveals a decline in the number of students enrolling in advanced courses of physics and chemistry. Following the revisions in the NCS in 1978, and then after that in 1989, students who elected to take physics were on the decline, the trend with chemistry enrollment has increased, biology showed little change and earth science decreased.

③ Change of the number of examinees toward “common university entrance exams” prepared by the Ministry of Education.

A reality common in Japanese senior high schools is that the number of subjects to be tested on university entrance exams hold a great influence. After the time national universities had 5 subject and 7 sub-subjects on entrance exams, they are now moving closer to the system of 3 subjects used in private universities. The trend of high schools gearing their curriculum toward the entrance exams of private universities has been strengthened. It is believed this has in turn spurred the decrease in the number of students studying physics and chemistry. Since 1978, when the common university entrance exams were implemented, the continuous decline in student

enrollment in physics and chemistry is a grave concern.

④ Decrease in the number of science teachers

Changes in the number of teachers per subject in Aichi Prefectural senior high schools coincide with the nationwide trend. In comparing the number of faculty per subject in a group of newly established schools with a group of previously established traditional schools, the former has fewer science teachers and more English teachers. As for the latter, in 1966 the proportion of teachers for Japanese language, social studies, math, science and English were nearly the same at about 20% each, but in 1990, the difference in proportion of English and science teachers expanded to 5%, meaning the number of science teachers had declined. Next, looking at the shift in the number of newly employed teachers in Aichi Prefecture the appointment of science teachers has been low in ranking since the 1980's, the numbers are especially low for physics teachers; some years had no appointments whatsoever.

Level of Textbook Quality in 「Physics」

The level of the quality of the 「Physics II」 textbook now in use would not be considered inferior when compared with the American text 「AP Physics」. On the contrary, basic content of a physics course is thought to be of a higher level than in the United States. Moreover, while 「PSSC Physics」 emphasizes the fundamental concepts of modern physics and is of high quality, 「Physics II」 in Japan is replete with both classical physics and modern physics making it difficult to compare quality levels. The section above has taken up the issues in the fall of science education in present day Japanese senior high schools. Resolving these issues will not be a simple task. However, if considering a single basic element for a solution, it would be the conversion of ideas in the world of modern day Japanese education. When this happens, the recent education reform movement in the United

States will be a valuable reference. In the first section of former President George Bush's *America 2000 Education Strategies*, a long-term strategy that anticipates major changes in schools, communities, every American home and in attitudes about learning itself is called for. The strategy is to spur far-reaching changes in weary practices, outmoded assumptions and long assumed constraints on education.

It seems the world of modern Japanese education is still clinging to the ideals of education America has deemed to be a failure. Being fixed in this stiff mold makes for a situation where free conceptions of education and reform can hardly be hammered out.

National Education Policy for International Understanding.

Based upon the revision of the NCS in 1989, a new curriculum based upon it started from 1992 in elementary schools, 1993 in junior high schools, and 1994 in senior high schools.

Characteristics of education for international understanding in the revised National Course of Study are as follows:

Out of the 1974 UNESCO recommendation on a so-called "International Understanding," a new turn was taken in international education. In Japan six months before the recommendation, the internationalization of education was taken up by a 1974 CCE report on *International Exchange of Education, Scholarly Research and Culture*. Following that, the important issues in Japanese education have become international education and the promotion of communicative proficiency. Then in 1982, the domestic council of UNESCO Japan published the *Education for International Understanding Guidebook*. The ECE report followed and the 1987 CC report addressed the importance of nurturing an attitude of respect for Japanese culture and tradition while deepening international understanding. In the 1989 NCS, as will be mentioned later, education for international understanding was

specifically noted. Both “International Education” and “Education for International Understanding” have been put under the heading of “International Education” when translated into English.

In the new 1989 NCS for elementary and junior high schools, mentioned above, the goals of moral education toward “the creation of culture with abundant individuality, and a democratic society and nation where a Japanese can be brought up to willingly contribute to a peaceful society and nation” were mentioned.

In an effort to promote international education, academic societies and symposia have been organized. However, the specified contents of international education are still being explored. In a chapter called “The Progress of Internationalization and Education, Culture and Sports”, in an annual Ministry of Education publication entitled *National Policy of Education*, (1994) the important policies for internationalization promoted by the Ministry of Education were taken up and are as follows :

- ① To bring up children as a Japanese who will be trusted by other countries
- ② To widely promote international exchange in the fields of education, culture and sports.
- ③ To promote the exchange of international students
- ④ To enrich Japanese language education for non-Japanese
- ⑤ To provide quality education for overseas and returnee students

The above policies as implied in the newest 1989 NCS are illustrated as follows.

- ① In Japanese language courses, from the point of view of selecting teaching materials for elementary, junior and senior high schools, the selection of materials beneficial to the deepening of international understanding and nourishing the spirit of international cooperation were newly pointed out.
- ② In social studies courses for elementary and junior high schools, in order

to deepen understanding of Japanese culture and tradition, and Japan's relations throughout the world, the contents necessary for nourishing the essential quality of a Japanese in an international society were enriched. Senior high school social studies courses are divided into two subjects; history-geography and civics. World history is a required subject in history-geography.

③ In the foreign languages, in order to improve communicative proficiency which corresponds to the development of internationalization, speaking and listening skills were attached importance.

④ The desirable contents of “hours for Morals” and extracurricular activities were organized in order to raise the importance of Japanese culture and tradition, and the awareness of the international society among the Japanese.

Among the policies which have the goal of international understanding, the Ministry of Education promotes the following :

- ① The JET Program (invitation of young language instructors from abroad)
- ② Designation of schools for laboratory study and research groups related to activity for international understanding
- ③ Cooperative educational research schools for overseas students
- ④ Local center schools which promote the acceptance of returnee students
- ⑤ Educational research cooperative schools for returnee students

Other Movements toward Internationalization

① Through the initiative taken by prefectural and local education boards, “International Group of Subjects (a kind of tracking)” and “International Courses” were established in senior high schools. The International Group of Subjects is a kind of specialized education track (in contrast with the

general education track) requiring students to take more than 30 units of study related with international understanding (one unit = one hour per week). The International Course is one of the general education courses in the curriculum. According to an investigative report from the Institute for International Understanding of Tezukayama Gakuin in 1994, 65 schools offer the International Group of Subjects and 55 schools offer the International Courses.

② Promotion of sister relations between Japanese prefectures and American states

A symposium at the United Nations University in Japan on the *Present State and Problems of International Education at Elementary and Junior High Schools* with several prefectures participating was held in 1994.

③ High school student exchange programs

Representative programs and the number of students who participated from in Japan and from overseas are as follows : American Field Service : 360 students (went overseas), 220 students (entered Japan). Youth for Understanding International Exchange : 460 students (went overseas), 60 students (entered Japan). United World College : 15 students (went overseas), 0 Students (entered Japan).

④ Rematriculation of returnee students

Recently the number of university with established minimum quotas for returnee student enrollment is on the increase. Private universities admit more returnees than do public universities. For example, of the number of returnee students in the five year period from 1987 to 1991, 144 were admitted to the National University at Tsukuba, 75 at Tokyo University and 51 at Hitotsubashi University. As for private universities, Keio University ranked first and Jochi University second with each admitting more than 1,000 returnee students.

⑤ The increase in the number of universities establishing departments or

courses using the name “International.” This perhaps symbolized the students growing interest in internationalization.

Education for Handicapped Children

In postwar Japan, education for handicapped children has been strongly influenced in particular by the United States. What can be said about education for handicapped children before the war is that there existed *teragoya* schools where they were taught. Various kinds of teaching aids for them were conserved at schools for the deaf and blind which started at the beginning of the Meiji era. At almost the same time, European influence from specialists in the field made suitable inroads and Americans founded schools and other educational facilities for the handicapped in Japan. Kenzo Uchimura, one of the pioneers of the Meiji era, was employed at facilities in America and introduced what he saw and heard to his fellow men through books and journals.

In the 1920's the parents of former Ambassador Edwin Reischauer opened a classroom for the hard of hearing, including their own daughter, in their church. Now called the Nippon School for the Deaf, it is the only existing private school for the deaf in Japan. The school made possible two visits by Helen Keller to Japan after the war and gave courage to all involved. From the United States came donations of hearing aids and teaching equipment and in 1950, the then principal of the Roua School, (now known as Tsukuba University Attached School for the Deaf and Blind), was invited to observe special education in practice in the United States. Information from the United States was offered to the Department of Special Education at the Ministry of Education through this route also. In an effort to improve education for the handicapped after the war, a policy of paying special education teachers somewhat higher wages was adopted in the United States. In Japan, some of the local boards of education adopted such a

policy before the national government did. However, in the United States, the policy was abandoned for the most part because of financial complications and scarcely remains. Instead, a situation where parents and others volunteer at schools has been put into practice.

Japan held its first international conference on education for the hearing-impaired in 1975 which began an association of equal footing throughout the world for Japanese special education. Since that time the domestic mass media have voluntarily brought attention to handicapped children and adults. The themes addressed cover not only the issues in professional organizations, but also those of wider democratic education movements and social movements.

Reform of Textbook Authorization System

Since olden times, Japanese people have held a strong sense of the importance of the textbook. The teacher orderly infuses the knowledge and skills into the students by using uniformalized teaching method. In the latter part of the Meiji era textbooks were nationalized.

For a time after the war, textbooks had the character of reference materials for problem-solving and “Textbook Use When Necessary” became a catchphrase. However, since 1958, the revision of the NCS which was authorized by governmental regulation changed emphasis from a problem-solving approach to that of systematic teaching and the traditional practice of “Teaching by the Textbook.”

This tendency was unaltered even when textbooks became free of charge for elementary and junior high schools in 1964. However, beginning about ten years ago, the direction again turned toward “Textbook Use When Necessary.” This movement was summarized in the 1986 non-governmental textbook research center report on improving textbook content and style. The report stated that textbooks such as the B5 sized editions so far used in

the lower grades and in art subjects should be encouraged for use in other grades and subjects. The report included a section of the 1981 Joint Report *Comparison of Japan and U.S. Social Studies Texts* which was learned through cooperative research and which Leestma referred to in his article.

Even in the third ECE report of 1987, such fundamental direction in textbook reform was recognized while at the same time the necessity of revising the textbook censoring system by government was being discussed. The Ministry of Education's internal council deliberations pointed toward plans for such reform. In 1989, rules and standards for textbook censoring were revised and remain so to this day which represents one variety of de-regulation. According to these legal revisions, authorization standards for textbooks used in schools of compulsory education and senior high schools became a point of concern and were simplified. The textbook authorization process was also streamlined. The existing censoring standards mainly point out the common standards for all subjects in contrast with the old standards which, put briefly, regulated the standards for individual subjects. The simplification of the standard for each subject represents a reversal in the way of thinking of censorship standards. Common standards cannot be described in detail for each subject. Instead, the specific proper standard should not swing too far in any one direction. For example, in math and arithmetics balance should be reached to avoid over-emphasis on knowledge and computation skills. The detailed implementation of censure standards has been criticized as trivialism for having too much detail. The detailed framework was abolished and the focus changed to all subjects. It is clear that by the existing standards many more creative devices can be used in textbook making.

The procedure for textbook censoring has also been simplified. Usually it takes five years to produce a new textbook. Writers and editors are chosen among teachers and researchers, who organize the editing committee and

point to revisions and then a first draft is sent as a sample to the Ministry of Education.

The previously criticized textbook censoring procedures were examined on three occasions. The new system was simplified and the censoring process has been made open to the public upon completion. The period of the authorization cycle was extended from three to four years and this reform has been favorably accepted.

In public schools, textbooks which have passed censor can be adopted for use in adoption districts decided by the board of education, but usually one textbook is used throughout a given district. In recent years districts are becoming larger in scale, so that there is a tendency to have one adoption district in smaller prefectures, which impairs the fair adoption of textbooks and should be discussed.

As Leestma worries, senior high school textbooks do follow the NCS, but are not strongly influenced by entrance exams. The Course of Study for senior high schools is connected to that of junior high schools because both belong to the category of secondary schools. The Ministry of Education directs universities to refer to the NCS when preparing entrance examinations. As the examination hell war heats up, exams at some of the top ranked private universities are known to consist of strange and difficult questions outside the range of the NCS. For this reason a trend exists where the scope and the degree of the textbook is in fact surpassed by the classroom teaching.

Basic Characteristics of Social Studies

With respect to the degree of achievement in social studies, the Ministry of Education has carried out a three-year sampling survey including the major subjects taught in elementary and junior high schools and will make the survey results available for the coming NCS revision. The results are

now being collected.

As for the manner in which to deal with the history of the nation, geography or civics in social studies and the handling of international relations, the NCS revision of 1989 introduced the following characteristics.

① In the lower grades of elementary schools, a newly established subject of 「Living」 (*seikatsuka*) replaced social studies and sciences. The course begins with the study of the family, school and neighborhoods and spreads to the municipality, prefectures, country and the world taking the shape of an “expanding environment.”

The relationship between Japan and the world is referred to as the base of the expanding environment in junior high school social studies as well. For example, if there is a company exporting goods from the prefecture where the students live, the students are made to investigate and find out how their prefecture is related to the rest of the world. In this case their home prefecture is again the focus of their studies.

② As the study of relations with the world is only an addition to the study of the “expanding environment,” it is difficult for elementary school children to obtain a global vision despite being well versed in the history, geography and politics of their own country. This is because they look at other nations from the perspective of these relationships. For example, if elementary school children participate in a global issue such as the collecting of milk cartons for recycling, this is more of a fad and does little to change the either A or B perspective of We and They.

③ In junior high social studies and senior high school geography-history and civics, a movement can be seen toward the realization of social studies from the viewpoint of international mutual interdependence and issues of common concern. These have yet to be arranged within the social studies course in a well balanced manner. In reality, the international relationships with other Asian nations and the *dowa* problem have been considered in

textbook making and educational practice. Even so, it is thought that there has been little success in escaping tendency to look at international relations and issues mostly from the aspect of economics.

Current Situation in Moral Education

Leestma inquired after the realities (goals, contents, methods) of moral education in public schools from the students' point of view and what influence this had on their actions. However, unlike in American public schools where moral education mostly takes place in social studies, Japanese elementary and junior high schools have "hours for Morals" and extra-curricular activities and the entire school education indirectly serves moral teaching. However, "hours for Morals" is not offered at senior high schools. The present situation of moral education will be explained here centering on the junior high school and to a lesser degree elementary schools.

According to the 1993 nationwide survey on *The Present State of Moral Education* carried out by the Ministry of Education, more than 95% of elementary and junior high schools made a yearly plan of learning guidance, taking into consideration the four viewpoints of moral education (self, others, nature and the supreme being, and groups and society) pointed out by the Ministry.

However, in the NCS, while the standard number of "hours for Morals" is thirty-five per school year (one hour per week), only 58% of the classes in elementary schools and 24.4% of the classes in junior high school fulfilled this standard. Reasons why the numbers fell below the standard are that the hour is used for other classroom activities (42.3%) and used for school events (32.3%).

As for the method of teaching in hours for Morals, the use of sub-readers and school broadcast programs is widespread in elementary schools. In junior high schools sub-readers and video tape materials are mainly used.

Despite the use of these devices, student satisfaction with the hours for Morals in the higher grades of elementary school was less than 50%, and for third year students of junior high schools the figure dropped to 17.5%. Moreover, not only in the hour for Morals, but through other subjects and special activities, moral education is considered to be “sufficient” or “to some extent sufficient” at 99.5% of elementary schools and 94.3% of junior high schools.

Trend of the Use of Educational Media

The NHK Broadcast Culture Research Institute carried out an investigation on schools ranging from day-care centers to senior high schools (valid responses from approximately 800 schools) concerning the circumstances in the usage of educational media. The following four points were made clear from this investigation.

① Educational media have steadily spread in schools and various types of machinery are in use. VTR use has spread to 81% of day-care centers and kindergartens, 99% of elementary schools and 98% of junior and senior high schools. The use of video cameras is seen in 43% of day-care centers, 52% of kindergartens, 95% of elementary schools, 91% of junior high schools and 95% of senior high schools. These figures represent a 1.5 to 2 times surge in growth from the time of the 1990 investigation. The percentage for video projector use is also high although that of video editing machine use is still low. The reason for this is the conditions have not yet been arranged for carrying out the production of programs on a daily basis and the editing machines are used at the local education centers.

② The percentages for the use of school broadcast programming and general programs is in decline. In senior high schools the figure stood at around 70% several years prior, but by 1992 dipped down to 46%. Junior high schools experienced a drop from the neighborhood of 50% to less than

30%. The reasons for this are the limited number of appealing programs and the abundance of easily available teaching materials.

③ Videos made by teachers have decreased as the number of videos that can be purchased in the marketplace has increased. Regarding teacher-made videos, the percentage of their use in the 1986 academic year for elementary schools was 75%, for junior high schools 71%, and for senior high schools 79%, but from 1989 a rapid decline began and in 1992, the figures dropped to 51%, 41% and 45% respectively. The cause for this is said to be the novelty and effectiveness of their use has been largely worn out. On the contrary, the use of purchased video software teaching materials has skyrocketed. Additionally, the use of personal computers in teaching subjects which were reported as stagnant in past investigations have recently entered a trend of rapid growth.

④ On the current situation of media use in senior high schools, the National Teachers Council for the Study of Audio-visual Education carried out a research questionnaire entitled *Survey of Audio-visual Media Use* by sampling 1,000 senior high schools nationwide in 1993. The results revealed that the percentages for the use of VTRs was the highest at 77%, for tape recorders 31%, personal computers 24%, overhead projectors 19%, and for slides 14%.

Attitudes and Expectations toward Education

Generally speaking, children join elementary school full of expectations with a positive attitude for their studies. But as they progress from junior high to senior high school, students gradually lose the desire for their studies which sometimes cause behavior problems. This is known both through experience as well as having been proven by a series of recent investigations.

The Ministry of Education requested that a private research organization

perform an *Investigation on School Education and the 5 Day School Week* using third and fifth graders from elementary schools, eighth graders from junior high schools, and eleventh graders in senior high school and their parents or patrons as subjects in the nationwide investigation. The results show that more than half of the students said of the five alternative answers offered them that they were satisfied or fairly satisfied with school life. The figures stood at 91% for elementary school students, 70.6% for those in junior high, and 64.3% for those from senior high school with the trend being toward a decreasing level of satisfaction as the students progress through the grades. When asked what aspect of school life gave them satisfaction, "playing with friends" was mentioned by more than 90% of students regardless of their year in school. Extracurricular activities outside the realm of subject studies was the answer given second most often. On the other hand, lessons, grade points and contact with teachers were cited as areas of dissatisfaction which grew notably in percentage as students among junior high and senior high school students.

In a 1992 nationwide investigation by the Kumon Institute of Child Study (1031 elementary school fifth graders, 1004 junior high school eighth graders and 983 senior high school eleventh grade subjects in ten cities), similar results were obtained using a format resembling that used above. When asked questions about their self image and whether they thought they could study well, the percentages for those who answered "very" or "fairly" was 64.4% for the elementary school fifth graders, 46.4% for the junior high school eighth graders, and 41.4% for the senior high school eleventh graders. As the school years go on the percentage decreases. On the other hand, the opposite trend can be seen in regards to Modern Aesthetics (*oshare*). Asked about their future aspirations for higher education, 41% of elementary school fifth graders, 56.4% of junior high school eighth graders, and 70.2% of senior high school eleventh graders answered that they wished to go on to a

four year university or graduate program. The percentage here rises as the school years go on.

Decline of Scholastic Achievement of Senior High School Students

① Young people today can easily obtain information from television, video, computers, etc., and enjoy their use. However, it has been said that because of this the amount of time spent reading is rapidly decreasing.

The Ministry of Education carried out an investigation through the National School Library Council in 1994, and the results revealed that the percentage of students who didn't read a book over the period of a month stood at 8.1% for elementary schools, 44% for junior high schools, and 40.5% for senior high schools. From this breakdown, the lack of reading of junior and senior high school students is particularly notable.

In order to solve this problem, the Ministry of Education began to promote a 5 Year Plan of School Library Arrangement intended to increase the number of volumes in elementary and junior high school libraries by 1.5 times of the current number by providing the necessary financing for the books, but increasing the number of books itself is not a solution. Moreover, senior high schools are excluded from this plan.

② The situation is not as dire as in the United States where up to 25 million adults lack the necessary literacy for daily life, but even in Japan there are a large number of "difficult to educate senior high schools" where the basic academic skills of the 3R's are extremely low and urgent measures are expected to be taken. The "difficult to educate senior high schools" are characterized by (a) a deviation value ranking near the bottom of the school district, (b) the fixed number for applicants isn't reached on the first screening, (c) many students hold feelings of inferiority, (d) scholastic achievement and the desire to study are low, (e) behavioral problems, drop-outs and the failing of grades, (f) few students even in non-vocational

schools (common high schools) go on to university, and (g) the exhaustion of faculty and staff members. For example, 36 schools (17%) of the 211 senior high schools in the Tokyo metropolis are said to be “difficult to educate schools.”

According to a 1991 investigation by the teacher's union of another prefecture, including the “difficult to educate senior high schools,” the percentage of students from the majority of high schools who will ask friends when they do not understand what is going on in the class is 48.2%, while the figure for those who will leave it be even though they do not understand is 36.5%. The percentage of students who will ask the teacher for clarification is only 3%. Why is it that current senior high school students show such little reliance upon their teachers regarding lesson content?

However, there exist teachers who are eager to make the effort to instill the basic scholastic aptitude at least of the post elementary school level at the difficult to educate senior high schools. For Example, in order to encourage students to be functionally literate as adult members in society, some teachers use *kanji* (Chinese characters) drills, give weekly *kanji* quizzes, start the writing of short compositions at the beginning of the school year, and have students write longer passages on their reminiscences on their life history. Also, since a large number of students enter senior high school without the ability to compute multiplication tables, basic achievement testing is done at some schools at the beginning of the school year and many of the lowest ranking students are given daily computation lessons at a ratio of one or two students per teacher.

School Refusal • Bullying • Dropouts

The reform movement of school regulations for senior high school students came as a result of the emergence of in-school violence in the mid 1970's. Recently school regulations have become less strict. The National

Council of Common Senior High School Principals carried out an investigation on through a random sampling of common high school principals in 1993. It showed that when the school regulations were reexamined, the number that did so before then was 138 schools. Following that, 170 schools relaxed their regulations and 148 schools were considering moving in that direction. Only nine schools had made their regulations stricter or were considering that direction.

According to a 1992 investigation by the Ministry of Education, the number of senior high school dropouts reached a peak in 1990, and the number has now began to gradually decrease. The reasons for this is that inside the schools in recent years regulations have been relaxed, the flexibility in the authorization of passing students to the next grade, diversity in the curriculum and the intensifying of efforts for student guidance.

The 1992 annual Ministry of Education investigation showed that the number of senior high school dropouts exceeded 101,000 students. Major reasons appear to be changes in the future course of life (43.3%), followed by maladjustment to school life and lower achievement (26.5%). Of those who underwent changes in the future course of their life, 64.5% hoped to find a job, 14.1% wished to enter a different high school, 7.9% wished to enter a different category of school, 4.1% wanted to take *daiken* (college entrance examination for junior high school graduates without a high school diploma). The percentage of dropouts who were first year tenth graders occupied 53.6% of the total. For junior high schools this gives rise to the questioning of the present situation of counseling on how to choose a future path in life which is based on the deviation value of allotments of students to prospective senior high schools.

The Ministry of Education announced in investigation results in December of 1993, that “bullying” (*ijime*) had reached its peak in 1985, when statistics

were first taken. It stayed flat since its decline in 1987, but started to increase around 1990. The order of frequency of incidents begins with elementary schools and rises through the years in junior and senior high schools. Incidents of “bantering and teasing” and “shutting out” types of bullying have been on the decrease while “violence” and “verbal abuse” have shown an increase. Regarding how bullying is found at senior high schools, 25.1% of cases are reported by accusation of the victim themselves, which is followed by 20.6% of cases discovered by homeroom teachers.

In investigations up to the present, the definition of what an act of bullying is remains unclear. However, the Ministry of Education took a serious look at the matter as suicides resulting from bullying continued, and came up with a clear definition. “Any act that causes serious pain through physical or psychological attack” is considered as bullying. As a result of the positive measures made by the Ministry of Education to grasp this reality of the circumstances, it was made clear that the number of bullying cases reported reached a record high of 56,601 incidents nationwide : 31% of public elementary schools, 55% of public junior high schools, and 38% of public senior high schools (The Asahi, Dec. 16, 1995). The number of cases in junior high schools and the cruelty of the incidents are of grave concern.

Regarding the condition of “school refusal” where students dislike school and for that reason miss more than 50 days per year, elementary and junior high school students show a trend toward annual increases. No data is available for senior high schools. Compared with 1982, when the number was 3610 for elementary school students, and 29, 165 for junior high school students the figures for 1994 reveal a continual and rapid increase with cases involving 12,222 elementary school students and 51,316 junior high school students. However, about one-third of refusal students went back to school because of home visits by the teacher, his guidance and encouragement.

In this manner, although the number of senior high school dropouts has

decreased, cases involving school refusal and bullying are increasing at the elementary, junior high and senior high schools. These educational problems require urgent attention. As a countermeasure, the Ministry of Education has allotted school counselors to 154 schools ranging from elementary schools through senior high schools in each prefecture throughout the country to support students and provide guidance to parents and teachers. Bullying countermeasure centers were first established in Tokyo where phone counseling, and the making of data bases for the appropriate methods of solving bullying problems are proceeding.

In 1995, the government conducted an investigation which took a sampling of adults on the question of *What is the Outstanding Problem in Juvenile Delinquency?* Bullying was the highest ranked answer at 64%, far exceeding wandering around late at night at 37%, and school violence at 32%. Bullying is not as much a problem of education as it is a serious social issue involving the way people are living and value systems of adults. The mass occurrence of bullying incidents is connected to the problems Japanese society are now facing. In other words, it is believed that the “lack of discipline since childhood” in the home, “weak relation between teachers and students” at school, and the “indifference to other people’s children” as a societal trend are closely related to bullying problems.

Juku • Yobiko • Daiken

The high level of scholastic achievement in Japan is said to be reliant upon the private facilities for preparing for entrance examinations. However, according to the Ministry of Education investigation results on the present condition of *juku* and other such schools announced in 1994, parents allow their children to attend *juku* not because “they think it is their duty as parents” as mentioned in *Japanese Education Today*, but because the children actually want to go. However nearly one-third of parents consider

this zeal to let children attend *juku* out of the ordinary. In fact, the current percentages for elementary and junior high school students attending *juku* are on the increase when compared with figures from ten years ago. Elementary school students attend *juku* at a rate of 23.6%, up about 7 points from the previous investigation, and 59.5% of junior high school students attend representing an increase of 15 points.

However, this Ministry of Education investigation does not include senior high schools. The Ministry has carried out few investigations into the situation regarding senior high school students attendance of *juku* or *yobiko*. Private research investigations are carried out centering on metropolitan areas. For example, according to the results announced by the Tokai Bank in 1992 (1,700 students from kindergarten to high school in Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya), among senior high school students 19.8% attend *juku* or *yobiko*, and 17% rely on other supplemental education outside school such as correspondence courses or home tutors.

Statistics from the above mentioned Ministry of Education investigation reveal that among newly entered college students in 1994, 64.4% were graduates fresh from senior high school, 34.4% graduated from senior high school before 1994, and 1.4% graduated from foreign schools or passed the *daiken*. *Yobikos* accept large numbers of senior high school graduate students waiting for another chance at university entrance exams. Further, it is estimated that more than half the college entrants attended an intensive course at a *yobiko* while they were high school students. It appears the role of the *yobiko* in the competitive academic system is too large to be overlooked.

Senior High School Diplomas

Although passing the *daiken* equivalency examination means getting the qualification of graduating from senior high school, it isn't counted as part

of an academic career. *Daiken* is a system that allows people to take entrance examinations to university without having graduated from senior high school. In order to obtain a high school diploma, a student must enroll in and complete the regular course of study at senior high school.

Recently, those who have passed the *daiken* are able to not only challenge university entrance exams, but also those of special vocational schools such as nursing, cooking, etc., which have had the senior high school graduation qualification as a requisite condition for admission. The number of applicants for the *daiken* examination grows yearly and in 1994, of the 17,670 people who took the test, 5,181 applicants, or 29.3%, passed.

When students have dropped out of senior high school and have no desire to go on to university, there remain ways in which they may transfer to another high school or reenter the same school. However, transferring to another school in actuality is not done freely. Though under the system it is theoretically possible, there must be openings at the school and even when there are openings, transferring schools is considered difficult and is not without conditions. Therefore, up until this time, acceptance of transfer students has mainly been limited to senior high schools with a part-time course or schools with correspondence courses.

However, as the credit-system senior high school has been put into place nationwide, the opportunities for drop-outs to obtain a diploma have increased because they may make use of the education they received before they quit school. Among credit-system high schools, there are schools where up to 80% of students have had the experience of quitting school. Moreover, competition to enter credit-system high schools is very high. The reason for this is the scarcity of opportunities for drop-outs to continue their studies until recently.

In April of 1994, 55 credit-system senior high schools had been established nationwide, but even now the road for students who have dropped out to

obtain a high school diploma has not yet been paved. To take advantage of the credit system, correspondence course schools and part-time high schools now recognize the accumulation of credits for graduation and the number of schools which recognize flexible methods of course credit are increasing. The situation where senior high school drop-outs have exceeded 100,000 people annually has persisted for a number of years and a reexamination of coping mechanisms for this problem have finally begun.

In the United States, on the contrary, the increase of senior high school drop-outs has long been an issue of concern in society as well as schools and a variety of preventive countermeasures have been discussed and actually taken. Additionally, efforts to extend a helping hand to students who have already dropped out have been made. In some areas, schools other than ordinary public high schools (alternative, school where youths who have dropped out are able to continue their schooling under a method of self-study and complete the requirements for high school graduation have been established.

One of the important ways to assist school drop-outs with obtaining a qualification equivalent to the high school diploma is the recognition of the General Education Development (GED) test. The GED is not exactly the same as a senior high school diploma, but was introduced to prove scholastic ability equivalent to senior high school graduation thus assisting the student with obtaining an educational qualification or proceeding on to higher education. In order to promote the passing of the GED, local adult education centers or community colleges prepare special classes for drop-out students.

Besides the GED qualification, courses are held which lead to a high school diploma at community colleges or in the evenings at high schools that adults may also enroll in. Thus the number of thirty-year-olds who have graduated from high school is higher than the number of eighteen-year-olds. This

phenomenon is the result of the opportunities made available to adults who had dropped out to continue their studies.

It appears that Leestma had attempted to compare the *daiken* in use in Japan with America's GED. As mentioned above, *daiken* is mainly used for the handful of young people who wish to go on to higher education. On the other hand, the role of the GED is to provide a basic educational qualification that is recognized as being equivalent to high school graduation.

III) Some Thoughts on Japanese Education

Larry Walker

In Japan, educational developments have been historically intertwined with the course of events that have shaped the nation. Education's role in society has ranged from the esoteric study of the ritualistic tea ceremony to indoctrination modeled after Prussian military academy. A number of the defining moments in the history Japanese education resulted from engagements with the Asian mainland and the West. Reviewing these moments may aid in understanding how the scholars from Japan and the United States arrived at their respective interpretations on the theme which is the title of the United States Department of Education publication *Japanese Education Today*, and the accompanying response from Japanese educators entitled *Supplementary Commentary on Some of the Questions Raised by American Researchers of Japanese Education*. The abridged English translation of the latter forms the core of this document (Part II).

A most notable starting point for a history of Japanese education is the introduction of writing by the scholar Wani from China in the 5th century A.D. Confucianism, then Buddhism was accepted in the 6th century by the Emperor Kenmei and fostered by Emperor Shotoku who is credited with establishing the first "school" in a temple. Although intellectual activity and education flourished briefly up until 900 A.D., its early renaissance was

undermined by elitism. The limiting of study to men of high birth failed to nurture a pool of capable administrators. The first known call for equality in general education was made, in 827 A.D., to no avail, by a professor of composition Miyako Haruka. This is an unfortunate pattern of events that is visible to this day by the inordinately high percentage of members of the Japanese parliament that have graduated from Tokyo University. Education entered a dark age in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries as the feudal system took definite form and was continually at the mercy of the strife and decadence of the times.

Through the initiative of Nobunaga, and then Hideyoshi, Iyeyasu Tokugawa was able to direct efforts to reestablish the foundations of a national system of education. This provided for the opportunity to begin a comprehensive study of educational philosophy. The parents responsibility in education, balance in the curriculum and the deterministic view of bringing man into harmony with his environment were advocated by the educational theorists Razan Hayashi, Heishu Hosoi and Kaibara Ekken, respectively. For the most part, these guidelines have been remolded only for reasons of practicality and represent a basic theory of education for the Japanese. Fortunately, Ekken's view that women's education should focus on the two virtues of chastity and obedience, and the arts of sewing and conversation, has been expanded upon the last 400 years.

Even so, education in Tokugawa Japan was designed to serve the state. The study of foreign writing remained outlawed until 1716. The powerful Shogun Yoshimune had Dutch books translated for himself as did the semi-independent Daimyos of Satsuma and Nakatsu. Books began being smuggled into Japan and even before the wholesale introduction of things Western appeared in Meiji, what began as a trickle gained momentum and culminated in the 1867 establishment in Yedo of a "School for Studying Foreign Books," the precursor to the Tokyo Imperial University, and also a

school for the study of foreign medicine. The acceptance of foreign study proved for a time as formidable a task as the learning itself.

Soon after his inauguration, Emperor Meiji took the “Imperial Oath of Five Articles” in 1868. The fifth of these articles states that “Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted.” This article had a significant influence on both education and military policy of the time. Civil unrest and the priority the military held over government resources got the restoration off to a slow start. Textbooks were scarce, manuscript copies were far more common. A bureau of translation was founded in 1869 to translate text materials from foreign sources into Japanese. Study abroad was formalized. Many of Japan’s prestigious private universities today were founded by the then young scholars who were sent to Europe and the United States to learn of “their ways.” In January of 1871, all powers relating to education were granted to a new Department of Education, what is now called the Ministry of Education or *Monbusho*. The opportunity to centralize operations grew out of the Emperor’s successful merging of political and spiritual leadership. While an exceedingly difficult concept for Westerners to grasp, particularly for Americans whose constitution forbids even the notion of royalty, the Emperor was revered as a deity and it was the absolute loyalty and respect for that belief, not life, liberty nor the pursuit of happiness, through which the Japanese nation eventually achieved unification. Using this as a foundation, education was pursued and directed as an instrument of national policy. This central role government occupies in education is in stark contrast to the delegation of authority to individual states seen in the U.S.A. Though the Ministry of Education now delegates some authority to prefectures and municipalities, the roots to these approaches accounts for a great deal of the difference in the basic philosophical paradigms in education between the two nations.

The Meiji era represented a second renaissance in the history of Japanese education. The Education System Order, sometimes referred to as the Education Code, was introduced in 1872. Development followed rapidly and soon a system from elementary schools to university was in operation. Education experts, and some not so expert, were brought in from overseas, or hired locally, to advise, supervise and teach. The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 provided the Japanese with a body of ethical concepts sanctioned by their spiritual leader. This resulted in a flurry of public support and likewise, the further spread of education. Having a deity to proclaim national policy is a persuasive tool, though easily manipulated. How powerful a tool is illustrated by the fact that Japanese commoners were not permitted to cast their eyes upon their Emperor. The practice continued until Emperor Showa came on national radio at the close of World War II declaring that he was not, after all, a god. Nevertheless, this has yet to be accepted in some quarters of Japanese society.

Education on the whole fared well through the Meiji and Taisho eras. Despite the occasional reductions in funding that resulted from the Russo-Japanese War and the military campaigns that followed, improvements in all areas of the system were vigorously pursued. The Great Earthquake and Fire of 1923, and the military expansion of the Showa era slowed the spread of education, but it wasn't until the events that led to the demise of the Japanese empire that education came to a standstill. As anti-foreignism sentiments grew, a corresponding decline in the toleration of things foreign was observed. Use of the Roman alphabet was outlawed. The prefectures began to absorb some of the responsibilities of the municipalities, mainly related to funding, as the government began to retrench and focus all its energy and resources on what was sold to the people as a divine mission of co-prosperity for the empire. Education was only one of a number of the casualties the war brought home.

Postwar education in Japan began under the Allied Powers, and most specifically GHQ and SCAP. Democratization of the schools was the major influence the Occupation sought to exercise over the system of education which had previously responded to the whims of an expanding colonial empire. Many of the so-called reforms were modern adaptations of practices observed in the two prior renaissances of Japanese education, namely the introduction of things foreign, both material and philosophical, study missions sent overseas, the employment of foreign teachers, etc., to augment what was already in place. The Chairman of this Japanese research group, Professor Saburo Sato, is himself an alumnus of the first group of Fulbright (GARIOA) scholars sent to study in the United States in 1949. At first, it was bitter medicine to accept the idea that foreigners were in Japan to debate reform of the Japanese language, the training of teachers and the organization of the system of education. Despite unfounded protestations to the contrary, historical documents now reveal Japanese educators participated actively in the decisions affecting the changes to take place, and the claim that the American system of education was forced upon the Japanese nation has been discredited to all but the most stalwart nationalists. Everything looked quite agreeable and when the Occupation forces pulled out of Japan, a good deal of satisfaction was expressed with the efforts of these reforms by most involved.

The aforementioned document, *Japanese Education Today*, is an extensive and well detailed account of how Japanese education operates nearly 40 years later. It is expository in nature and offers a balanced portrayal of the system of education utilized by the foremost Asian economic power. The document made a strong impression on the Japanese. It was translated into an attractive book in Japanese and has been highly praised. The responses that appear in the translated report from the Japanese scholars (Part II) are, as their title suggests, supplemental commentary and answers to

questions raised by their American counterparts. For interested English language readers, how postwar education has proceeded in Japan is perhaps best answered by first obtaining a copy of *Japanese Education Today* which is available from the U.S. Government Printing Office.

From the Western perspective, by definition, education in Japan has yet to see its third blooming despite the intensity of effort and resources focused in that direction. This is because the system of education never fully achieved its goal of existing to serve a democratic end. The influence of the state, elitism and nepotism transcend education in modern Japanese society. To its credit, the fruits of the educational efforts have formed the backbone of the nation's economic renaissance that has taken place the second half of this century. Nor should the impressive statistics of academic achievement be overlooked when comparisons are made, especially in the subjects of the natural sciences, between the nations of the East and the West. Elementary and secondary school teachers make commendable time commitments to their work both in and out of the classroom. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that education in Japan hasn't significantly wavered from its initial goal of serving the state; an honorable accomplishment to most Japanese people.

How much either country can learn from each other's success is a question of much greater proportion. Would American teachers, children or their parents warm quickly to the ideas of schools being in session two Saturdays per month, having children wear uniforms up through high school whether public or private, wearing hair within prescribed guidelines, condoning corporal punishment within limits when teachers feel it's necessary, allowing the Department of Education to censor textbooks or adopt a system of testing to enter university commonly referred to in Japan as "examination hell" in order to raise the comparative results of achievement tests? Such practices are probably as welcome in the United States as the

circumstances resulting in the posting of police officers with metal detectors at school entrances would be in Japan. Many of the responses to the issues raised in the documents prepared by the Japanese educators revolve around the lack of distinct comparisons that can be made between the social settings in the schools which each country are a part of. A fine example of this is how Americans interpret the completion of a high school education or the General Equivalency Diploma in the United States, and how the completion of high school and the *Daiken* qualification are viewed in Japan. Comparatively speaking, on paper the functions are similar. In the social context, the implications are far different.

Having been educated through university in the United States, at the postgraduate level in Japan, having observed or been employed at every level of school in Japan over the last ten years and as translator of the Japanese research group document, one overwhelming impression remains. As individuals, the similarities between us are remarkable at the human level. Our hopes and dreams for a better future for our children are an important and parallel driving force in our societies. In our institutions, the behavior we display reveals how different the roads are on which we have historically traveled. Recognizing this, much good will and the motivation to cooperate is evident on both sides. The desire to find common ground is indeed great. What has been confirmed here is that, as in every relationship, both sides of the ocean have room for improvement and much to give. The ocean that connects us is not a barrier, but what we have in common and a bridge for sharing.

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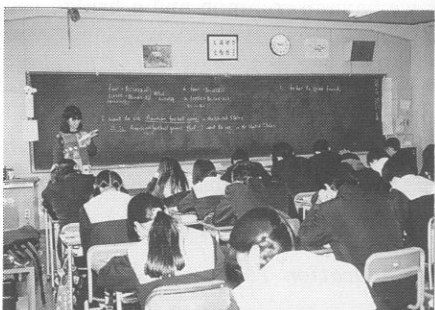
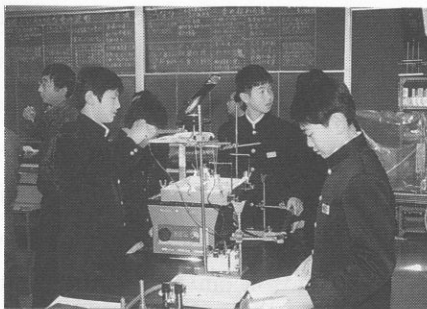
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